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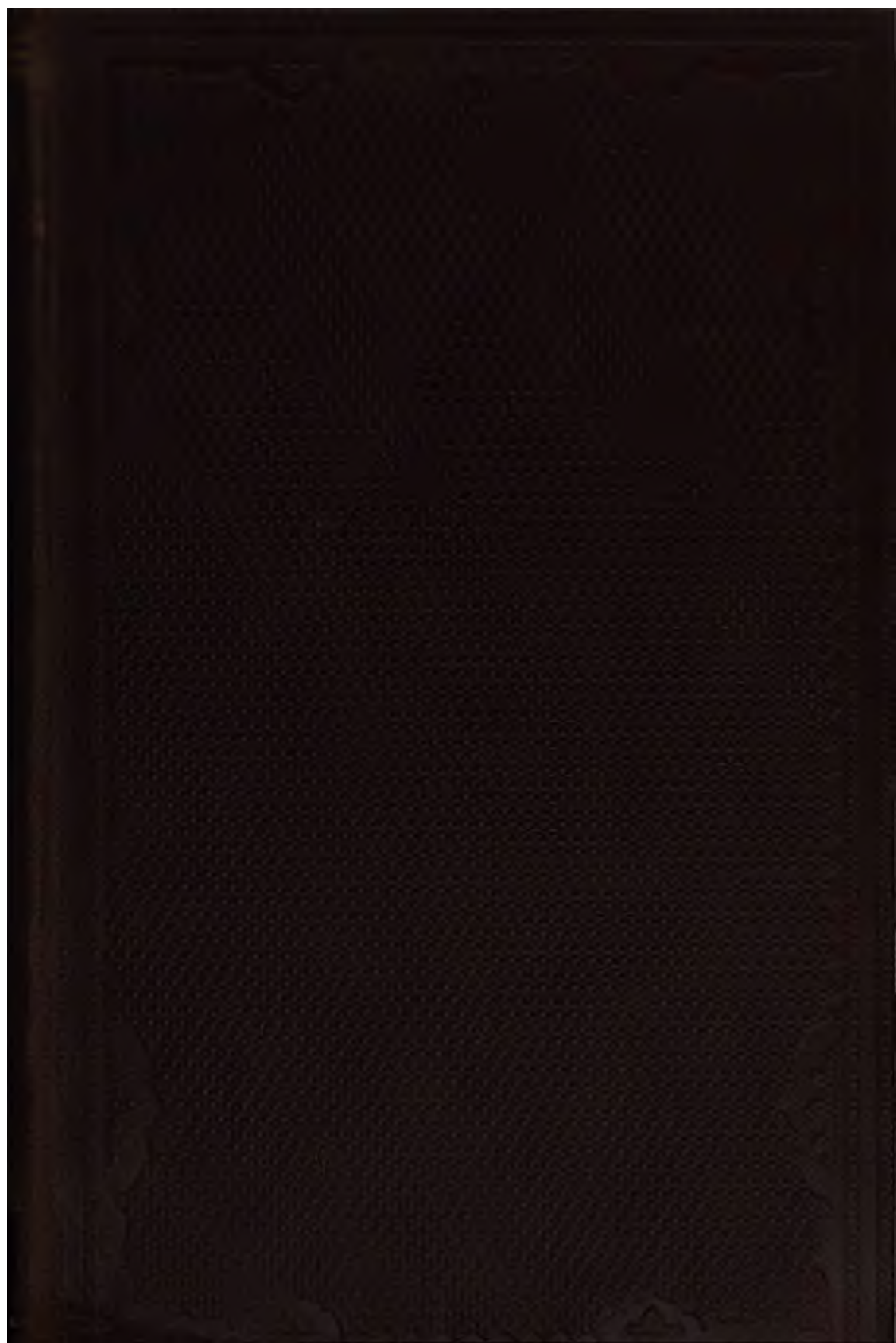
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THE INSPIRATION  
OF THE  
BOOK OF DANIEL;

AND OTHER  
PORTIONS OF HOLY SCRIPTURE:

WITH A  
CORRECTION OF PROFANE AND AN ADJUSTMENT OF  
SACRED CHRONOLOGY.

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BY  
W. R. A. BOYLE,  
OF LINCOLN'S INN, BARRISTER.

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BY

THE AUTHOR.



## PREFACE.

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IN proportion as believers feel the necessity, when called upon, of giving a reason for the hope which is in them, must they be desirous of removing any obstacles which may exist to the faith of others.

Many sincere inquirers after truth have been restrained from a thorough assent to the reality of Revelation, by finding that one of the most important prophecies connected with Christianity was not shown to have been fulfilled. This has resulted from the confusion into which chronology has been thrown.

The present is an effort to establish more fully the Inspiration of Holy Scripture, and for this end to open a way through the tangled mass of dates which has hitherto hid the Christian æra from view. This entanglement has arisen from the accumulated errors and difficulties of centuries. It has been attempted to invest the work, which is historical throughout, with some of the interest which attaches to continuous history; and it is hoped that even its chrono-

logy, though not usually an attractive subject, will not be found an exception.

Heavy as the responsibility must be of any one who, with whatever view, enters upon so sacred and vital a subject as religion, the writer's sense of this is diminished by the consideration, that the evidences here adduced have been mainly drawn, not from Christian, but from profane sources. The arrow may fall short of the mark, but can scarcely pierce and lacerate the object which it is desired to defend.

The attack recently made upon one portion of Holy Writ has signally failed. It has called forth defenders, who with the simple weapons of Faith and Truth have prevailed over the boasting champion, who has stood up against the armies of the God of Israel\*. Yet, triumphant as the defence has been, who can tell how many individual souls have been, and may still be lost, through this one man's sin? A work once published can never be recalled—"Non erit emissio reditus tibi †." Where the sap was weak and languid in its circulation, there leaves have been shaken from "THE BRANCH," and now in sere and melancholy ruin strew the ground.

\* Among the numerous answers to Dr. Colenso which have been published, the most remarkable are several papers by the Rev. W. H. Hoare and Dr. M'Caul, also "The Historic Character of the Pentateuch Vindicated," by a Layman, and "The Bible in the Workshop," by two Working Men. See the last number of the Edinburgh Review.

† Hor. Ep. i. xx.

A mighty struggle is going on. The principles assailed are the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity and the Divinity of our Lord. It is to subvert these fundamental truths that the later Oxford movement has been originated. Its design is so to extend the limits of the Church as to efface every distinctive mark of Christianity. In a public letter an influential supporter of this movement, with reference to the proceedings taken against Dr. Pusey in 1845, says, "Our object was to provide for the *progress of private judgment in matters of religion*, by presenting to Dr. Pusey and his friends the alternative of a *liberal comprehension* of all, who agreed in fundamental truth (?), instead of what 'An Oxford Liberal' rightly, in my judgment, terms *the scandal of Trinitarian subscription*. For the rest, I am inclined to think that the section of Liberals to which Professor Jowett belonged, in separating themselves from the older Liberals on that occasion led, as a practical result, to a contradiction of *the fair latitude demanded by the age in which we live* \*."

By those here referred to, whether as belonging to a particular section, or to the class of "older Liberals," what is termed "fundamental truth" would probably be restricted to the simple acknowledgment of a Supreme Intelligence. There are no doubt diversities of opinion even among themselves; but

\* Letter signed "Oxoniensis," in the Times, March 19th, 1863.



notwithstanding these, "the latitude demanded" is no less than the withdrawal of all Christian doctrine as a test or qualification for Holy Orders. The aim is to pluck Christ out of Christianity; and so to convert His religion into Socinianism, Pantheism, or simple Deism. Should these views extend, then is the fate of Britain sealed. As yet the struggle has only commenced; but it is gathering strength, and what may be the issue none can tell.

Hitherto the Church has arrested the progress of this fatal evil. Hence its re-constitution is sought for, in order that this barrier being broken down, a universal licence may be allowed in matters of religion. This is termed "the progress of private judgment" and "the fair latitude demanded by the age in which we live." But if there has been a Revelation from God to man, then any progress or licence of private judgment, which shall disregard this Revelation, can only mean *departure from the truth*. The momentous question raised then is, whether there has or has not been such a Revelation.

So rapid of late years has been the spread of infidelity, and so eager are the enemies of the Church for its overthrow, that men will now scarcely brook the maintenance of sound doctrine. But if there be such a thing *as truth*, then are there cases in which a neglect to uphold this amounts to an abandonment of principle, and a dereliction of duty.

Upon the maintenance of that religion which was

delivered by Moses and the Prophets, by Christ and His Apostles, depend not merely our national prosperity and existence, but the salvation of each individual soul. As no part of the sacred fabric can be undermined without affecting the stability of the whole, so no portion can receive support without contributing strength to the entire structure. To cement this is the design of the present work; if that can be called design, which in the outset was simply a determination, at any sacrifice of time and labor \*, to arrive at the truth on a subject of such momentous concern.

May the effect be to stay the wandering, to strengthen the weak, and to afford one more assurance and source of consolation to those whose faith is established. Let Britons be but true to themselves, nor forsake Him "who sticketh closer than a brother," and Christianity will continue to be the firmest support to the Throne, and the best safeguard to our Country.

\* Besides the numerous theories of previous writers, about 100 consulships, and the authorities for them, had to be investigated. In this wide field of inquiry, the author begs to acknowledge the kind assistance occasionally afforded to him by his friends the Rev. B. Payne Smith, Rev. W. Haig Brown, Rev. G. Frost, Rev. J. Gaitskell, and S. Birch, Esq., of the British Museum.

CHURCH STREET, KENSINGTON,  
*April 10th, 1863.*



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# ERRATA.

- Page 170, line 22, *for illustration, read illustrator.*
- 180, — 22, *for remarks similarly, read similarly remarks.*
  - 206, — 1, *for assigned, read resigned.*
  - 259, — 2, *for Western, read Eastern.*
  - 288, — 5, 14, *for north-west, read north-east.*
  - 352, — 5, *for cannot possibly express, read scarcely expresses.*
  - 352, — 6, *for true reading is, he, read truer reading is simply I.*
  - 352, — 7, *for his, read my.*
  - 485, — 24, *for preceded both, read occurred between.*
  - 485, — 25, *dele also.*
  - 517, — 3, *for Bishop, read Presbyter.*
  - 555, — 11, *for promovit, some give perduxit.*





# BOOK I.

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## CHAPTER I.

### GENERAL CHARACTER OF AND OBJECTIONS RAISED TO THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

DANIEL is the only prophet, besides Jeremiah, who enters into details on the subject of dates and times, having reference to remote periods. So minute and exact is the chronology of this prophet, and so completely do his predictions accord with the events, which occurred in the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth, that in order to detract from their force, the Jews have sought to lessen the authority of the entire Book of Daniel. With this view, those of the present day assert that it is not placed in that part of the Sacred Canon, to which the greatest authority is attached, as being most highly inspired, but in another portion of their sacred writings, which, though likewise allowed to be inspired, is not deemed prophetical.

In thus attributing a lower grade of inspiration to this book, the modern Jews may have been misled, from not understanding the true reason for its position in the Canon; or this depreciation of it may have arisen from a wilful act of their forefathers.

The books of the Old Testament are divided by the Jews into three parts,—I. the Law; II. the Prophets; and III. the Chetubim or Hagiographa, Γραφαὶ ἅγιοι.

Whether this division existed before the time of our Saviour, or not, has been strenuously disputed. The learned Vossius conjectured it to be an invention of Aquila, who made a new translation of the Jewish Scriptures into Greek, and who lived in the second century. Others, particularly Professor Hengstenberg, consider the division to be an ancient one; and maintain that it arose from distinguishing between those who were prophets by profession, and those who, not being so, yet had divine revelations made to them; between those invested with the prophetic office, and those who had merely the prophetic gift,—distinguishing thus between the *munus propheticum*, and the *donum propheticum*. On this theory the historical books, which might seem to be an anomaly, were admitted into the second division, because they were composed by those who were prophets *by office*; since “the drawing up of the history of the theocracy, which embraced at the same time indirect prophecy of the future, formed an essential part of the prophetic vocation \*.”

The language of Josephus respecting Daniel's position among the greater prophets is very decided, and shows that in his time the Book of Daniel must have been included among those sacred books, which the Jews then deemed prophetical. After enjoining those, who would understand the uncertainties of futurity, to be diligent in reading the Book of Daniel, “which they will find among the sacred writings,” Josephus proceeds to say of Daniel, “that he was favored with many wonderful revelations, and those as to *one of the greatest prophets . . .* and from his writings we believe that Daniel conversed with God; for he not only prophesied of future events, *as did the other prophets*, but

\* Hengst. transl. by Pratten, 23, 4.

also determined the time of their accomplishment \*." Josephus thus not only gives this pre-eminence to Daniel; but distinguishes him, even amongst the greater prophets, for the remarkable minuteness of his prophecies, in the very particular, which, since the Christian era, has been made the principal objection to the authenticity of his writings.

In another work Josephus says,—“The Jews have not a countless number of discordant books contradicting one another; but only twenty-two books containing the history, and records of past times, which are justly believed to be divine. Of these, *five* belong to Moses, and contain his laws, and the traditions of the origin of mankind until his death. This period was little short of 3000 years. For the period intervening between his death, and the reign of Artaxerxes, king of Persia, the successor of Xerxes, the prophets who lived after Moses recorded what occurred in their times, in *thirteen* books. The remaining *four* books contain hymns to God, and precepts for human conduct †. It is true, that our history has been written since Artaxerxes very particularly, but this has not been esteemed by our forefathers of the like authority as the former; because there has not been a regular succession of prophets since that time. How firmly we have given credit to these books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for during the many ages which have passed, no one has had the temerity either to add any thing to them, or take any thing from them. So far from this, it is natural to all Jews, from their very birth, to esteem these books as containing divine doctrines; and to persist in them; and, if occasion be, willingly

\* Joseph. Antiq. x. 10. s. 4, and 11. s. 7.

† It is clear that the Book of Daniel could not have been comprehended in this last division.

to die for them. It is no new thing, for the captives of our race, numerous as these have been, and frequently as they have been made such, to be seen to endure racks and deaths of all kinds in the public amphitheatres, rather than be forced to utter a single word against our laws, or the records in which they are contained." Josephus then contrasts the conduct of his own countrymen, in this respect, with heathen nations in these terms,—“Among the Greeks there are none, who would undergo the slightest personal suffering on such an account; no, not if all the writings which are among them were destroyed; since they deem these to be mere tales or narratives, framed agreeably to the inclinations of those who wrote them \*.”

The fiercest attacks upon the Book of Daniel, however, have been made by unbelievers. Celsus and Porphyry were among the foremost of its assailants; and they have been followed by a host of others in this country, and elsewhere, especially in Germany. Finding the events, which actually took place, to accord so closely with the predictions concerning them, that, viewed in the light of prophecy, they could not fail to establish the truth of revelation, many have alleged that instead of being prophecies, they were historical relations of past occurrences. Thus, while the Jews have sought merely to lower the standard or authority of the Book of Daniel, sceptics have struggled to deprive it altogether of its sacred character, and to bring down his writings to a period, long subsequent to some of the events, which he describes. But as other events are delineated, which extend to a period far beyond the lowest date ever ascribed to this book, and some of which yet remain to be accomplished, the attack falls short of its desired aim.

\* Joseph. contr. Apion i. 8.

Where, however, as is often the case, only the earlier chapters are impugned, something more is required in their support, than to show that the later chapters contain yet unfulfilled prophecy. Even Sir Isaac Newton gave way upon this point, and felt disposed to cede the authenticity of the first six chapters.

In a Scriptural point of view, it would be of little moment, whether these emanated from the pen of Daniel or not. They are professedly historical, in the sense of being written after the events to which they relate; although interwoven with those predictions, in the way of interpretation, which are shown to have been immediately, or very shortly fulfilled.

The late Dr. Arnold, however, is by sceptics a still higher prized authority. This learned, but not always judicious, writer rejected the entire Book of Daniel as a work of real authority; although (strangely enough) he allowed, that it very probably contained genuine passages. He must thus have considered,—that there had been such a person as Daniel; that he lived at the time in which he is said to have existed; that he was a prophet; that he committed his prophecies to writing; that, notwithstanding the extreme care taken by the Jews of their sacred writings, this one book became lost; that a spurious work was subsequently composed, and palmed off as the original; that this was generally received as genuine by both priests and people; that so learned a man as Josephus, living at no great distance of time from the period of its alleged composition, had not the least suspicion of the forgery; and finally, that our blessed Lord Himself, and his Apostles, were equally deceived when they referred to and cited this book, as an authentic portion of Sacred Writ.

Infidelity is not a negative quality; it involves the belief in a state of things, and a catena of circum-

## 6 GENERAL CHARACTER OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

stances, the very opposite of those, which are the foundation of faith. Scepticism is credulous in more than in an inverse ratio to the number of facts, which it presumes to set aside \*. We have a remarkable illustration of this before us. Dr. Arnold was any thing but a sceptic, in the ordinary acceptation of the term: yet he was so with regard to one of the Sacred Books, and that not the least important of them, which he could only have rejected by a series of assumptions, far greater in amount, and infinitely more difficult of belief, than the few simple facts, which faith is here content to rest upon. His views were equally unsound on the subject of miracles; and, if followed out to their legitimate results, must have led far into the mazes of infidelity. From this he was happily preserved; and although unquestionably a man of strong prejudice, so much so that he could not differ in politics, without branding those who thought otherwise as wicked †; yet the energy and truthfulness of his character, his anxiety for the spiritual, as well as temporal welfare of those entrusted to his care for education; his strong attachments; and the general piety, which, notwithstanding an erroneous bias on some points, he exhibited in his whole life and conversation, are qualities, which have deservedly excited admiration, and endeared his memory to his fellow-countrymen.

Following in his footsteps, the late Chevalier Bunsen has elaborated the idea, thus revived by Dr. Arnold. It has recently been again put forward in a still more objectionable form in the second of the "Essays and Reviews," by the Rev. Dr. Rowland Williams.

\* The Rev. Charles Forster observes,—“There is no credulity like the credulity of scepticism, whether theological or philological.”—*Primeval Language and Voice from Sinai*, i. 19. n.

† See several letters in his *Life and Correspondence* by Stanley.

Those who do not go this length, impugn some of the chapters only. These they view in the light of simple history, of a date long subsequent to the events, which are referred to. The period, which has been assigned for their composition, is at or after the time of the Maccabees. The best judges, however, from the internal evidence, afforded by the language of the entire work, consider that it must have been of earlier date. The style and character of the book, still more than the mere diction, are of a purer age than that of the Maccabees, when the manner of writing had become perceptibly degenerated. But there are other, and still more cogent proofs, showing that the assumption referred to is altogether groundless.

---

## CHAPTER II.

### LANGUAGE OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

ONE remarkable peculiarity exists, which has been greatly relied upon by its assailants, and has, until recently, been but slenderly accounted for by its supporters. It is written in two different languages, part being in Hebrew, and part in Syriac or Chaldee, now generally known under the generic term of Aramean. It begins in Hebrew; but this language is broken off in the middle of the fourth verse of the second chapter, where the Aramean is taken up, and is thence continued to the end of the seventh chapter. With the eighth chapter the Hebrew is resumed, and is carried on through the remainder of the book.

Owing mainly to this circumstance, it was at one time insisted, that the work was the composition of several writers; but besides the material fact that the change occurs in the middle of a narrative, the style of the



book is so uniform, that even opposing critics, with perhaps two or three exceptions, have at length abandoned the notion of a plurality of authors. The whole, it is now generally admitted, must stand or fall together. After the severest criticisms by the most hostile and subtle of the German school, Professor Hengstenberg, the great champion of its authenticity, has conclusively shown that in point of language, the Book of Daniel is of the same age as that of Ezekiel and Ezra. Here that part, which is Aramean, comes in as an important auxiliary; and although the suggestion has not yet been offered, it is highly probable that in moving Daniel to employ a second language, the Holy Spirit had this very end in view.

Upon an investigation of the Aramean portion of it, there are found to occur a certain number of Hebraisms. This is a result, naturally to be expected upon the first acquisition of a different language or dialect; but which would gradually wear out, as the use of the latter became more general. It is the character however of these Hebraisms, which is important; since precisely similar Hebraisms occur in the one Chaldee verse of Jeremiah, in the book of Ezra, and in the section of the book of Esther, written in Chaldee, all of them nearly of cotemporaneous date; while no traces of them exist in the Targums, which are the next remains of Aramean writing; although there are in these some other Hebraisms, not met with in the former books, and of a totally distinct character\*. The most perverse of the German critics passes over this fact, while asserting that if Daniel in his youth had been instructed in the Chaldean language and literature, this mixture of the grammatical forms of both dialects could not have occurred†. But

\* Hengst. by Pratten, c. 3. s. 5.

† Bleek, 2. c. 214, &c.

notwithstanding Daniel's learned study of the Chaldee, his previous education in his own land, and his subsequent intercourse with his countrymen, who, during the period of transition from the Hebrew to the Aramean, must have spoken a very impure language, are circumstances more than sufficient to account for his retention of a comparatively small number of Hebrew forms. This is the remark of Kirms\*, which has been adopted by Hengstenberg†; and is strengthened, if (as is generally allowed) we are to understand by the Chaldee in which Daniel was instructed, the language of the proper Chaldeans, which belonged to the Semitic family; and not the Eastern Aramean or Babylonian, which was that supposed to have been employed by the Babylonian sages in addressing Nebuchadnezzar, and with which Daniel must have been also conversant‡. The latter was the language of the people, as the former was that of the court, with both of whom Daniel had constant intercourse.

Thus using three separate languages or dialects, it should rather have been an objection, that so few Hebraisms were to be found in Daniel, than that no admixture of grammatical forms was to be expected. But neither could this objection have been sustained, since we find just the same amount of Hebraisms in Ezra, and other writings of the same period, with no great difference in point of number.

In the admirable words of Hengstenberg, "Assuming the spuriousness of Daniel, how are we to account for the remarkable fact, that the book has every peculiarity of language in common with a book, composed more than 300 years before; but on the other hand

\* p. 26.

† c. iii. s. 5. in fin.

‡ Berthold. Comm. i. 184. Dereser Winer Chald. Gram. 2. Hengst. Dan. ut sup.

is so distinct in regard to language, as this book is, from the writings (the Targums) composed not more than half of this period later at farthest? How is it to be explained that in the one Chaldee verse of Jeremiah \*, which, even if it be supposititious, must in any case belong to the Babylonian period, or that immediately bordering on it, we find two forms פִּאֲמָרָן and יִאֲבָרִי, which are analogous to those occurring in our book (Daniel), and distinct from those in the Targums? It is perfectly evident that by the observations hitherto made by the opponents of the genuineness, not even a beginning is made in the solution of this difficult enigma. The change of language then of itself, and the manner in which it occurs, remain an inexplicable problem to those, who assume the composition of our book in the time of the Maccabees:—the change itself, because it is inconceivable how the alleged pseudo-Daniel, if he did not hesitate to use the Aramean at all, should, by the use of the Hebrew, have placed an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the general understanding of the most important part of his book, and just that which was most destined to influence his own times; . . the mode and fashion of the change, because it shows that the use of the two languages was equally natural to the author, neither of them an object to him of learned acquisition †.” So De Wette ‡, although in another place he asserts that the Hebrew part of Daniel was owing to an artificial use of it §. Bertholdt, another hostile critic, has been constrained to call the peculiarity of Daniel’s language *a remarkable phenomenon* ||.

\* Jerem. x. 11.

† Hengst. Dan. by Pratten, 248. 245.

‡ Einl. p. 367.

§ Ibid. 8. 34.

|| Hengst. Dan. by Pratten, 249.

Let us now inquire whether, if Daniel were really the author of this portion of the sacred writings, there was any thing in his history, which would furnish an adequate explanation of the use of the two languages, and even make the change from the one to the other appear perfectly natural. There are numerous evidences, both external and internal, converging to this point, and otherwise indicating the writer to be the individual, to whom the book is ascribed in the sacred canon.

I. In the first place, Daniel appears to have been as familiar with the Chaldee language as with his native Hebrew. He had all the elements to qualify him for, and all the advantages to assist him in the acquisition of it. He was of the royal house of Judah, and had from his infancy been carefully instructed; for he was the chief among the four selected from the children of Judah, as those who were "skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as had ability in them to stand in the king's palace; and whom," from their youth as well as their abilities, "they might teach the learning, and the tongue of the Chaldeans \*." It is probable that he knew something of their language before he was taken captive: since, from the narrative in the Second Book of Kings †, it appears that the educated among the Jews were acquainted with the Syriac or Chaldee. But however this may be, his familiarity with both languages was perfectly natural in a Jew, living at Babylon under Nebuchadnezzar; but extremely improbable, to say the least, in a Jew during the time of the Maccabees. How far he profited by these advan-

\* Dan. i. 4.

† 2 Kings xviii. 26.

tages, we know from his subsequent history. At the same time, Daniel was early drawn into active life, and could have had but little leisure afterwards to devote to the critical study of the language.

II. His subject, and form of writing, being that of dialogue, directly led him to drop the Hebrew, and take up the Chaldee language; for the verse, in which the change occurs, runs thus: "Then spake the Chaldeans to the king *in Syriack*, O king, live for ever: tell thy servants the dream, and we will show the interpretation \*." The change, thus taking place in the course of the narrative, is a circumstance strongly militating against the idea of a plurality of authors, which, though at one time put forward very confidently, has, we have seen, now been abandoned, even by hostile critics.

It may seem surprising that the use of the Syriac or Aramean should here be the subject of notice, seeing that the speakers were themselves Chaldeans. One solution of this might be, that as the term Chaldean signifies those who were devoted to particular studies, as well as those who belonged to a particular nation, these Chaldeans might not all have been Babylonians, and therefore their concurrence in the use of the Syriac might be the subject of remark. But this is not satisfactory; and it is rather to be inferred that by the term Syriac was meant, either the language or dialect known to the priests, and more learned among the Babylonians, and which, though still used in writing, was not that commonly spoken at the time, or else the proper Babylonian, which was spoken by the people, as distinguished from that in use at the court. J. D. Michaelis was of opinion that there was an old Chaldean

\* Dan. ii. 4.

language of Scythian or Sclavonian origin, which has been thought to be countenanced by some of the words or names in Daniel, as Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, and the like, scarce to be derived from Hebrew primitives (that is, the mixed Hebrew and Chaldee in use after the return from the captivity); and that this language was derived from the Chalybes near to the Black Sea, and was what Daniel and the young men were ordered to be instructed in \*. Modern linguists however refer the names of Babylonian gods, kings, and other persons to the Persian language; and since Persia bordered on Babylonia, such an origin would not be surprising †. From the number of nations and people at this time not merely subject to Babylonian rule ‡, but mingled together in Babylon itself §, many languages and dialects must have been spoken in the kingdom; and this circumstance no doubt produced its effect upon the original language of the country: yet, though generally corrupted, its purity would naturally be longer preserved in their public records, more especially as the task of writing down these, which were considered of national concern, was entrusted to the priests ||.

Further inquiry into the subject, however, would be merely speculative; for as Daniel's attention was thus called off from the Syriac or Chaldee, and still more,

\* Cap. i. ver. 4. See Spicil. Geog. Heb. T. ii. §§ 77—94, and Wintle's Notes on Daniel, p. 20.

† Col. Rawlinson in one of his lectures on Persia, in speaking of the extensive subterranean aqueducts to be found in that country, has observed, "These aqueducts had been introduced from Chaldea, they were called by a Chaldean name, and mention of them was found in the earliest Chaldean inscriptions."—Lect. delivered May 4, 1857.

‡ Herod. i. 192. Josephus Antiq. xi. 1, in Apion i. 19.

§ Jerem. ii. 87.

|| Joseph. in Apion i. 6.

as his writing assumed the form of dialogue, nothing could be more natural than that he should here adopt the language of the speakers, or of those who took the prominent part in the conversation.

III. Another reason arises from the fact that the whole of what is thus written in Aramean, except the seventh or last chapter, relates to the Babylonians, and has no reference to the Jews.

IV. Daniel was now high in power, being "made ruler over the whole province of Babylon and chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon\*." From his position and occupation, therefore, as well as from the habit of the country, he could hardly have failed to have had a secretary or amanuensis, to whom he would dictate what he desired to write. In his own country were sacred scribes, who formed a distinct profession; and it is clear that many writers, both of the Old and New Testament, employed others to write for them. Thus Jeremiah, who was contemporary with Daniel, called Baruch the scribe, who "*wrote from the mouth of Jeremiah* †." The Epistle to the Romans was similarly written by Tertius at the dictation of St. Paul ‡; and there can be little doubt that others of St. Paul's epistles were dictated to different friends and fellow-labourers with him. Indeed, before the captivity the prophets seem to have had the power of commanding the attendance of the scribes, and requiring their assistance §. During the captivity, however, this power could have been little exercised, and they must have depended on themselves, or on those whose assistance could be casually obtained.

\* Dan. ii. 48.

† Jer. xxxvi. 4. 18. 32.

‡ Rom. xvi. 22.

§ Jer. xxxvi. 4, 5. 8. 32.

There is internal evidence that Daniel had the aid of a scribe or secretary, and that the individual so employed was a Chaldean, and not a Jew. No sooner was Daniel raised to be ruler over Babylon, than he pushed forward the fortunes of his countrymen and fellow-prisoners, Hananiah, Mishael or Mizael, and Azariah, more generally known by their Chaldee appellatives of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, since we hear of them immediately afterwards as being "set over the affairs of the province of Babylon\*;" a circumstance which excited the jealousy of the Babylonians, and led to these eminent men being exposed to their fiery trial. Daniel was thus deprived of that assistance from them which he had previously sought †; his opportunities of seeing them being limited, and their avocations giving them full occupation ‡.

Were there, however, no other Jews whom he could at this time have employed? The fact is no where distinctly stated; but as in all relations having the impress of truth, where a circumstance is immaterial in itself, and only important in its bearing upon the fidelity or genuineness of the narrative, it is left to be inferred. What, then, is the inference to be gathered? One thing seems clear, viz. that the Jews selected for instruction were not associated together in one building, but were distributed among the different officers belonging to the royal establishment, to each of whom was assigned the care of a few. One of these officers was named Melzar, and to him, probably as the highest in rank, next to the chief chamberlain or prince of the eunuchs, Daniel and his three youthful companions were com-

\* Dan. iii. 12.

† Dan. ii. 17.

‡ See a similar observation made with another view in Hengstenberg's *Dissertations on Daniel* by Pratten, p. 17.



mitted \*. These lived in the same house, which there can be little doubt was the residence of Melzar himself †. They are, moreover, distinguished among the Jews as being of the house of Judah; the others who were thus instructed and lodged, or most of them, pertaining to Israel. The latter, therefore, being already provided with a habitation, there was no reason for their removal to the house of Melzar to supply the place of those who had left, even supposing Daniel to have remained there after his elevation. It is more likely, however, that he had then assigned to him apartments in the royal palace, with suitable officers and assistants; for "Daniel sat in the gate of the king ‡." There he administered the affairs of his sovereign, and apparently exercised judicial functions; the *gate* in Oriental phraseology signifying the *seat of judicial authority*. Now the persons employed under Daniel would no doubt be persons, who from having a knowledge of state and judicial business, which his own countrymen obviously could not have had, were able to afford him that assistance, which he must have required in his new and responsible office; and were probably those, who had held the subordinate posts previously to his own appointment. From these circumstances, and likewise from the fact that no mention is made of any other Jews in immediate connexion with Daniel, it seems reasonable to infer that the secretary or amanuensis, at this time employed by him, was a Chaldean, and not of the race of Israel or Judah.

#### RESUMPTION OF THE HEBREW TONGUE.

A fifth reason is to be found in the resumption of the Hebrew tongue just where it occurs. The fifth and sixth chapters are chiefly concerned with his-

\* Dan. i. 6. 11—17. 19. † Dan. ii. 17. ‡ Dan. ii. 49.

torical events. The seventh chapter records a vision seen in the first year of Belshazzar; the eighth, a vision beheld in the third year of the same monarch.

Was the position of Daniel in any respect changed in the interim? There is some reason to suppose that it was; and that he had ceased to be of that high consideration, and to hold the same important office, which he had done in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. This circumstance, however, is not mentioned, and is only to be inferred by looking carefully to other parts of the book of Daniel. If capable, therefore, of being substantiated, it would furnish one of those undesigned coincidences, which are among the strongest corroborative evidences that can be adduced. The position of Daniel must have been greatly strengthened by the abortive attempt to destroy his three friends, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, as well as by the unhappy malady, with which, in accordance with Daniel's intimation, Nebuchadnezzar, the mighty King of Babylon, was visited, followed as this was by his subsequent recovery, and the œcumenical letter announcing to the world the events personal to the monarch, which was circulated throughout his extensive dominions, if not beyond. But former services are apt to be forgotten by succeeding princes; and the reputation of Daniel, like that of others, seems to have waned. This, however, does not appear to have taken place during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar's immediate successor, Evil-Merodach, the Iloarudam of Ptolemy, whose friendship for Jehoiachin, or Jeconiah, the dethroned and captive King of Judah, would probably lead him to continue Daniel in his high station \*. But this king did not reign more than two years as actual monarch,

\* 2 Chron. xxxvi. 10; Jerem. liii. 31—34. Joseph. Antiq. x. 2.

although he had formerly governed the kingdom during the mental incapacity of his father, Nebuchadnezzar.

The next king was Niricassolassar, or Neriglissar, or more properly, Nergal-sharezer\*, who, according to Ptolemy, married a daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, which would make him the brother-in-law of the last monarch. Josephus varies in his account of this individual, at one time agreeing with Ptolemy, and at another, representing Neriglissar as the son of Evil-Merodach. The former account is the most probable: but whatever may have been his relationship, he appears to have conspired against his sovereign, and to have usurped the throne. His reign continued only four years; during which time, he was chiefly occupied in resisting the growing power of the Medes and Persians, and was slain while fighting against them†. He was succeeded by his son, Laborsordacus, or Laborosarchod, who, though but a youth, exhibited such extreme vices, that he was killed by some of his subjects, after a reign of not more than nine months.

The usurper and his son being thus removed, the sceptre, according to Herodotus, returned to the rightful line, being assumed by Labynetus, who is described as the son of a former monarch of that name, by his queen Nitocris, so celebrated for her talents and energetic character‡. The name of this king is variously given in Ptolemy's Canon, and by the Chaldean historian, Berosus, as Nabonadius, and Nabonnedus§; but from the recent discoveries in Babylonia, where numerous bricks, clay cylinders, and tablets have been discovered with the name and title of this king, these names are evidently

\* Jerem. xxxix. 8. 13.

† Herod. i. 188.

‡ Xenoph. Cyrop. l. iv.

§ Joseph. in Apion. § 20.

identical, and were mere variations or corruptions of the real name, Nabu-nit, to which Herodotus' *Λαβύνηρος* closely approximates; the change of letter at the beginning of the word being merely the substitution of one liquid for another\*.

In the Babylonian inscriptions, he is described as the son of Nabu-dirba, who, in common with Nergal-sharezer, had the title of Rabu-emga, the meaning of which is unknown. Until recently it had been supposed, on the authority of Josephus, that this Labynetus, or Nabonnetus, was the same person as Belshazzar†. The ruins of Um-Qeer, the ancient Ur of the Chaldees, near to the modern Arab capital of Look-ess-Shookh, on the Euphrates, have now, however, through the labors of Colonel Rawlinson and others, revealed the fact, that Belshazzar, or Bel-shar-azar, was the eldest son of Nabonnedus, or Nabu-nit, and was admitted by his father to a share of the government. The name, as Colonel Rawlinson remarks, is expressed by three monograms,—the first signifying the god Bel, the second, Shar, “a king,” and the third being the same sign which terminates the names Nabopelasser, Nebuchadnezzar, or Nabukudurussur, Nergal-sharezer, &c.; and when this last name is found contracted into Neriglissar, the change from Bel-shar-azar to Belshazzar is not to be wondered at. Whether his father, Nabu-dirba, was the same person as Evil-Merodach has not yet been ascertained with certainty. Josephus makes no mention of Nabonnedus' relation either to Nebuchadnezzar or Evil-Merodach; but in one place gives an extract from Berosus, in which he is represented as having been engaged in the insurrection against this latter monarch, while in another, after

\* See Gesen. under *ב*.

† Joseph. Antiq. l. xc. 4, § 2.

speaking of the succession from Neriglissar to his son, Josephus merely says that the kingdom then came to Belshazzar\*. The general supposition, therefore, that Nabonnedus, or Nabu-nit, was the son of Evil-Merodach, rests (independently of what is to be found in Daniel) upon the relation of Herodotus, that he was the son of a former monarch, by his queen Nitocris. But this former monarch is said to have borne the same name as his son Nabu-nit; which, as respects the first and more important part of it, appears to be correct; since from the slight variation, and that only in the termination of the name, the individual referred to, was no doubt the Nabu-dirba mentioned on the Babylonian cylinders. This identity with Evil-Merodach, however, is corroborated to some extent by the fact, that in Daniel's address to Belshazzar, he twice refers to the relationship subsisting between this monarch and Nebuchadnezzar; styling the latter as the father, and the former as the son; these words in Hebrew meaning equally a grandfather and grandson, or a great-grandfather and great-grandson†. Whether this relationship, therefore, is to be traced through Evil-Merodach or not, Belshazzar was at all events a descendant of the great king Nebuchadnezzar.

For the present purpose, however, these circumstances are only so far important, as they bear upon the fortunes of Daniel.

What was his position during the reign of Nergal-sharezer, and Laborsordacus is left to the dim, and uncertain light of conjecture. It may be surmised that as Nergal-sharezer's attention was engrossed by foreign warfare, he would be content to leave the domestic government of his kingdom in the expe-

\* Cont. Apion. 20. Antiq. l. xciv. 2.

† Dan. v. 18. 22.

rienced hands in which he found it, more especially if he were the son-in-law of Nebuchadnezzar, as he would in probability then have been acquainted with the circumstances attending the elevation of Daniel, and even with himself personally. The vices of Laborsordacus were probably of a social, more than a political character; and from that circumstance, as well as from his extreme youth, he may also have left Daniel undisturbed in the government of the province. But upon Belshazzar coming to the throne, he appears to have been distracted neither by foreign wars, nor by civil commotions; and hence it is no wonder that the ordinary effects should follow upon a change of sovereign, and that the former rulers of the kingdom and chief officers should be superseded by others, and they themselves be either dismissed altogether, or sent in honorable banishment upon some distant mission. So far as can be gathered, the latter seems at first to have been the fate of Daniel, and then the former.

That Daniel was thus ultimately displaced appears from this circumstance, that when Belshazzar desired to know the interpretation of the handwriting on the wall, Daniel was not thought of by the King, and could no longer have been the master or chief of the wise men, since he did not appear among the magicians who were summoned by the monarch into his presence. He was remembered however by the queen, who proceeds to relate what "an excellent spirit, and knowledge, and understanding" had been found in Daniel during the reign of Nebuchadnezzar. From the question, "Art thou that Daniel, which art of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king, my father, (*i. e.* grandfather,) brought out of Jewry?" it would appear that he was personally unknown to Belshazzar. Daniel then had fallen, and had ceased to be in his former affluent circumstances, and from

the loss of his high station no longer required the aid of a scribe or secretary.

Could it therefore be established that he had preserved his appointments during the three preceding reigns, and that under Belshazzar he had first remained at Babylon, was then employed on a mission, and been ultimately dismissed, there would in these circumstances alone be an adequate reason for the disuse of the Chaldee, and the resumption of the Hebrew where it actually occurs. But the fact is left in obscurity, and its probability can only be eked out by carefully attending to what, at first sight, appears to be mere casual expressions, and incidental circumstances. The inquiry, however, is only of importance so far as respects the seventh chapter; since the sixth, though written after Daniel's restoration to power, is purely historical, and for that reason would naturally be written in the same language, as the other historical subjects. Supposing Daniel's amanuensis to have continued with him during the first year of Belshazzar, or even a portion of it, the continued use of the Syriac or Chaldee in the seventh chapter would be sufficiently accounted for. But in the third year of this king, when the vision described in the eighth chapter was seen, we find Daniel no longer at Babylon, but at Susa, in a different province from that, in which he had previously the administration\*. He was then to all appearance no longer ruler over the province of Babylon, but had been sent to Susa on a mission, since he was there on the king's business; and afterwards returned to Babylon, where he certainly was in the last year of the king†. It is precisely during this change of residence from Babylon to Susa,

\* See Joseph. Antiq. X. xi. 7, apparently referring to the same passage.

† See Hengst. by Pratt., 45. 5.

that the resumption of the Hebrew language takes place in the Book of Daniel.

Not only might Daniel when at Susa not have required the aid of a scribe, but he must have often heard spoken around him a different language, or dialect from that, to which he had lately been accustomed\*. These various circumstances would render it highly probable, that in putting on record a purely prophetic vision, Daniel should again have recourse to the Hebrew tongue. This is reduced almost to a certainty by the internal evidence, afforded by the distinctive style, and expressions of the two chapters referred to, when compared with each other. The seventh chapter says, that "in the first year of Belshazzar, King of Babylon, Daniel had a dream and visions of his head upon his bed; then he wrote (*i.e.* committed to writing) the dream, and *told* (*i.e.* related or dictated) the sum of the matters. Daniel *spoke and said*, I saw in my vision," &c. †

The language of the succeeding chapter differs materially from this, and runs thus, "In the third year of the reign of the King Belshazzar, a vision appeared unto me, even unto me, Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the first ‡." Here, there is nothing to intimate the presence or intervention of any third person, as in the former instance; and although this alone would not justify the conclusion that the prophet was without assistance, yet the difference in expression serves to corroborate the position primarily contended for, viz., that the seventh chapter was written with the aid of a scribe or secretary. Indeed, upon a closer investigation, evidence

\* See the opposite views on this subject of Gesenius and others, on the one hand, and Hengstenberg on the other. Hengst. by Pratt., 184. 5.

† Dan. vii. 1, 2.

‡ Dan. viii. 1.



will be found to show the great probability, that Daniel had none of his own countrymen about him at this period.

In the last verse of the seventh chapter it is written, "As for me, Daniel, my cogitations much troubled me, and my countenance changed in me: but I kept the matter in my heart\*." Now while there is nothing here to militate against the idea, that an amanuensis was employed for the mere purpose of inscribing the vision, a circumstance so strongly indicated in the early portion of the chapter, ground is furnished for the supposition, that at this time the prophet was in an isolated position, and had none with whom he could hold free and unrestrained converse. He communicated the vision to no one. His thoughts concerning it were confined to his own breast; although from their intense and troubling character, he could not but have found relief in communion with some of his own nation, had the opportunity offered. When, however, the prophet was at Elam, the case seems to have been otherwise. There, probably during his recovery from the severe illness which his second vision occasioned, he appears to have communicated the vision itself to some; while in obedience to the Divine command he withheld from them the interpretation of it. He says, "I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it†." The persons to whom it was thus communicated might have been either Chaldeans or Jews, but were most probably the latter. As, however, it was not explained to them, they did not, as we are told, understand it.

And now still stronger grounds present themselves for the resumption of the Hebrew, in the very place where it occurs. The seventh chapter, though speak-

\* Dan. vii. 28.

† Dan. viii. 27.

ing of changes in kingdoms, is general in its language, and mentions no country by name. The eighth chapter is different in this respect. The overthrow of Media and Persia by Macedonia is distinctly foretold. Had therefore Daniel related this, otherwise than in his own native Hebrew, particularly to a native, it might have got abroad, and brought him into trouble. But what is still more decisive to show that this chapter was written by Daniel himself, and not from his dictation, is this, that an express injunction was laid upon him not to reveal the interpretation, which had been given to him, when he sought for the meaning of the vision. The direction was, "Shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for many days \*." Having received this distinct command, the prophet would not have been justified in trusting even a secretary to record that, which he was thus forbidden to disclose, otherwise than as a sealed revelation, to be thereafter made known; and recording it himself, he would naturally prefer the Hebrew to the Chaldee, as being both his own language, and that in which the earlier Scriptures were written. If it be objected, that when Daniel was again in power under the Medo-Persian kings, the same result should follow as at the first, the reply would be that the later chapters are all of them prophetic; that one of them, the eleventh, is of a similar character to the eighth, and relates to the overthrow of the Persian power; that the position of Daniel under Darius and Cyrus appears to have been one rather of honor and supervision, than of engrossing labor, as under Nebuchadnezzar; and, lastly, that the Chaldee was no longer the favored language of the country, and that, had he changed with this, the

\* Dan. viii. 26.

later chapters must have been written, not in Syriac, but in Persian \*.

All these reasons combine to account for the use of the Aramean and for the resumption of the Hebrew, and to render the passage from one to the other, perfectly natural in the case of Daniel himself; while the change would be altogether inexplicable on any other supposition.

“Just as little admissible” as the exploded notion of a plurality of authors “is another hypothesis set up by KIRMS †, according to which the pretended pseudo-Daniel, at least in returning afterwards to Hebrew, had it in view by strengthening the illusion, to make his prophecies as similar as possible to those of the other prophets. Had there been such a view, the author would have employed constantly either the Aramean or the Hebrew, just as the one or the other best suited his purpose; the Aramean, because Daniel had lived among the Arameans, and because the author, if he wrote in this language, might expect to be far more read and understood by his contemporaries, who were for the most part ignorant of Hebrew; the Hebrew, because the delivery of a prophecy in any other than the sacred language was without precedent, and the author in his, by no means, credulous age would have to avoid whatever might evoke doubts of the genuineness, and inspiration of his prophecies. The use of the Hebrew language, at least in the prophecies, in which even according to the hypothesis of KIRMS he ought constantly to have

\* See Isa. xiv. 22; xxi. 4, 5; xlv. 28; xlv. 1, compared with Jer. i. 44; li. 11—14. 30—32. 39. 44; l. 2. 24. 26. 29. 37, 38. 42. Hengst. by Pratt., 262 n. \*

† l. c. p. 33.

employed the Hebrew, whereas chapter seven is written in Aramean, would have appeared all the more adapted to further the illusion, since at the time of the Maccabees readiness of expression in it was rare, and what was required in a far higher degree for prophetic than for historical and didactic writing; and because, therefore, a prophetic writing composed in this language would have had the presumption in its favor, that it was composed in the old time to which it laid claim. The ground of the change of language can therefore, with Bleek \* and De Wette †, be sought in nothing but the fact, that these languages were so familiar with the author, that he could pass unobservantly from the one to the other on so trifling an occasion as that accruing in chapter two; and, at the same time, that he could reckon on such an acquaintance with both languages among a greater part of his contemporaries, for whom his book was immediately intended, that it was indifferent to them whether a work was written in the one or the other. That such was actually the case in Daniel's time hardly needs proof, as being generally acknowledged. The Hebrew was his mother-tongue; he had passed by far the greater part of his life among the Arameans; in his readers he might calculate on an equal understanding of both languages. Ezra, also, who flourished somewhat later, himself wrote in Hebrew, but inserted in his work an older history, compiled by an eye-witness, of the occurrences before his arrival at Jerusalem, written in the Aramean language, besides some records written in the Aramean, which he quoted in the original. But that the same state of things existed in the times of the pseudo-Daniel we must, in opposition to Bleek, De Wette, and others, decidedly

\* l. c. p. 212.

† p. 867.

deny. Shortly after the return from the captivity the use of the Hebrew language was superseded among the people by the Aramean; and although at first still known to the more educated, and perhaps in part still spoken, yet it was always an object of learned study." The argument, by which Gesenius attempts to prove the contrary, is then ably refuted\*.

The Hebrew of Daniel is so similar to that of Ezekiel, that some German critics have ventured to affirm, that the pseudo-writer imitated this prophet †. If the work were a forgery, his Aramean must also have been an imitation; since another branch of this family was in use in Palestine during the time of the Maccabees. But in that case, he would, there can be little doubt, have closely imitated the Chaldee of Ezra. This, however, is not the case, as the forms לִדָּן, לִדָּן, occur in Daniel, and those of לִדָּם, לִדָּם, in Ezra, with other variations. De Wette has correctly remarked that what is now termed Chaldee was a mere *Patois*. Consequently, Ezra's Chaldee and Daniel's might well differ, and yet belong to the same period. There is no doubt that the termination ך, as in לִדָּן, *these*, is the ordinary Aramean plural form; while ך is the ordinary Hebrew. The Chaldee of Ezra, therefore, approaches more nearly to the Hebrew, and that of Daniel to the Aramean form: but to assume that the one is the proper Chaldee of Nebuchadnezzar's time, the other of that of the Maccabees, is an assumption destitute of all foundation. Ezra's frequent use of (לִדָּן,) לִדָּן, is of still further importance, as it shows that this interchange of ך and ך which is said to prove that Daniel's Chaldee is of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, was in use also in Ezra's time.

\* Hengst. Dan. by Pratten, 211. 2.

† G. Von Lengerke, lx.

How utterly wild Dr. Rowland Williams is in his assumptions \*, may be seen in the instance of  $\text{לָךְ}$ , which he adduces as a proof that the author of Daniel wrote the Chaldee of Epiphanes' time. He gives it as an instance of  $\text{לָ}$  having passed into  $\text{ל}$  like  $\text{לָלֶךְ}$ . The word, however, is not found in Daniel at all, but is a grammatical form to represent  $\text{לָלֶךְ}$ , Chaldee for  $\text{לָ}$ , *this* (hic, hæc, hoc). The word occurs not only in Ezra v. 3, 4. 9. 12, 13; vi. 11. 15—17. 24; iii. 15; iv. 15; vi. 11; but also in Jerem. x. 11! While in the Targums we have  $\text{לָלֶךְ}$ ,  $\text{לָלֶךְ}$ .

Between the Chaldee of Ezra and Daniel, there occur one or two slight differences in the very particulars, which an imitator would have copied; but which, in the case of Daniel himself, may well be accounted for, on the supposition of his having a more colloquial knowledge of the language than Ezra.

The close resemblance of Daniel's Hebrew with that of Ezekiel, is an argument of real weight, as the knowledge of pure Hebrew, or rather, moderately pure, like Ezekiel's, was, there can be little doubt, rare in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. At all events, it was so rare, that the Targums, or translations into Chaldee, then came into ordinary use †.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### CHARACTER OF THE EARLY CHAPTERS.

PASSING from a consideration of different languages, or dialects, in which this valuable portion of Holy

\* Essays and Reviews, No. 2, p. 76.

† For these latter observations I am indebted to my able friend, the Rev. R. Payne Smith, A.M., Assistant Librarian of the Bodl. Lib., Oxford.

Writ has been handed down, the proofs that Daniel was indeed its author multiply upon us.

Thus, further proof that Daniel was the author of the earlier, as well as the later chapters, consists in this,—that they form separate detached sketches of incidents personally occurring to Daniel, and his three companions, or in which he took a prominent part, and are relations of disconnected events, not having the regularity and coherence either of history, or biography. Had they proceeded from the pen of another, at a long subsequent date, this would scarcely have been the case. They would have been worked up more into a continued narrative; but so far from having this character, they have all the appearance of being contemporaneous records of such personal and important occurrences, as would be likely to have been noted down by an individual in his lifetime.

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## CHAPTER IV.

### AGE OF DARIUS.

A CIRCUMSTANCE is mentioned in the fifth chapter, which could only have been known to, or derived from a cotemporary. The age of Darius, when he “took the kingdom,” is said to have been “about threescore and two years \*.” His age is not given in any other book, which is extant or known to have existed, and the representation in Daniel bears the stamp of original authority. Its correctness is, however, incidentally borne out by heathen historians: since Darius, who, there is every reason to believe,

\* Dan. v. 31.

was the same individual as Cyaxares, the son of Astyages, was the uncle on the mother's side of Cyrus, whom he assisted in carrying on the war with the Babylonians: and, when the conquest was achieved, was placed by Cyrus in the government of Babylonia, as Viceroy under himself. All this would make his age well correspond with that given by Daniel.

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## CHAPTER V.

### DIVISION OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

A FURTHER proof of the record being a contemporaneous one arises from the fact, that Darius is related to have "set over the kingdom 120 princes\*." But in the reign of Ahasuerus, the Artaxerxes Longimanus, as supposed, of profane history, the Empire of Persia, having been extended, was divided into 127 provinces†. Seven provinces were thus added to the kingdom by the conquests of Cyrus, Cambyses, and their immediate successors. It was afterwards extended, and divided into as many as 360 provinces‡. Owing to this enlargement of the kingdom from time to time, the number of its provinces is variously stated in different authors§.

Now, the sixth chapter of Daniel bears evident signs of having been written by a Jew; and if, as alleged, the author of it did not live until the time of the Maccabees, he would, in all probability, have been ignorant of the earlier division of the Persian

\* Dan. vi. 1.

† Esther i. 1. Joseph. Antiq. XI. iii. § 2.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. X. xi. 4.

§ See Xenoph. Cyrop. viii. 229. 282.



kingdom. He would have probably betrayed himself by giving its distribution in the time of Ahasuerus, for which he had the authority of the Book of Esther; or by making some other error in the number of the provinces, as they existed when Daniel was appointed one of the three presidents over the 120 princes, who were to have the rule over the like number of districts or provinces, into which the whole country was divided by Darius. Not only does Daniel fall into no error of this kind; but, in another chapter, treating prophetically of this and other kingdoms, he describes the empire of Persia under the emblem of a Ram "*pushing westward, and northward, and southward.*" The Medo-Persian Empire is thus represented, as history subsequently shows it to have been, in a state of progressive enlargement, and before it had received the *accession of other provinces*, as noticed in Esther and Josephus.

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## CHAPTER VI.

### THE FEAST AND DEATH OF BELSHAZZAR.

AN historical corroboration of still greater weight exists in the agreement of Daniel with the earlier historians, and his variance with one of later date, upon a subject respecting which, looking at the several accounts, there is an appearance of direct contradiction.

The death of Belshazzar is by Daniel said to have occurred during the night of his impious feast. This is confirmed in part by Herodotus, and in part by Xenophon. According to the former, Babylon was

taken by surprise at a time when the inhabitants were feasting\*. So Xenophon, after saying that the whole city that night seemed to be given up to revelry, gives a detailed account of its capture, and the death of the king. After an entrance had been effected, some of the assailants rushed to the royal apartments. These they found closed; but the gates having been opened by some of the king's attendants, who were despatched to ascertain the cause of the tumult, the two principal generals of Cyrus, with their troops, rushed in, when the king and most of his attendants were slain†.

As Herodotus was born about fifty-four years, and Xenophon between eighty and ninety years only, after the date of the occurrence, which they thus respectively relate; and as Xenophon was intimately acquainted and mixed up with Persian affairs, no doubt can be entertained of the accuracy of these writers on this point.

#### CHALDEE ACCOUNT OF THE SAME EVENT.

The Chaldee historian, Berosus, who flourished about the year 270 B.C., or between one and two centuries later than the Greek historians, represents these transactions very differently. This portion of his history has been preserved to us by Josephus. The account given by Berosus is, that the king Nabonnedus went forth from his capital with his army to engage Cyrus, whom he encountered in the plains before Babylon. There he was defeated, and fled to the city of Borsippa, or Borsippus, whither Cyrus, after capturing Babylon, pursued him. Without awaiting a siege, Nabonnedus threw himself upon the clemency of the Persian con-

\* Herod. i. 191.

† Xenoph. Cyrop. vii. 5.

queror, who treated him generously, and assigned him the province of Carmania, to the south of Media, for his residence, but sent him out of Babylonia \*. With Berosus agree Megasthenes in the fragment given by Abydenus, and also Alexander Polyhistor, as these writers are preserved in Eusebius †.

#### CONJECTURAL RECONCILIATION OF THE TWO ACCOUNTS.

These several representations sacred and profane, thus apparently contradictory, would by no means have been hopelessly irreconcilable, even without the light, which recent discoveries have thrown upon the subject. Owing to the circumstantial character of the Chaldean narrative, the writer of these pages was at first forcibly struck with the discrepancy, which the surface of sacred and profane history thus presented; and for the moment felt disposed to suspect that the verse in Daniel, which speaks of Belshazzar's death,—particularly viewed in connexion with the words, MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN, which convey no direct intimation of the king's death,—might be an interpolation. But a more careful comparison of the account given by Daniel, with the relation of heathen writers, soon satisfied him that there was no foundation for such a suspicion; and it is singular to how close an approximation to the truth he was brought by the mere exercise of ordinary, though anxious thought, on a matter of such high and interesting moment. He will just state the solution to which he himself arrived, merely for the purpose of showing what may be done by a sincere inquiry after truth, instead of giving the rein to sceptical conjec-

\* Joseph. contr. Apion. i. 20.

† Eus. Præp. Evan. l. 10. Eus. Chron. p. 49. Eus. Ar. Chron. pp. 41—45.

tures; and then recur to that, which modern researches have shown to be the true one.

His views were thus expressed, "Although Berosus cannot be put into competition with those, who living so much nearer to the time of the occurrences which they relate, had better opportunities of knowing the truth, I am disposed to regard his account as substantially correct, and only inaccurate in a point of little moment for the purpose of the historian. Incidentally however it has an important bearing upon the subject in hand. At the time of his overthrow, Belshazzar, supposing him to be the Nabonnedus of profane history, must have been of middle, though not probably of very advanced life. From the omission to notice his age when he ascended the throne, while the youth of his immediate predecessor is distinctly remarked, we cannot doubt that he had then attained manhood. He reigned seventeen years, and had wives and concubines; and there would therefore be every probability of his having had children, if indeed these, or such of them as were then about his person, are not expressly referred to, as princes of the empire. This appears to be the case in the passage, which speaks of the golden and silver vessels, that Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple at Jerusalem, and were brought 'that the king *and his princes*, and his wives, and concubines might drink therein\*.' If, then, Belshazzar had a son capable of bearing arms, all that Berosus relates might have happened to the son, instead of the father. It is independently probable that this would be so. The main body of the Babylonian army, after its defeat, retreated or was driven back into the city. But as it was usual for the sovereign to command the

\* Dan. v. 2.

centre, and Babylon was a place of immense size and strength, and from the peculiar nature of its defences considered to be more secure than any other city or town, it would be most probable, even in the absence of any authentic information, that Belshazzar, the king, should be one of those, who found their way back into the capital. But if the prince royal commanded, as he would be likely to do, one of the wings of the army, his retreat into Babylon might very probably have been cut off, in which case he would make for some other walled town, or fortified post. After the death of his father, whom all accounts, except that of Berossus, concur in representing as having been slain immediately on the taking of Babylon, his followers would naturally consider the prince as their king, although he never really ascended the throne. Were he the person that threw himself at the feet of the victor, Cyrus might have been touched by his youth, and, feeling his own conquest secure, have treated him as Berossus describes. Still in placing his own kingdom of Media, upon which he could rely, between the fallen prince, and his native city of Babylon, Cyrus may be seen to have mingled the wisdom of the politician with the clemency of the captor. It appears, therefore, highly probable that Berossus' account is correct in all, save the individual of whom the occurrences are related."

Such was the solution of the difficulty, resulting from the apparently opposite narratives of the Chaldean and Grecian historians, to which the writer of these pages arrived, while yet in ignorance of the real facts of the case.

#### REAL HISTORY OF BELSHAZZAR AND HIS DEATH.

The discoveries, however, recently made in Babylonia by Col. Rawlinson and others have removed the

difficulty altogether, and established the accuracy of the prophet Daniel beyond dispute. The supposition that there were two royal personages on the scene, at the same time, proves to be strictly correct; and the only misconception is, that instead of Belshazzar being the older of the two, he is found to have been the younger. He turns out to have been the son, and not the father, of Nabunit or Nabonnedus, and was by him associated in the government of the country.

This voluptuous prince remained with his luxurious court at the capital, while his more energetic and warlike father marched forth with his army to meet the invading forces of the Medes and Persians. Thus it happened, that while Belshazzar perished in the assault upon Babylon, as recorded by Xenophon and Daniel, Nabunit after his defeat fled to Borsippus\*. He there gave himself up to Cyrus when pursued thither, as related by Berosus, Megasthenes, and Alexander Polyhistor.

Both accounts therefore are equally correct; and only vary because referring to different individuals, each of them invested with the royal dignity. That the Greek historians should speak of the one, and the Chaldean historians of the other, can readily be accounted for. With the former, the fall of the great city of Babylon was the principal feature of historical delineation; and consequently the king, who at the time presided over it, and fell at its capture, was the sovereign to whom Xenophon referred. A similar motive influenced Daniel; his only concern was with Belshazzar's impious feast, and the events which followed upon it; and therefore Belshazzar, and not Nabunit, is the king who is mentioned. But Berosus and the others, who

\* This is supposed by Col. Rawlinson to have been the ancient capital of Shinar, which was almost coeval with the earliest Assyrian epoch, and is represented by the modern Birs-i-Nimrūd.

took a wider range, and wrote not the biography of an individual, but the general history of a people, would naturally look upon Nabunit, who reigned both before and after Belshazzar, and was in truth during the joint reign with his son the real Emperor, and not upon his associated Cæsar, as the principal personage in the drama. They consequently fix their eyes upon this sovereign, and follow up his actions, until the Babylonian dynasty terminated with him, upon his abdication and retirement into Carmania.

The clemency of Cyrus now becomes more intelligible. As Belshazzar had reigned jointly with his father for some years, Nabunit was probably at this time far advanced in life, and having lost the son who had been associated with him in the kingdom, was not regarded as one from whom any insurrectionary efforts for the restoration of his kingdom were to be apprehended. Still, in disposing of the fallen monarch, Cyrus, as we have seen, was actuated by motives of policy; and not only removed him from Babylonia, but placed him in a distant country, with Media as an intermediate barrier against any hostile attempts.

#### BEARING OF THE GRECIAN AND CHALDEE ACCOUNTS ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

This fragment of Chaldean history has an important bearing upon the Book of Daniel; but the importance of it consists, in its differing from the earlier Greek narratives, and not in its capability of being reconciled with them. Berosus, as we have seen, flourished about 270 years before the Christian era; and therefore long prior to the existence of the books of the Maccabees, the composition of which is supposed to have taken place from 130 to 140 years before the same epoch.

The tongue spoken in Judea itself was a mixed Hebrew and Chaldee, and the characters of the two languages, which were derived from a common source, bear a close resemblance. Had therefore the fifth chapter of the Book of Daniel been the work of any one, who lived at this period, he would have been much more likely to have followed the account of Berosus, whose language was his own, or nearly so, than that given by the Greek historians, with whose works and language he might have been unacquainted. This conjecture is rendered still more probable, when we reflect that the inquiry relates to that portion of the Book of Daniel, which is written in Aramean. So far, however, from the statement in Daniel agreeing with the latter, and differing from the former, the very reverse is found to be the case. There would, therefore, be a high probability, to say the least, that the early chapters of Daniel were in existence before the age of Berosus; and, if so, they could not possibly have been written so late as the time of the Maccabees, or even as the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes.

The account of Belshazzar's death harmonizes in a remarkable manner with that delivered by Xenophon. No intimation is given by Daniel of the siege that was being carried on. He contents himself with a simple relation of the impious feast to which he was summoned, for the purpose of interpreting the handwriting upon the wall, and then concludes with the brief and disconnected announcement, "In that night was Belshazzar, the king of the Chaldeans, slain \*."

If ever truth were stamped on any written composition, its impress is here. What is the scene, to which we are introduced? A powerful monarch, ruling over extensive dominions, in the midst of a

\* Dan. v. 30.



capital famous for its defences, both by nature and art, entertaining at a royal banquet the princes and nobles of the land, surrounded by those whom he most loved and honored, all giving themselves up to festivity, and that not one of those drunken revelries, in which the Macedonian conqueror afterwards indulged, but apparently restrained within the bounds of temperance, whatever impiety, from the use of the holy vessels, or the exultation of the king, may have mingled in the feast. What has death to do with such a scene as this? Still more, what is there to associate it with a death attended by violence? Yet does the prophet declare, almost before the scene is closed,—“In *that* night was Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, *slain*.” Yet, how improbable on the face of it does this statement appear; how wholly unaccounted for; how totally irreconcilable with the idea of a simulated tale.

Unless in a narrative which, being essentially founded on truth, is upon that account careless of its own character for veracity, it is impossible to conceive but that the occurrences which led to the death of the king, would, if not given in detail, at least, have been in some way accounted for. Yet here the transition is abrupt from festivity to death. But whether Belshazzar fell by the hand of an assassin, in an insurrection of the people, or from the weapon of a foreign enemy, is left in complete obscurity. The only clue to the cause of his death is the brief notice which follows, that “Darius, the Median, took the kingdom.” Whether, however, summoned to this by the voice of the nation, acquiring it by alliance or other rightful title, or wresting it from its former possessor by violence, is in no way intimated. To the means by which this result was attained, although his language may possibly be

deemed somewhat more consonant with the last of these three methods, than with either of the two former, the prophet is wholly indifferent. He cares not to inform us that Babylon was at this time in a state of siege, that its Medo-Persic assailants were silently diverting its waters, and were ready to burst open the barriers of the city. These facts we learn from heathen sources.

But in turning to these, how wonderfully truthful do these touches of Daniel appear! From Xenophon's detailed relation, it appears that the death of the king actually took place on the very night of his impious feast. After first noting that "the whole city was *that night* given up to feasting," he proceeds to describe the unguarded state of the city, the assault upon its gates, the rush of the assailants to the royal apartments, the attitude of the king, with a drawn sword in his hand, and the slaughter or flight of those around his person. The Grecian historian next makes use of expressions, which show that these events must have occurred during one and the same night, "When *daylight appeared*, and they who kept the towers became aware that the city was taken, and that *the king was dead* \*." The death of the king is thus only incidentally mentioned: and the particular mode of its occurrence, whether he were slain with the sword, or trampled under foot in the tumult of the fight, or in the rout which ensued, is not mentioned.

Daniel's statement, however, bears upon the face of it the marks of having proceeded from an independent source, and of being an authentic record of higher antiquity than Berosus; and, if of higher antiquity, to what period can it be referred, but to that in which Daniel himself lived?

\* Cyrop. vii. 4.

This is reduced almost to a certainty by the records, so wonderfully preserved amid the buried ruins of Um-Qeer. Until these had been revealed, the sceptic could sneer at Daniel's relation of the impious feast held within the royal palace of Babylon, and could point, not only to the seemingly contradictory account handed down by Berosus; but demand where even the name of Belshazzar was to be met with in history. The actual king, he asserted, was Nabonnedus, a name to which that of Belshazzar bore no resemblance; and therefore more than insinuated, that the whole of the sacred narrative was a fiction, unworthy of credit. But how stands the case at present? True it is, that the name of Belshazzar had faded from the earth. Profane history had preserved no memorial of it. The historians, both of Greece and Chaldea, appear to have heard of Laby-nit, or Nabonnedus, alone. He it is, who, in connexion with the fall of Babylon, is distinctly mentioned by Herodotus and by Berosus, and the relation of Xenophon, who gives no name, was likewise considered as referring to him. We discover now, that Belshazzar's was not a name likely to have been handed down to posterity; an associated king, he never reigned alone; a voluptuary, he performed no exploits worthy of remembrance. Having been preceded on the throne, as well as survived by his father, his own share in the government was merged in his, and would have sunk completely into oblivion, but for one of those sacred books of the Jewish people, which, taken in connexion with the statement of Josephus, that Belshazzar and Nabonnedus were different names for one and the same individual, served only to raise a problem which has for ages baffled all solution.

Had it not previously existed in Holy Writ, the

name of Belshazzar must in the time of the Maccabees have utterly perished. That there was no historical record of it subsisting in the time of Josephus is clear; for intimately acquainted as this writer was with the various histories of his own and other nations, particularly the Chaldeans, he thinks it requisite, when about to paraphrase Daniel's relation of Belshazzar's feast, to apprise his readers, that this was the person, who by the Babylonians was called Nabonnedus (Nabonnedus); being an attempt to reconcile sacred and profane history by that, which now appears to have been a perfectly gratuitous assumption.

It is plain, therefore, almost to demonstration, that had the Book of Daniel been written at or after the time of Maccabees, nothing would then have been known of Belshazzar; and that if the account of his feast, as it has been alleged to be, were a fictitious story, the king, at whose summons it was related to have been held, would have been spoken of, not under the forgotten name of Belshazzar, but under that of Nabonnedus, which still lived in the vivid and faithful pages of history.

#### CORRESPONDING PROPHECIES OF JEREMIAH.

Hitherto I have forbore to notice the prophecies of Jeremiah relative to the same event; and have left Daniel to bear unsupported, except by the intimations conveyed by Herodotus and Xenophon, the whole weight of the apparently conflicting testimony of the Chaldean historians. Modern discoveries, however, having reconciled these seemingly opposing forces, it will now be seen that the prophecies of Jeremiah dovetail in a remarkable manner into all the various accounts that have been delivered, both sacred and profane.

The rumored, though averted, approach of the Median king in one year, followed by his actual invasion the next, are foretold\* with a precision almost equal to that of Herodotus, when this historian relates that Cyrus, in his march to Babylon, was stopped by the river Gyndes, and was compelled to suspend the campaign during the remainder of the year; but that having by prodigious labor overcome the obstacle in the interval, he "at the first gleam of spring," in the year following, continued his march onwards to Babylon †.

The battle which ensued before Babylon between the two armies, commanded by their respective sovereigns, under the expressions, "a sound of battle is in the land," "and after that in another year shall come a rumor, and violence in the land, ruler against ruler," is predicted ‡, if not with as great minuteness, yet with a clearness almost equal to that of Berosus, Megasthenes, and Alexander Polyhistor, when these relate that Nabonnedus sallied from the city with his troops, and encountered Cyrus in the Babylonian plains, and was there defeated by the Persian monarch.

The peculiar mode of Cyrus' attack, by turning aside the waters of the Euphrates, which had by Queen Nitocris been so diverted as to constitute the main defence of the city, is pointed out § with a distinctness almost as great as that of the Grecian historians, who but supply the details of that, which is here given in strong outline ||.

The feast and impious revelry of Belshazzar, and the capture of the city by surprise, are intimated ¶,

\* Jer. li. 11. 28. 46.

† Herod. Clio, 189, 190.

‡ Jer. l. 22; li. 46.

§ Isa. xiv. 23. Jer. l. 38; li. 36.

|| Ut sup. Herod. Clio. Xenoph.

¶ Jer. l. 24; li. 7, 8. 39. 41. 57.

if not with the minuteness of Daniel, yet with an allusion as close as that of Herodotus and Xenophon, when these relate, the one that the inhabitants were feasting when the city was captured, and the other that it was taken unawares.

The fact that one of their kings should be in Babylon and perish at its fall, is disclosed \* as certainly as it stands recorded in Xenophon and Daniel.

And lastly, the fact that the Babylonians should shut themselves up in other strongholds besides Babylon, is declared as surely †, as is its actual occurrence by the Chaldean historians, when they relate that after Babylon had been taken, Cyrus pushed forward to the city of Borsippus, where Nabonnedus had vainly fled for refuge with the remnant of his forces.

True it is that these various allusions, when looked at simply by themselves, are not seen with that vividness which afterwards becomes apparent. As with all prophetic sketches, there is a haze or dimness hanging over the prospect, which history can alone dispel. Goëthe has beautifully remarked of a very different subject, but which yet furnishes a strong analogy,—“Who is able to speak worthily of the fulness of childhood? Growth is not always mere development: the child is not always father of the man. And yet, though on this account *the most experienced observer cannot certainly, or even probably, predict beforehand what direction the child will take, it is easy afterwards to mark what has pointed to a future* ‡.” Substitute *prophecy* for *child*, and a key is furnished to the due appreciation of predictions, which can be well understood after they have been fulfilled, although they cannot be solved or compre-

\* Jer. li. 30. 32. 43. 4. 23. 39. 44. 47. 49. 57.

† Jer. li. 30.

‡ Autobiography.

hended beforehand. "It being," as another able writer has well observed, "the nature of such prophecies, not thoroughly to be understood, till they are thoroughly fulfilled \*."

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## CHAPTER VII.

### ALLEGED GREEK FORMS IN DANIEL.

- THAT the Book of Daniel is of earlier date than the time of the Maccabees is still further shown by the absence, or almost entire absence, from it of words of Greek derivation. This is an arrow from the quiver of the adversary returned upon himself; since the occurrence of some few words, said to be of Greek origin, has been urged as a proof of its later composition. When however these come to be examined, far from tending to bring down the date, or weaken the authority of the Book of Daniel, they are found to establish its antiquity in a remarkable manner.

It should be borne in mind that a Greek derivation is very different from a Macedonian one. The former may be compatible with almost any age, though the latter would not be so †.

Greece itself was chiefly peopled from the adjacent continent of Asia. Bryant supposed that the Grecians were in a great measure of the same family as the Persians, being equally Cuthites from Chaldea ‡. Others have derived their descent from the Pelas-

\* Prid. Connect. ii. l. 8, in fin.

† Dr. Rowland Williams is the only individual who has ventured to speak of "*Macedonian words*" in connexion with Daniel. This phraseology, however, accords perfectly with the general *spirit* of the work, in which the expression occurs. Essays and Reviews, No. 2, p. 76.

‡ Bry. Myth. v. 24, 25.

gians \*: though in any case they may have come last from Asia Minor, Syria, or Egypt.

The Grecian language was not an original one, but was a branch of the Indo-Germanic or Indo-Teutonic stock †; and Greece was indebted for her alphabet and the art of writing to an Oriental source ‡. It has been conjectured that the Shemitish and Greek languages bore a common relation to an older tongue §. This has since received the appellation of the Aryan race ||.

Testimony to the affinities of the two great families of language, the Semitic and Indo-Germanic, which are branches of this race, has been borne at various times by writers of almost every nation.

"The Pelasgi," says Cuvier, "were originally from India, of which the Sanscrit roots which occur abundantly in their language do not permit us to doubt. It contains the roots of the Greek, Latin, German, and Slavonic ¶."

Levesque, another distinguished French scholar of the last and early part of the present centuries, shows that the Slavonic, Greek, Latin, and German languages contain Persian and Sanscrit roots \*\*.

Fürst in his *Formenl. der Chald. Grammatik* and Hebr. *Chald. Handwörterbuch*, Delitzsch in his *Je-surun*, and Meier in his *Hebr. Wurzelwörterbuch*, show that the whole of the acknowledged Sanscrit roots given by Pott are likewise common to the Semitic language.

\* Clinton's *Fasti Hellen.* i. 1, &c. But see Max Müller's *Science of Language*, 184.

† Mure's *Crit. Hist. of the Language, &c., of Greece*, i. 89. 78.

‡ See the Phœnician, Hebrew, and Greek Alphabets in Jackson's *Chronol.* iii. 151—153. Also the Tables prefixed to Gesenius' *Heb. Gram.*, Bagster's edit.

§ Philadelphia Bibl. Repert. iv. 51. Horne's *Introd.* iv. 212, n. 2.

|| Max Müller, *Science of Language*, 198.

¶ Lectures on the Natural Sciences.

\*\* *Etudes de l'Hist. Ancienne*, liv. ii. 78.



Nordheimer, in his *Critical Grammar of the Hebrew Language*, has pointed out many surprising agreements between the Semitic and Indo-Germanic families, both in grammatical and lexicographical points.

Halhed found in Sanscrit an equal affinity to the Persian and Arabic; and observes with great force,—“I have been often astonished to find the similitude of Sanscrit words with those of Persian and Arabic, and even of Latin and Greek; and that *not in technical and metaphorical terms*, which the mutation of refined arts and improved manners might have occasionally introduced; but in *the groundwork of language*, in monosyllables, in the names of numbers, and of the appellations of such things, as would be first discriminated in the immediate dawn of civilization \*.”

Mure, who lays greater stress on radical differences, resulting from the divergence of various languages in course of time from the parent stock, than the investigations of other philologists † fully justify, remarks,—“While the Greek and Phœnician languages are as radically distinct as the Greek and Egyptian, the number of kindred words in the two former so far exceeds that which any law of primeval affinity could justify, as to afford strong evidence of a further admixture by subsequent intercourse. A considerable portion of these words denote objects or ideas connected with a comparatively advanced stage of society, such as the more rude might have borrowed from the more civilized ‡.”

\* Pref. to the *Bengal Gram.* p. 3.

† One of the most able linguists of the present day observes, “As sure as the six Romance dialects point to an original home of Italian shepherds on the seven hills of Rome, the Aryan languages together point to an earlier period of language, when the first ancestors of the Indians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Slaves, the Celts, the Germans were living together within the same enclosures, nay, under the same roof.”—Max Müller’s *Sci. of Lang.* 198.

‡ Mure’s *Crit. Hist. &c.*, i. 78.

In a curious and interesting calculation by Conybeare, he assumes the radical terms in any language not to exceed 2000, and the literal roots from which those terms are formed not to exceed 512. He goes on to show that by the ordinary method of calculating chances, the probable accidental coincidence between two such mother tongues would be less than five; and then adds, "But no one can cast a hasty glance over the tables of coincidences of the Semitic dialects, with those of the Indo-European languages, without being at once struck with the evidence of the superiority in number of actual coincidences to those, which can appear at all probable as of accidental occurrence \*."

Dr. Doran, the eminent missionary, as the result of his research and experience, writes, "It is evident that the Greeks have borrowed largely from the Sanscrit. I am delighted and surprised at times to meet with whole passages actually Greek both in words and grammatical construction †."

Mitford remarks that "the affinity of the early languages of Asia, Africa, and Europe has been noticed by Sharpe on the Origin of Languages, Monbodo on the Origin of Language, Pownall on the Study of Antiquities, and Volney in the Narrative of his Travels in Egypt and Syria ‡." He then mentions Sir William Jones's works, and proceeds, "Referring however to all these, I will just farther observe

\* Lectures on Theology.

† Letter from Travancore, 1830.

‡ As further authorities, see Grotius' Comm. in Gen. xi. 1; Count de Gebelin's *Monde Prim. Orig. du Langage*; De Guigne's *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* xxix. 7; Pritchard's *East. Orig. of Celtic Dial.* 177; Gesen. *Heb. Gram.*, Bagster's edit. *Introd.* p. 3; Max Müller's *Science of Language*, 133, 134. 150. 157. 160—165; Conybeare's *Lectures on Theology*, and numerous other works.

here that the Greek and Latin languages are of acknowledged Oriental origin; that [even] the Teutonic dialects, notwithstanding their coarseness, have a manifest affinity with the Greek and Latin; that the Celtic have in many characteristic circumstances a close analogy to the Hebrew, and its allied Oriental tongues." He then notices the Welsh, and "its particular resemblance to the Arabic in its innumerable forms for plurals of nouns\*." And concludes, "Whence arose the strong characteristic differences which distinguish the Greek and Latin from their *parent languages* of the East, and how, among the Western nations the Celtic, the most westerly, held the Oriental character, while the Persian, eastward among the Orientals, acquired a middle character between the more westerly Asiatic and the Greek, are problems which may still excite curiosity †."

Such is the concurrent testimony of the most learned philologists, given for the most part without reference to Holy Scripture, as regards the general coincidence of the Semitic and Indo-Germanic languages.

If the radical forms and general structure of these two families thus correspond, it can scarcely be requisite to descend from generals to particulars. Yet since it is in respect of these, that the attack has been directed against the Book of Daniel, it may not be superfluous to show specifically how these also coincide.

The earliest testimony on the subject ascends almost to the age of Daniel himself, and is no less

\* A remarkable illustration of this is derived from the centre of Africa: "Mrs. Logie, a Welsh lady, the wife of a British consul residing at Algiers, was astonished at hearing in the bazaar some people from the interior conversing in a language so similar to the Welsh, that she could understand much of what they said: she then addressed them in her native tongue, and found that she could make herself intelligible to them."—*Archæologia*, xvi. 119.

† *Hist. Gr.* i. 124, n. 44.

than that of the father of Grecian history. Herodotus takes notice of a similarity between the Greek and Persian languages, observing that "not only the Ionian *festivals*, but those of all the Hellenes without exception, end in one and the same letter, *similar to the Persian names*;" *κατάπερ τῶν Περσίων τὰ οὐνόματα* \*.

Various names or epithets of *deities*, *mythological persons*, and *places*, not referable to Greek etymology, are significant and appropriate when tested by that of the Semitic dialects †.

Allusion to *numbers* is made by Halhed in the passage quoted above. These, however, have been more fully investigated by Lipsius, who has shown the entire agreement of the two families on the subject of *numerals* ‡.

Articles of *clothing* are also common to both. Thus *Χιτὼν*, *כתנת*, is the same in Greek, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Sanscrit. It originally meant any garment made of *flax*: though in recent times it has been transferred to *cattun*, *cotton*. So *pw*, a garment of hair-cloth, besides occurring in the Oriental tongues, appears twice in Greek as *σάκκος* and *σάγος*: twice in Latin, as *saccus* and *sagum*; and also in the modern German *sack*, French *sac*, and English *sack*.

The names of many *animals* equally point to a common origin of these languages. For instance, *Taurus* in Latin, and the Hebrew *תור*, *Thor*, the first animal trained for man's use, have a common derivation.

The same is even more striking in the names of *spices*, which are every where the same, having been introduced with the things themselves §.

So many and various are the resemblances, both

\* Herod. i. 148.

† Mure's Crit. Hist. i. 78.

‡ Letters to Chevalier Bunsen in 1835.

§ In some of these proofs I am further indebted for several valuable suggestions to my friend, Rev. R. Payne Smith.

structural and verbal, to be found in these two families of language, that it would require a strong case indeed to fasten upon the Book of Daniel a later date on any philological grounds.

The imputation of a Greek origin extends to ten words, or more properly speaking to nine, two of them being the same word in its different formation of verb and substantive. It is observable that all of these occur in the chapters which are written in Aramean. The Hebrew chapters contain none; a circumstance which, with the characteristic perverseness of the more determined sceptics, is itself made a ground of attack, Griesinger insisting that the author here avoided Greek words for the very purpose of deception, in order thereby to give to his prophecies the appearance of antiquity \*!

The words referred to, with their alleged Greek originals, are as follows:—

1. פרתמים, πρότιμοι, princes, or those had in honor. Dan. i. 3.
2. פתגם, φθέγμα, sound, or voice. Dan. iii. 16; iv. 14.
3. נבוכה, νόμισμα, gift in Chaldee, but in the Greek, coin or receipt from customs. Dan. ii. 6.
4. פטיש, πέτασος, in Chaldee coat, but in the Greek, a broad hat or covering for the head. Dan. iii. 21.
5. כרז, κηρύσσειν, and כרוז, κήρυξ, the one to proclaim, and the other a herald. Dan. v. 29; iii. 4.
6. סבכא, (sab-b'cha,) σαμβύκη, sackbut, an instrument with strings, resembling the harp. Dan. iii. 5. 10. 15.
7. פסנטרין, Psanterin, ψαλτήριον, psaltery, supposed to be also a stringed instrument, but this is not certain.
8. סומפניה, or סיפניה, συμφωνία, dulcimer, or in the Greek, symphony.

\* Page 28.

9. קִתְרֹס, *κίθαρις*, or *κιθάρα*, harp, or rather, guitar.  
Dan. iii. 5. 10. 15.

The Greek words have been given by some writers as an approach to the original words, but they are by no means identical with these.

Of the Aramean words, numbers 1 and 2 (the latter of which occurs also in Ezra) are now admitted to be of Persian origin.

No. 3 is allowed to be either Persian or else formed from a Chaldee root, neither of which has the meaning of money conveyed by the Greek, a signification manifestly unsuitable to the passage in Daniel.

No. 4 is from the Syriac *petsho*, and the alleged Greek origin has been rejected by etymologists.

No. 5 is from a widely diffused root in Chaldee and Syriac and the Indo-Germanic languages generally; and though cognate with the Persic Zend *Khresio*, *to call from behind, to shout*, its origin is probably Semitic. Anquetil gives *Khresio* as a substantive, and translates it *clamans*, *præco*, *Zendavesta* ii. 442.

No. 6 is the name of an instrument of great antiquity, the origin of which was foreign to the Greeks, as was the name itself; facts distinctly noticed by the Greeks themselves, as well as by other writers presently quoted \*.

So far the etymologies of Hengstenberg have been approved by Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*†.

No. 7 has an accidental similarity of sound ‡ with the Greek word *ψαλτήρ*, from which De Wette would derive it. This, however, never signifies a stringed instrument, but always the player upon it. The

\* Strabo, l. x. Athenæus, l. iv. Clemens Alex. Strom. l. 1. 307.

† Hengst. Dan. by Pratten, c. ii. p. 9, &c.

‡ In the Semitic tongues "a great number of stems and roots resemble in sound those of the Indo-Germanic class."—Intro. to Gesen. Heb. Gram., Bagster's edit. p. 3.

identity with ψαλτήριον can as little be made out. Under פסנתרין Gesenius indeed assigns to it a Greek derivation, and assumes it to have been introduced by the Macedonian conquest, because of the substitution of *n* for *l*. But the same Gesenius under ל, says that this letter is interchangeable with any of the liquids, and especially with י: and he there gives *Psanterin*\*, among others, as a word with which the Macedonians had nothing to do. Among Gesenius' examples he cites Herodotus, who gives the name of Labynetus to the Nabonnedus of Berosus, and others of the Chaldees. As this change of liquids was thus common among the Greeks; so it was one customary with the Orientals in adopting Greek words, and did not come through the Macedonians. They could not, in fact, have pronounced *Psalterin*; though with a tendency to nasalize every thing, they could manage such a word as *Psanterin* tolerably well. The change of *n* and *l* is common to the whole Dorian race; and, independently of the Greeks, it is a euphonic rule among the Semites.

No. 8. The second or alternative Aramean word given to this instrument in Daniel shows a correspondence with the Syriac, *tzephunyo*, *tuba*, *tibia*, and leads to that as its source; while συμφωνία in the Greek almost invariably has the sense of symphony, a concord of sounds, or else a concert of vocal or instrumental music, or a union of both. Only one Greek writer uses the word for a musical instrument; and this writer is Polybius, who travelled to Carthage and other Tyrian or Persian colonies, where he is likely to have met with it. Carthage was founded by the Tyrians rather less than a century and a half after the building of the Temple by Solomon, or about three centuries before the time of Daniel; and at its capture by the Romans under Scipio Africanus, Poly-

\* No Chaldee scholar would write *Psanterion*, as Dr. Rowland Williams has done, *Essays and Reviews*, No. 2, p. 76.

bius was present. Gesenius, a critic somewhat hostile, has, indeed, attributed this word to Greece, but Parkhurst is doubtful. Meier, the best Hebraist of the Tübingen School, says that it is decidedly of Semitic origin \*. Its true form was probably סִפְפִּיָּא. If the Greeks ever called the instrument *συμφωνία*, it must have been because this was something like its Semitic name, and from the common tendency to give a familiar designation to an object previously unknown †.

\* Hebraisches Wurzelwörterbuch, p. 719.

† In his anxiety to disprove the authenticity and inspiration of the Book of Daniel, Dr. Rowland Williams terms *symphonia* and *psanterion* (!) not Greek, but *Macedonian* words. He intimates that there are *several* such words, since he gives these two *by way of example* only. His language is, "Not only Macedonian words, such as *symphonia* and *psanterion* (!), but the texture of the Chaldee, with such late forms, &c. [the fallacy of which latter assertion is pointed out *supra* p. 29], remove *all philological and critical doubt* as to the age of the book."—*Essays and Reviews*, p. 76. Yet this hardy assertion proceeds from the same pen, which had just before written, "How unlike is English to Welsh, and *Greek* to *Sanscrit*, yet all indubitably of *one family* of languages! What years were required to create the existing divergence of members of this family!"—*Ib.* 54. And again, referring to Baron Bunsen, "He shows what Egypt had in common with that primeval Asiatic stock, represented by Ham, out of which as raw material, he conceives the divergent families termed Indo-European and Semitic (or the kindreds of Europe and of Palestine) to have been later developed."—*Ib.* 55, 56.

Dr. Rowland Williams thus clearly evinces his knowledge of the affinities between the Greek and Eastern languages. When, therefore, he affirms the existence of *Macedonian* words in the Book of Daniel, as if this were an established fact, but gives no intimation that the only two, which he cites as examples, are the names of musical instruments, one of them, at least, having a very different signification from the Greek,—he abandons all fair argument, and trusts to a want of acquaintance with the Eastern languages, on the part of the great majority of his readers, for escape from detection. He must have known that he had no authority



No. 9. This is the only word out of the whole number for which a root has not been found, and it is therefore alleged that the word must be Greek. The terminal  $\iota$  or  $\alpha$ , however, in the Greek, seems to denote a word which was originally derived from another language, and has been modified or lengthened in its passage.

The instrument itself is of remote antiquity, and probably existed for several ages before Greece had acquired a regular polity, or was even inhabited \*. It is one of the two or three instruments, the names of which are given in the Iliad. Homer, however, does not describe it as an instrument in use among the Greeks, but places it in the hands of Paris, who is reproached by Hector for the use of it, at a time when he ought rather to have been grasping the sword, or spear of the warrior. Another instrument of a similar character, the  $\phi\acute{o\rho\mu\iota\gamma\zeta$ , both appearing to be much the same as the  $\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha$ , the lyre or harp †, is made the solace of Achilles during his resentful seclusion from the Grecian host. This was, no doubt, the larger and grander instrument of the two; and Homer has shown his usual art, in assigning the one to the effeminate Paris, and the other to the warlike son of Thetis; but it is observable that he attributes a *foreign* derivation to both. The  $\phi\acute{o\rho\mu\iota\gamma\zeta$  of Achilles is described as one of the trophies of this hero, taken upon the assault

for the allegation, except, in the case of one of these words, an innuendo of Gesenius, which in another part of the same work is contradicted by Gesenius himself. As regards the other, no Hebrew scholar ever dreamt of asserting a *Macedonian* origin; and Meier, one of the best of his own school, declares that it is unquestionably Semitic.

\* "The Greeks had made some progress in the arts of civilized life before their first settlement in Hellas."—Mure's Crit. Hist. &c., i. 65.

† Smith's Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq. tit. Lyra.

and pillage of the Asiatic Thebé, the capital of Cilicia, lying to the south-east of Troy, and extending towards Assyria. But besides the more direct testimony thus to be gathered from Homer, there is a further circumstance noticed by him which tends to the same conclusion. The lyre or harp of Achilles is described as an instrument of elaborate workmanship, and partly constructed of silver. The Greeks were in too rude a state at this period to have fabricated so costly and elegant an article as this; and therefore Homer's description of it, and the foreign origin which he ascribes to it, are found admirably to coincide\*. It thus appears that it was from no casual circumstance or poetic licence, that these instruments were represented by the Grecian bard, as either being used in, or having been brought from a foreign country.

The evidence however does not rest here. The Greeks made it no secret that they had been in the habit of adopting musical instruments from other nations. Some are distinctly mentioned by name, while others are referred to in general terms only. On this point there is a concurrence of testimony, that at different periods various instruments were introduced into Greece from other countries. Τῶν ὀργάνων ἔνια βαρβάρως ὠνόμασται, νάβλα, καὶ σαμβύκη, ἥ καὶ βάρβιτος, καὶ μαγάδις, καὶ ἄλλα πλείω. "Some of the instruments are called by foreign names, as νάβλα, σαμβύκη or βάρβιτος, and μαγάδις, and several others†." So Athenæus, speaking of only one of these instruments, but being one of those mentioned in Daniel, informs us from an earlier writer,—Σύρων εὑρημα εἶναι τὴν καλουμένην λυροφούνικα σαμβύκην, "*That the Sambuca, which is called the Phœnician lyre, was an invention of the Syrians‡.*"

\* Iliad iii. 54; ix. 186—188. 193, 194.

† Strabo, l. x.

‡ Athen. l. iv.

The foreign origin of the Sambuca is likewise noticed by Clemens Alexandrinus \*. The same may be collected from Suidas; while the performances known as the *σαμβυκίστριαι* are said to have been only known to the early Romans as luxuries introduced into their country from Asia †.

The particular instrument here spoken of was of an analogous character to the *κίθαρις*, and bore a close resemblance to the *φόρμιγξ*. We may, indeed, be unable to discover whether the *κίθαρις* was one of the instruments thus in general terms referred to by Strabo; but the fact that the Greeks had been accustomed to make the instruments of other nations their own is strongly corroborative of the intimations thrown out by Homer. Indeed the mere circumstance of its being mentioned by Homer at all goes a great way to prove that it was not of native manufacture.

The higher the antiquity of any word, the more certainly is it derived from a parent source; and as respects No. 9, there can be little doubt, though no actual root for it may be found, that like the common Greek word *θάλασσα*, Atticè *θάλαττα*, which is derived, on the authority of Berosus, from the Chaldee *Thalath* ‡, *Θαλάθ*, the word *ܬܠܬ* was of Chaldean, Phœnician, or Persian origin.

It has been supposed that the names of *musical instruments* were in the first instance onomapoetic, and therefore might be analogous in languages totally distinct §. The name of such an article as a musical instrument at once becomes naturalized on its introduction into a country. Thus the very instrument to

\* Strom. i. 807. † Plant. Stich. ii. 3. 57. Liv. xxxix. 6.

‡ Syncel. Chron. Euseb. Chron. p. 6. Bryant's Myth. iii. 252. Cory's Fragm., p. 25.

§ Philad. Bibl. Repert. iv. 51. Horne's Introd. iv. 212, n. 2.

which our attention is mainly directed has travelled with its name, as a label or appendage, throughout every country of Europe. The *κίθαρις* of the Greeks (however derived) has been successively introduced into Italy, France, Great Britain, Germany, and the Spanish peninsula, and the identical Greek word may be distinctly traced in the *Cithara* of the Romans, the *Citharra* of the Italians, the *Guitare* of the French and Germans, and the *Guitar* of the English, with very slight modifications in any of these languages.

This, at least, shows that it is a word of ready adaptation. It cannot, therefore, be reasonably doubted that the קִיָּתָרִס of the Babylonians had its birth-place, not in Greece, but in some country still further east, as in the case of the *Sambuca* or *lyre*. So close, indeed, was the resemblance between these two instruments, that the two names are often used interchangeably. Testimony to the same effect is furnished from a totally different quarter. An instrument having all the appearance of the *κίθαρις* may still be seen depicted on the walls of various structures in Egypt, indicating its existence in that country for a period probably long anterior to the time of Daniel\*.

But, could it be established that the *κίθαρις* owed its origin solely to the inventive genius of the Greeks, not a step would have been gained in the attempt to depress the Book of Daniel by some four centuries in point of date. To accomplish such a task, it should be shown that Daniel lived at a period when there was an impossibility, or, at least, little probability that a musical instrument of Greek invention should have found its way to Babylon. But so far from there being the slightest foundation for such a position, history exhibits a state of commerce, and a pro-

\* Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Egyptians*, i. 232—239.

gress in the arts and sciences, with which it would have been perfectly compatible, that every musical instrument known to the Babylonians should have been derived from Greece, and this state of things subsisted for centuries before the time of Daniel.

Between Greece and Babylonia lay Tyre, which at the foundation of Solomon's Temple in the year 1012 B.C. was already famous for its commerce and manufactures, including instruments of music\*. She is styled by Ezekiel "a merchant of the people for many isles †." Situated like Greece on the Mediterranean, its shores were the constant resort of its mariners; but far from allowing themselves to be shut in by its waters, the Tyrians passed through the pillars of Hercules, and sailed to the remotest confines of the west; while through the Hellespont and the Bosphorus they gained the Euxine and the Palus Mæotis, or Sea of Azoff, and thence extended their commerce to Mesopotamia, Persia, the remotest parts of Asia, and even to India ‡. But with such a neighbouring country as Assyria they had frequent intercourse by land; and the city of Nimrod offered a ready mart for whatever could contribute to the luxury or amusement of its inhabitants. The Assyrians themselves carried on a most extensive commerce, which is thus noticed in Scripture, "Thou [Nineveh] hast multiplied thy merchants above the stars of heaven §."

The lust of conquest, which at some period of their history seizes upon all nations in a state of imperfect civilization, brought the two countries into still closer contact. After invading the Holy Land, and carrying upon the capture of Samaria the ten tribes into captivity, the Assyrians overran the country of the Phi-

\* Ezek. xxviii. 13.

† See Herod. i. 1.

‡ Ezek. xxvii. 3.

§ Nah. iii. 16.

listines, and then turning northwards took the city of Sidon, and encamped before Tyre. Having caused large vessels to be constructed, they besieged this famous city both by sea and land for five years, at the expiration of which the Tyrians overthrew their assailants in a great naval battle, after which the siege languished, and ultimately the Assyrian army withdrew.

About half a century later the Assyrians again turned their arms against the rival city of Babylon, then rising into renewed greatness, which they took. The captured city, however, at this time rose superior to its evil fortune, and, taking the place of Nineveh, became the great capital and emporium of the East. With its inhabitants both before and after its capture the Tyrians carried on a considerable traffic, until at length the Babylonians in their turn overflowed their borders, and, in fulfilment of Ezekiel's prophecy, drew their sword against Egypt\*; and then, as other prophecies had foretold, after sweeping repeatedly over Judea, destroying the temple and city of Jerusalem, and leading away captive the children, not of Israel only, but of Judah, including Daniel and his companions, made Tyre a second time the object of attack. Such, however, was the valour and obstinacy of the Tyrians that this siege was protracted for the extraordinary space of thirteen years, when after "every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled†," from the constant wear of helmet and armour, and the unremitting and prolonged labor of every individual engaged, the renowned city of Tyre fell before the army of Nebuchadnezzar; another prophecy of Ezekiel thus being fulfilled‡.

\* Ezek. xxx. 4; xxxii. 11, 12. † Ezek. xxix. 18; xxx. 4.

‡ Ezek. xxvii. 32.

It was just after this great achievement, and the easy conquest of Egypt which followed it, that the events recorded in the early chapters of Daniel are related to have occurred. Had the Babylonians enjoyed no previous opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of Tyrian or Egyptian art, this surely was a time when every article of taste would be transported as a trophy to Babylon, and when the victorious monarch would celebrate his victories above all things, by means of those instruments, the sounds of which were so well calculated for the hour of triumph, and the gratification of his people. At such a period of universal joy, trophies of this kind, which abounded in Tyre, and had been there manufactured almost from her very foundation \*, would be sure to attract universal attention. If therefore we could conclude, which however the facts will not warrant, that an instrument like the *κιθάρις* was previously unknown to the inhabitants of Babylon, the very time when the Aramean קִתָּר is introduced by Daniel (whether the same as the Grecian *κιθάρις*, or not,) would be that, in which it would have been most likely to be brought forward, and noticed in any contemporaneous record bearing upon the history of the country.

Yet ere this, her first overthrow, Tyre had flourished as the merchant city of the earth for a period of unknown duration, though certainly extending to 500 years, during which she sent forth and planted colonies in almost every part of the globe. The civilization of Egypt reached still further backwards, and was coeval with the earliest records of the human race. But without extending our views into such remote antiquity, long before the fall of Tyre Greece had been famous for its poetry and music. Homer

\* Ezek. xxviii. 18.

and Hesiod had already for about three centuries and a half excited the admiration of mankind, while Archilochus the inventor of Iambic verse, Tyrtaeus, Theocles of Messenia, Alcmenus, Alcæus, Sappho, and others, had at various intervening periods added to the poetic celebrity of their country. Besides this brilliant array of poets, history has preserved the names of at least two individuals, Thaletas and Arion, who were distinguished in the sister art of music: the first of whom flourished about a century, and the latter nearly half that period before the time of Daniel.

Long, however, before either of these appeared on the scene, and so far back as the Trojan war, or at least the days of Homer, the Greeks possessed, or were acquainted with a variety of musical instruments, including this very *κίθαρις*, and had practised choral and antiphonal singing. Musical instruments were therefore common in Greece for several centuries before Daniel came into existence. These, like other things, were no doubt articles of commerce, since the Greeks themselves had their markets for the sale and purchase of goods\*, which were either sought out by the Tyrians, or brought to them by others. It was not alone that the Tyrians traded with the various nations of the earth; many of these themselves resorted to Tyre, by far the greatest emporium of antiquity, as a ready mart for their products and merchandise. Foremost among them were the inhabitants of Javan (Ionia), and the isles of Greece on the one side, and they of Damascus, Syria, Babylonia, Judea, Arabia, and the whole of Asia on the other: Babylonia being also reached through the Euxine, the Sea of Azoff, and various other channels†.

\* Herod. i. 153.

† See Ezek. xxvii. xxviii. passim.



The *ancient* intercourse carried on between the Greeks and Babylonians is mentioned by Strabo, and Quintus Curtius, as well as by Berosus. Cyrus himself made an expedition to Lydia: and from the remotest times an active caravan trade was carried on across the whole of Asia. Καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὅλην καθιερώσαντες μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς, ἐκείθεν καὶ τὴν πολλὴν μουσικὴν μεταφέρουσι. "And having already dedicated to Bacchus the whole of Asia, as far as India, they transport from thence much that relates to art \*."

Josephus also, referring to the antiquity of his own and other nations, says, "that the Phœnicians came early by trading and navigation to be known to the Greeks, and by their means the Egyptians became known to the Greeks also, as did all those nations from whom the Phœnicians in their long voyages over the seas transported wares to the Greeks †. The Medes also, and the Persians became well known to them: and this was especially true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent, i. e. of Europe. The Thracians were likewise known to them by the nearness of their countries, and the Scythians by means of those that sailed to Pontus ‡."

Thus the progress of the arts, and the stream of commerce were such, as necessarily to lead to the interchange, through Tyre and other channels, of various products and articles of manufacture. As Babylonia, and not Greece, was the opulent country, it is certain that after the fall of Assyria she must have been one of the chief recipients or purchasers of those commodities which, like instruments of music, contribute to the amusement of a rich and luxurious people. Not only is Babylonia depicted as "a land

\* Strabo, x. 471.

† See Herod. i. 1.

‡ Cont. Ap. i. 12.

of traffic," and Babylon as "a city of merchants \*," but their love of, and devotion to music are strikingly evinced by a passage in Isaiah, where the king of Babylon is represented as going down to Hades with the soothing accompaniment of musical instruments †.

In addition to the continued flow of commerce, there were such frequent interchanges of empire among the Assyrians, Babylonians, and also the Medes and Persians, in the various heavings to and fro of these different nations, and such a general admixture of the people at almost all periods of their history, that what was known of these arts in any one of these countries was also likely to be known in the others ‡.

Two centuries and a half before the age of Daniel it appears that the Chaldee language was familiar to the more educated of the Jews, as that of the latter was to the superior class of Assyrians. "Speak, I pray thee," said the officers of king Hezekiah unto Rab-shakeh, in the vain attempt to prevent the insolent summons and taunts of this haughty commander of Sennacherib's host from being understood by the people at large,—“Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in the Syrian language; for we understand it; and talk not with us in the Jews' language in the ears of the people that are on the wall §.”

Nearly 1000 years previously to this, or about 1200 years before the time of Daniel, Laban and Jacob could freely enter into converse. When Laban, after pursuing Jacob, made a peaceful compact with the patriarch, a heap of stones was set up as a witness between them: “and they did eat upon the heap.

\* Ezek. xvii. 4.

† Isa. xiv. 11.

‡ See Alex., Polyh. and Abyd. in Euseb. Ar. Chron. 41—53, and Herod. i. 106.

§ 2 Kings xviii. 26.

The objection brought against the Book of Daniel from its alleged Greek complexion thus wholly fails. As regards this last word in particular, against which the charge has been mainly directed, nothing can show more strongly the extreme perverseness of the sceptical mind, than this attempt to exclude from Babylonia all acquaintance with an instrument, which had been known to mankind for upwards of six centuries, taking the date of the Trojan war, or for at least three centuries and a half, reckoning only from the age of Homer, anterior to the time when it is spoken of by Daniel.

The chief importance, however, of the investigation consists in this, that not only is the charge disproved; but further, its result is to show that the language employed by Daniel was that, which was in use before there was any admixture of Greek words, and therefore at a time prior to the Macedonian conquest, and consequently long anterior to the existence of the Maccabean writers. Unless in these two or three *verba technica*, which, even if derived from Greece, are just what might be expected to occur in a writer of his age, not a single Greek form is to be found in Daniel. What would be said of a purely Saxon writer, such as Addison for instance, being charged with being a Frenchman, a Spaniard, a Portuguese, an Italian, a German, or one out of the countless Asiatic nations, or with having borrowed from any of their languages, because the word *guitar*, or any other technical word, which had been current with them all, were found in one of his numbers of the *Spectator*? Such a charge would be below contempt.

In the time of the Maccabees, a different branch of the Aramean was in use in Palestine; and if a pseudo-Daniel had been the author of the book, which

bears his name, it is scarcely possible but that he would have betrayed himself in some other words than those, which can thus be proved to have originated neither with the Babylonians nor the Greeks.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S GOLDEN IMAGE, AND DANIEL'S ABSENCE AT ITS DEDICATION.

SACRED and profane writers concur in representing Nebuchadnezzar as the most renowned of all the Babylonian rulers. He was distinguished as a conqueror, and among his greatest achievements were the captures of Jerusalem and of Tyre, the most celebrated cities in the world. Berosus relates that "this Babylonian king conquered Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia; and exceeded in his exploits all that had reigned before him in Babylon and Chaldea \*." He was not less distinguished for his internal than for his foreign enterprises. He rebuilt the old city of Babylon, and added to it a new city and palace, and executed other stupendous works. After he had attained this greatness and his fame was spread over the earth, what more likely as he trod the sumptuous palace which he himself had reared, and surveyed the magnificence with which it was adorned, and the costly works of art which lay spread before his eyes, than that his heart should be elated, and pride take possession of his soul?

When, however, we turn to the Book of Daniel, we find the victories of Nebuchadnezzar passed over almost in silence. In the outset, the prophet does

\* Joseph. in Ap. i. 19.

but glance at the taking of Jerusalem, in connexion with his own and his companions' captivity; and then, in addressing himself to the waking or sleeping visions of the king, briefly refer to the greatness and glory of his kingdom, without an attempt to account for this monarch's exaltation or power. Nor, except in the case of the dream which brought him into notice, does Daniel in any way connect the events, which he describes in the life of Nebuchadnezzar, with any period of this reign. Abruptly entering upon a description of the golden image, without the slightest clue to the cause of its dedication, Daniel with the most perfect artlessness introduces us to the king, as one whose pride was immediately excited by the sensible objects which met his gaze, rather than by the contemplation of any past victorious career. "Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty\*?" Yet though not a word is breathed of any warlike achievements, there is quite sufficient to convey an intimation of acquired greatness; while the sentiments thus attributed to Nebuchadnezzar are just those, which might be expected to rise to the lips of a monarch, whose military exploits had been crowned with success, and who was drinking in the delicious draught of conscious power, and glowing with the anticipation of prolonged and multiplied enjoyments.

At this period, Nebuchadnezzar had reached the height of his prosperity and power. In the expressive language of Daniel, "he was at rest in his house, and flourishing in his palace †." In the reign of his father he had led his victorious armies into Egypt, and now had subdued Syria, Africa, Egypt for the second

\* Dan. iv. 30.

† Dan. iv. 4.

time, and various other nations, and had captured two of the most celebrated cities in the world; one of them being that which for upwards of five years had withstood all the efforts of the powerful Assyrians. Besides these extensive and important conquests, his name was associated with the enlargement and embellishment of his capital; and with a new and magnificent palace, within whose walls he might expect to hear the plaudits of assembled multitudes, and to indulge in every species of personal gratification. It is obvious that this was a position calculated to produce the very frame of mind which Daniel ascribes to Nebuchadnezzar.

So likewise, slender as are the materials in this respect furnished by Daniel, the events which he relates are found admirably to harmonize, in the date and order of their occurrence, with the ampler range of profane history. It is clear from both sources, that the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem took place towards the middle of Nebuchadnezzar's reign. It is no less apparent that the dedication of the golden image, and the madness of the king happened some years later, and towards the close of his brilliant career. According to Berosus, he was engaged upon his last great work of adding another wall to his capital, when "he fell into a state of mental depression, if not of bodily sickness, *ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρώστιαν*, and died after a reign of forty-three years\*." This, therefore, was after the capture of Tyre; and the succession of events, according to the best chronologists, seems to have been as follows:—Jerusalem and its temple were destroyed in the year 587 B.C. The siege of Tyre commenced some two years afterwards; but from the strength of the place,

\* Joseph. c. Ap. i. 20.

and the determination of the besieged, it was not taken until thirteen years later still, or in the year 572 before the Christian era \*. This would be about the thirty-third year of the king's reign. He then made another expedition into Egypt, and there appears to have taken many captives, and possessed himself of much spoil and treasure †. The dedication of the golden image occurred some little time subsequently, and was followed after a brief interval by the insanity of the king;—these events filling up the remaining ten years of his life.

It cannot reasonably be doubted that the image of gold, set up by Nebuchadnezzar with so much ceremony, was designed to perpetuate the remembrance of some great national event. Accordingly profane history, as well as the prophetic delineation of other portions of sacred writ, disclose or predict an event or a series of occurrences of such magnitude and importance, as would be likely to lead to some commemorative act. The capture of Tyre was the crowning work of thirteen years' arduous labor, the glorious reward of Nebuchadnezzar's perseverance, after another nation, at least equally powerful, had failed in the attempt. The city, previous to the siege, was rich beyond conception; the accumulated wealth of ages was there; and amongst its riches is distinctly enumerated its gold ‡. On Jerusalem being previously taken and destroyed, a considerable quantity of gold, broken up for the purpose, had likewise been transported to Babylon §, which was already famous for its treasure, and had itself acquired the

\* Dean Prideaux's dates are in each case a year earlier.

† Ezek. xxix. 19.

‡ Joel iii. 5. Ezek. xxvii. 22; xxviii. 4.

§ 2 Kings xxiv. 13; xxv. 15.

epithet of "golden \*." Much of this treasure was the spoil of ancient Nineveh †. But when Tyre was overthrown, there must have been a large and sudden influx of the precious metals into Babylon. In the forcible language of the prophet Zechariah,—“Tyrus did build herself a stronghold, and heaped up silver as the dust, and fine gold as the mire of the street ‡.” The amount of spoil, however, was not so great as it might have been; for the protracted and arduous nature of the struggle must have tended to drain the resources of the besieged. And when at length the fall of the city became imminent, the inhabitants were enabled to remove their most portable effects either to the city on the adjacent island, or to their neighbouring colonies; so that the plunder was not sufficient to defray the charges of the siege, or recompense the army for the toils and dangers it had undergone, compared with which it was insignificant. In the language of Ezekiel, Nebuchadnezzar “had no wages, nor his army, for Tyrus, for the service that he had served against it §;” although in another place he predicts of the Babylonians, with reference to Tyre,—“They shall make a spoil of thy riches, and make a prey of thy merchandise; and they shall break down thy walls, and destroy thy pleasant houses ||.” Valuable property there no doubt was; but not to the extent anticipated, nor adequate to the expenses or labors of the siege. Egypt, however, was abundantly sufficient to supply the deficiency; and thither Nebuchadnezzar led his victorious army, and meeting with little opposition, returned laden with booty.

The taking of Tyre, and the subsequent conquest and

\* Isa. xiii. 17; xiv. 4. See also xvi. 6. Jer. l. 37; li. 7.  
13. Ezek. xxvi. 12.

† Nahum ii. 9.

‡ Zech. ix. 3.

§ Ezek. xxix. 18.

|| Ezek. xxvi. 12.



plunder of a country, so wealthy and highly civilized as Egypt, were the very events which were likely to be publicly recorded. In no way could this be done more appropriately, than by the erection of some monument, manufactured from the spoils of the fallen city, and devastated country. These spoils do not appear to have fallen to the lot of the first captor, but to have been thrown into the general stock, and subsequently made the subject of regular division, a large share belonging to the king\*. The better to effect this division, the booty was collected together, and an account of it then taken, scribes being employed to register it on rolls of papyrus or leather. In the case of the Assyrians, whose customs were followed by the Babylonians†, a representation of the plunder of the city of Mekhatseri has been preserved on a bas relief at Khorsabad, where the process of examining the spoils is depicted, which is not confined to the cattle, but extended to all kinds of valuables, such as metals, which were weighed in large scales‡. It appears that gold, silver, and jewels, were given up to the king, who retained a large proportion of them. Thus, both on the fall of Jerusalem and of Tyre, and still more in the ransack of Egypt, the Babylonian monarch must have had at his immediate command an immense quantity of gold and other precious metals.

In this state of things we find that the very next act of Nebuchadnezzar's life was to erect in the plain of Dura an image of gold, and that this was dedicated by the monarch himself with the utmost pomp and magnificence. Daniel, however, does not even so

\* Numb. xxxi. 11. 27.

† 2 Kings xxv. xxvi.

‡ See Botta, pls. 140, 141. Also Homer (*Iliad* ix. 396), and the laws of Menu (vii. 96, 97).

much as touch upon any antecedent history. He simply records the fact of the ceremonial in connexion with the occurrences to which it gave rise; yet though he in no way hints at the circumstances which led to the dedication, other sources reveal an adequate and highly probable cause. Had, however, the relation of Daniel been the production of any later author, desirous of palming off his writing as the work of antiquity, it is almost certain that he would have endeavoured to account for the erection of such a memorial, by linking it with some event in the life of the king, or the history of the nation. But nothing of the kind is attempted; and there is thus that admixture of appropriateness, with the absence of all effort or design, which are among the surest marks of a genuine narrative.

It has, indeed, been urged that the quantity of gold required for an image like that described by Daniel would have been immense, and that the height of the image was too great for its breadth; but these are frivolous objections. The amount of gold employed must have depended upon the mode of its manufacture, for it is impossible to suppose that an object of such magnitude was a solid mass of metal. A covering of gold would have been quite sufficient to attract to it the designation of golden; more would have rendered it almost immoveable. Many otherwise adverse critics, as Bertholdt and others, have combated the notion of these colossal statues of gods being made of massive gold. There are many instances both in sacred and profane writing, as these critics, following in the steps of Chrysostom, have shown, in which the title of golden was given to that, which was either hollow, or merely covered over with a plate of gold. Thus in the Pentateuch the altars, composed principally of wood, but overlaid the one with gold,

and the other with brass, are described as the golden altar, and the brazen altar respectively \*. It is clear, also, that, with one exception, the golden statues of Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus were either hollow, or of a similar description. According to Herodotus the *great* golden statue of Belus, the *great* table standing by it, the golden steps, and the golden seat, *together* consisted of only 800 talents of gold, which would be very far from enough if these objects consisted of massive gold. According to Diodorus there were only 1000 talents of gold in the statue forty feet high, which would be a mere trifle for a massive figure of such height and proportionate bulk. Diodorus likewise † expressly represents this statue as wrought by the hammer, and consequently it was not massive ‡. This conclusion is rendered still more apparent by the fact, that Herodotus, after speaking of the particular statue above referred to, which he terms *colossal*, immediately afterwards mentions another statue of inferior size, being only twelve cubits, which he says was of *solid gold*; subjoining, however, "Not that I ever saw it; but what I say, I repeat on the authority of the Chaldees." He then proceeds to relate that this had been much coveted by Darius, who feared to possess himself of it, but that the statue was afterwards seized by Xerxes §. He thus singles out this statue for description from its being, as reported to him, of solid gold,—a circumstance which he considers *so remarkable* as to call for a particular history of its fate; accompanied, however, by an expression of doubt or hesitation on his part, with the obvious design of guarding himself from the charge of

\* Exod. xxxix. 35. 39. And see Isa. xl. 19; xli. 7; xliv. 13. Jer. x. 3—5.

† ii. 9.

‡ Hengst. Dan. by Pratten, p. 81.

§ Herod. Clio, 188.

credulity. Diodorus mentions that Xerxes also took away the larger statue of forty feet in height when he demolished the temple of Belus in Babylon\*. The vast quantities of gold possessed by Solomon, the Ptolemies, and others are frequently referred to†.

Another objection, assuming the statue to have represented a human figure, is that the height of the figure is disproportioned to its breadth, being in the proportion of ten to one, instead of six to one. This objection, like the other, has been ably met by Wintle, Hengstenberg, and others. The statue, instead of having a human head and human proportions, may have been a simple column surmounted by a human head or figure. Houbigant conjectured that it was a column or pyramid. "Such columns we every where find in antiquity connected with the statues of gods properly so called‡: they were very common, for example, among the Egyptians, whose idolatry was very nearly related to the Chaldean §." JABLONSKI || has shown that the obelisks were idol pillars of this sort. Still more distinctly is it shown that they were in use in the very regions of which we are speaking by a passage in the *Chronicon Alexand.* p. 89: "The early Assyrians erected a pillar to Mars, and worshipped him among the gods." According to Philostratus ¶, Apollonius in his travels to these parts still found such columns. If, however, from the simple ground that the statue is here called צלם, which word\*\* occurs as the designation of a human-like figure, it should be inferred that the statue must necessarily have had a human shape and human pro-

\* ii. 9.

† See Prid. Con. i. 273, &c. Rollin, vii. 177. 186—188. 277.

‡ Comp. Selden de Diis Syr. prol. iii. 49.

§ Comp. Gesenius, *Jesaias*, p. 330. || Panth. *Æg.* p. lxxx. s. 99.

¶ Vit. Apoll. i. 27.

\*\* c. ii. 31, seqq.

portions, (which two things cannot for a moment be set down as necessarily connected, since we know just nothing of the extent to which the arts had progressed among the Babylonians,) yet nothing could be concluded from the disproportion of the height to the breadth, since the statue in this instance must surely have had a pedestal, and a particularly high one, to make it visible to the whole surrounding multitude, and the pedestal may be included in the sixty cubits. The difficulty of raising the statue was not at all greater than the Egyptian obelisks, which were frequently still higher, or in the colossus at Rhodes, which, according to Pliny \*, was seventy cubits high †. That mentioned by Daniel was probably put together, and soldered on the spot. That there was a furnace there is clear; for this was commanded by the king to be "heated one seven times hotter than it was wont to be heated ‡." This may have been in comparison with the heat of the furnace for ordinary purposes, although burning was one of the capital punishments in use in Babylonia.

There is still a third supposition, suggested by Münter, that, like the Amyclæan Apollo, the body of the statue was a column, running into a human head or shape towards the top, and terminating at the base with human feet; although it is scarcely probable that such a statue should have been without a pedestal. But, were none of these hypotheses correct, the absence of proportion is only what is observed in numerous Etruscan and other figures. Gesenius observes of the remains of the tower of Bel, that "the ruins are imposing only from their colossal size, not from their beauty; all the ornaments and sculptures are rude

\* H. N. xxxiv. 18.

† Hengst. Dan. transl. by Pratten, 79, 80.

‡ Dan. iii. 19.

and barbaric \*." "From all accounts the Babylonians had great preference for every thing colossal, huge, irregular, and grotesque; and hence whatever agrees with this taste is far more likely to be genuine Babylonian than any thing which meets the requirements of a sense of the beautiful. In the Babylonian architecture giant forms are every where to be seen †." These objections, therefore, are without the slightest weight; and leave the conclusion to be drawn from the admirable agreements of the prophet's narratives with other accounts, both sacred and profane, to tell with all the force which belongs to artless and undesigned coincidences.

The absence of Daniel at the dedication of the golden image, instead of being an objection, as urged by some, is a further testimony to the truth of the narrative. There were summoned to this grand ceremonial, at the command of the king, "the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and the rulers of the provinces ‡." But it is to be inferred that this summons did not include the Jews, since it is clear that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego formed no part of the assembled multitude, when their enemies brought the accusation against them. A messenger had to be despatched specially to command their attendance, ere they appeared before the incensed monarch. Daniel himself was the last person likely to have been summoned, and that not merely from the grateful recollection of him preserved by the king. Nebuchadnezzar had publicly acknowledged *his* God to be "a God of gods, and a Lord of kings §;"

\* Encycl. von Ersch und Gruber, Art. Babylon, Th. vii. p. 24.

† Comp. Münter, l. c. p. 58. Hengst. Dan. transl. by Pratten, 79 n.

‡ Dan. iii. 2.

§ Dan. ii. 47.

and it is only in accordance with the ordinary experience of human nature, that, having made such an acknowledgment as this, he should not desire the presence of the individual to whom, and in connexion with whom it was made, when he was about to do an act, and assume a character, in direct contravention of it. Even monarchs entertain a repugnance to an exhibition of weakness and inconsistency before a subject, whom they are constrained to admire, more particularly on the very point which touches their own conduct. Moreover, it is not to be supposed that the command extended to every individual in authority. Some would no doubt remain, particularly in the capital, to preserve order, and transact the ordinary business of the country. And as "Daniel sat in the gate of the king," he would in the monarch's absence be likely to be left behind. Above all, it is apparent that the accusation proceeded from a section only of the Chaldeans, and was directed not against the Jews in general, but against the three individuals who, having been set over the affairs of the province of Babylon, either held offices which their accusers desired to obtain, or had by the rigid uprightness of their administration excited feelings of revenge in those, whose cupidity they had disappointed, and whose evil practices they had restrained.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### INSANITY OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

THE insanity of Nebuchadnezzar furnishes a still closer parallel and agreement between the writings of this prophet and profane history. Daniel thus simply and beautifully describes the occurrence of Nebu-

chadnezzar's malady. "At the end of twelve months he walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon. The king spake and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honor of my majesty? . . . The same hour was the thing fulfilled upon Nebuchadnezzar \*." What befell the monarch as he was thus walking in his palace the prophet then proceeds to relate. He describes the disease as a mental one. This is corroborated in a remarkable manner by profane writers. Berosus, as quoted by Josephus, says of Nebuchadnezzar, *ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρώστιαν* †, which may be rendered, just as well, that he fell into a state of mental depression, as into a state of bodily sickness: the word *ἀρρώστια* and the adjective *ἀρρώστος*, signifying deficiency or loss of strength, either of mind, or body. It is in the former sense that the word *ἀρρώστια* is used in Thucydides ‡, and elsewhere. That this malady of Nebuchadnezzar is really to be understood to be a mental, and not a corporeal disease, appears from another Chaldean historian, of whom a few fragments have been preserved to us. Eusebius has extracted from the history of the Assyrians by Abydenus, the following passage from Megasthenes, an historian of earlier date, and a cotemporary with Berosus:—"That Nabuchodosorus (Nebuchadnezzar), having become more powerful than Hercules, invaded Libya and Iberia (the Asiatic country of this name, not Spain), and when he had rendered them tributary, extended his conquests over the inhabitants upon the right of the sea §." Here allusion is evidently made to the conquest of the Tyrians. The history then proceeds,—“It is moreover related by the Chaldeans,

\* Dan. iv. 30. 33.

† vii. 49.

‡ Joseph. c. Ap. i. 20.

§ Joseph. c. Ap. i. 20.



*that as he went up to, or ascended the roof of his palace, he was possessed by some god."* After this follows the story of the king's prediction of the Persian mule, who should impose slavery upon the Babylonians, and of the author of this being a Mede, when the historian goes on to describe the distress, felt by Nebuchadnezzar at the bare prospect of this event, in these terms,—“Before he should thus betray my subjects, oh, that some sea or whirlpool might receive him, and his memory be blotted out for ever; or that *he might be cast out to wander through some desert, where there are neither cities nor the trace of men, a solitary exile among rocks and caverns, where beasts and birds alone abide* \*.”

Even Bertholdt is obliged to confess that “this rare legend is in its chief points identical with our account †.”

Hengstenberg, after noticing this admission, indicates four points of agreement between the Chaldean historians and the prophet Daniel:—

“1. The madness of Nebuchadnezzar is not indistinctly referred to in the words of Abydenus. Madness and prophecy stood, according to the notions of antiquity, in the closest connexion, which is marked in the language itself; in order to attain the latter, they tried in an artificial manner to produce the former ‡. EUSEBIUS has very appositely remarked this §. ‘In Daniel’s history we are informed under what circumstances Nebuchadnezzar lost his reason: we must not, however, be surprised if the Greek historians, or the Chaldeans conceal the disease, and relate that he was inspired, and call his madness, or

\* Euseb. Prop. Evan. lib. 10. Euseb. Chron. 49.

† p. 296.

‡ Comp. e. g. V. DALE *de oraculis ethnicorum*, p. 172.

§ *Chron. Arm. lat.* p. 61.

the demon by which he was possessed, a god. For it is their custom to attribute such things to a god, and to call demons gods.' . . . The circumstance, moreover, that Abydenus puts into the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar a prophecy respecting the future fate of his kingdom, is easily explained from a confusion and intermixture in the Chaldee tradition (which the very late Abydenus received in a very disfigured state) of two distinct occurrences, namely, the madness, and the disclosures respecting the future that were made by Nebuchadnezzar, partly by prophetic dreams, partly by the prophecies of Daniel, to both of which the things here put into his mouth may be referred. The passage in Abydenus serves, therefore, in another respect also, to confirm the credibility and genuineness of Daniel."

"2. The notation of time and place corresponds in an astonishing manner. According to Abydenus, Nebuchadnezzar was attacked by the extasis after the completion of all his conquests: and, indeed, which is peculiarly worthy of notice, it manifested itself for the first time on the roof of his palace (*ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα*), just as in our book.

"3. It must not be left out of sight, that Abydenus describes the condition of Nebuchadnezzar as brought about by a *certain* god (the reading *ὅτεω δὴ*, assumed by Scaliger instead of the meaningless *ὅτε ὧδῃ*, has since been confirmed by the testimony of the Armenian version, which has '*diis quibusdam, in mentem ejus penetrantibus eamque occupantibus*'). Hence it follows distinctly that the Chaldee tradition derived the ailment of Nebuchadnezzar, not from one of the native gods, but from a foreign divinity."

"4. That which is uttered at the close by Nebuchadnezzar as a curse on the Median king ('may he wander in the wilderness where no cities are, no foot-

step of man, where wild beasts feed, and fowls roam, amid rocks and precipices, roving about alone'), corresponds so surprisingly with what is historically recorded of Nebuchadnezzar in our book, that one feels tempted to suppose either confusion, or intentional modifications in the Chaldee tradition, or that Abydenus misunderstood it. This supposition is the easier, as we have just pointed out another intermixture of two different occurrences \*." An objection, founded on the assumption that Nebuchadnezzar roamed at large without any custody or supervision, is then refuted by the learned German, by showing the assumption to be incorrect †.

## CHAPTER X.

### DANIEL'S ACQUAINTANCE WITH COTEMPORARY HISTORY, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS.

AMONG the internal proofs of the authenticity of the Book of Daniel, none are more striking than the exact knowledge which it displays of the history and manners of the times, when it professes to have been written, and the general cast of the entire work.

These evidences have been admirably brought out by Herder, Münter, Hengstenberg, and others of the orthodox German School. Its broader historical features are, if possible, surpassed in importance by niceties of expression, and peculiar touches of history, the delicacy of which is beyond the power of an imitator, and exhibits the unerring hand of a master.

\* Hengst. by Pratt., p. 88—90.

† Ib. 1, 22.

## MENTION OF THE MEDES AND PERSIANS.

Thus Daniel both under Belshazzar and Darius speaks of the *Medes and Persians*; where, contrary to the arrangement adopted in 1 Maccabees xiv. 2, and to be generally met with in later writers, when speaking of more recent times, the Medes are placed first. Now, this is in the strictest accordance with history, Media being the leading kingdom until the reign of Cyrus, in the course of whose reign the change occurred, though it probably did so later in Babylonia; inasmuch as Darius, who governed that country under or in conjunction with Cyrus, was himself a Mede. The order, therefore, of naming the two countries must have been reversed in the narrow interval, which separated Daniel from Esther. It is, however, just such a nicety as would be likely to be unheeded, and was in fact not attended to, nor probably noticed even by accurate writers.

The Book of Esther is an exception, for although both orders of arrangement are adopted, yet they are in either case equally appropriate. In allusion to occurrences subsequent to the time of Daniel, the people are spoken of as the Persians and Medes, where the Persians are put first; while, with reference to the historical records of the two countries, the original order is preserved; the events referred to being said to be "written in the book of the Chronicles of Media and Persia\*." This strict attention to the relative priority of these kingdoms, either in point of antiquity or of eminence, is not adhered to by subsequent writers. Thus in the Book of Esdras no rule is observed, but either form is used indifferently, showing that the writer had met with

\* Esth. i. 3. 14. 19; x. 2.

both, but was unacquainted with the reason why they had thus been variously employed.

Josephus too, speaking of times anterior to this transposition of names, as well as those of later date, makes no distinction between them, but in both equally places Persia in the van. Thus, he says that Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, who reigned a century and more before the time of Daniel, brought the Cutheans out of *Persia and Media* and planted them in Samaria\*; while in the long subsequent reign of the Persian Darius, the son of Hystaspes, he observes the same order, in mentioning "the toparchs of Persia and Media." Just previously he uses the expression "the rulers of the Medes and princes of the Persians;" but this has no apparent reference to the relative eminence or preponderance of the two countries; if indeed, from the omission of the article before the word "princes," the same individuals are not referred to under both titles†. If not, then, since Media was a province, governed under the king, its rulers or viceroys may have been, during office, of higher authority than the princes of Persia, whose rank may have been more of birth than of station. The distinction, however, was even greater than that which arises out of the mere transposition just noticed; since the two people were very generally mingled under a common appellation, the one being merged or lost in the name of the other; with this difference, that while before the age of Daniel, they most frequently went by the general name of Medes‡, they afterwards passed under the common designation of Persians. This may be traced in most writers of history; and an instance of it occurs even in Jose-

\* Antiq. xi. 2, s. 1.

† xi. 3, s. 2.

‡ Isa. xiii. 17. Herod. Clio, 130. 4.

phus, when referring to them apparently as nations coming in succession, though, as we have seen, he does not usually attend to this order. Speaking of those who earliest became known to the Greeks, he says, "The Medes also and the Persians, when they were lords of Asia, became well known to them; and this was especially true of the Persians, who led their armies as far as the other continent," i. e. Europe \*.

But with the many historical errors to be found in the Books of the Maccabees, it would be a highly improbable supposition that a Jew of Palestine of their age, attempting to pass off his writing as that of the prophet Daniel, should have noted such an historical nicety, as that involved in the order of Media and Persia, in comparison with that of Persia and Media, separated as the use of these expressions was by so short an interval of time. Daniel lived only just before the reflux of that tide, which at the date of the events narrated in the Book of Esther had completely set in, and which continuing thenceforward to flow in the same direction, gradually submerged the sister country of Media in the common designation of Persia.

#### IMPOSITION OF NAMES.

The imposition of other names which took place in the case of Daniel and his companions, appears to have been a practice with the Babylonians, as well as with the kindred nation of the Egyptians, both people being derived from an Assyrian source. Joseph had given to him by Pharaoh the name of Zaphnath-paaneah, signifying a revealer of secrets †. So too, Nebuchadnezzar, when he carried away captive Jehoiachin, king of Judah, and "made Mattaniah, his

\* Cont. Ap. i. 12.

† Gen. xli. 45.

father's brother, king in his stead, changed his name to Zedekiah\*." It was on this very occasion, that the monarch is represented to have given Babylonian names to the royal youths, Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah. It is but the simple fact, however, which is mentioned, and thus the Book of Daniel exhibits the same characteristic mark as the rest of the sacred volume,—that of simple narrative, without any attempt at coloring or explanation.

#### CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS.

The author's intimate acquaintance with the Babylonian manners and habits, is another remarkable feature in the Book of Daniel; and the artless and unobtrusive form in which this presents itself is equally striking. The capital punishments, which he mentions, are in unison with the cruel character of the Babylonians, and are shown by other testimony to have been practised among this people. The threat of Nebuchadnezzar to the Chaldean astrologers was, that they should be "cut to pieces;" and during his reign a still more fearful infliction was that of being burnt alive, or cast into a heated oven or furnace of fire †. Jeremiah, with reference to the very same monarch, mentions the latter as a mode of punishing with death practised in Babylonia ‡. David also apparently makes allusion to it, as a figure to express the fierceness of God's anger §.

When, however, the Babylonian empire was overthrown, a very different kind of capital punishment is related by Daniel to have prevailed among the Medes and Persians; the offender being thrown, not into a fiery oven, which would have been opposed to the

\* 2 Kings xxiv. 17.

† Dan. ii. 5; iii. 29, and iii. 6. 15. 20.

‡ Jer. xxix. 22.

§ Ps. xxi. 9.

Zend or Zoroastrian system of religion, but into a den of lions. This was a punishment peculiar to the Persians, until some centuries later, when the barbarities of both the Babylonians and Persians were, under the emperors, adopted by the Roman people. In each of these instances, therefore, the writer displays all the accuracy of a cotemporary living at the time of the events which he relates. Of the two Babylonian punishments referred to, "he describes the latter so fully and exactly, that Bertholdt maintains\*, that we must suppose he had himself seen such an oven, and been present at an execution. In saying this, he at the same time allows that the author must have lived under the reign of the Chaldeans; since under the Persians, according to their system of religion, this mode of punishment could not continue †."

The appropriateness of the several punishments thus referred to, with the character and customs of the various people by whom they were inflicted, is to be traced throughout the sacred volume.

In Judea the means of death spoken of are either the sword ‡, or else stoning with stones §.

In Gibeon, and apparently other countries in and about Canaan, one kind of death was that of hanging upon trees ||.

In Babylonia the axe wielded so as to hew the offender in pieces, or the fiery oven, are the instruments of destruction represented as employed.

In Persia the modes of death are changed to hanging upon a gibbet, or being shut in with wild beasts ¶.

\* p. 69.

† Hengst. by Pratt., 272, 273.

‡ Jer. xxvi. 23.

§ 2 Chron. x. 18.

|| 2 Sam. xxi. 9.

¶ Esth. v. 14, &c. Dan. vi. 7. 12. 19. 23, 24.



In the Roman territories the punishments are described to be those of impaling, or nailing to a cross, and by combats with wild beasts on the public arena.

Turn to which page we may, each separate incident or allusion is found to be in keeping with the external circumstances of the period, as well as in perfect harmony with other portions of Scripture.

#### CUSTOMS OF THE BABYLONIANS.

Various subordinate circumstances are more or less casually noticed in the Book of Daniel, which show that the writer was familiar with the habits of the people, and the nature of the country of which he speaks, and point to the hand of a cotemporary.

Thus the statement of Daniel, that he and his companions were by command of the king to be fed from the royal table, accords with the customs of the Babylonians \*. Among the Persians, who adopted many of the habits of the Babylonians whom they had conquered, the number thus maintained at the royal expense amounted at one time to the enormous number of 15,000 persons †.

#### DESCRIPTION OF DRESS.

Again, the dress of Daniel's companions corresponds with the description given by Herodotus, who says that their costumes consist of a linen tunic reaching to the feet, then another tunic composed of wool, over which was worn a small cloak or mantle ‡. This threefold clothing is found depicted on Babylonian cylinders §, and is exactly that which Daniel describes as *their coats* or (marginal reading) mantles, *their*

\* Jer. lii. 33, 34.

† Clio, 195.

‡ Brisson, 97. Heeren, i. 493.

§ Münter, Rel. d. Babyl. 96.

*hosen* or woollen tunics, and their (under) *garments* or linen tunics\*.

#### MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.

From the number of musical instruments which are mentioned in connexion with the dedication of the golden image, it is evident that music was a favorite amusement with the Babylonians. Accordingly this appears to have been the case from Isa. xiv. 11, and from a heathen writer, Curtius, v. 3.

#### DECAY OF THE BABYLONIAN BUILDINGS.

The following is a remarkable instance of the author's acquaintance with the nature of the country.

Professor Hengstenberg, to whom I am indebted for the last three observations, thus forcibly states it. "In chap. ii. 5 the king threatens the wise men, that on their failing to satisfy his requirements their houses shall be turned into *dung-heaps* †. Bertholdt himself allows ‡ that the most accurate acquaintance is here shown with the mode of building practised in Babylon, and that the piece must therefore have been written in Babylonia. The houses in Babylon were built of earth, burnt or simply dried in the sun. 'When a building is totally demolished or converted into a confused heap of rubbish, the entire mass of earth in rainy weather is gradually decomposed, and the place of such a house becomes like a dunghill §.' " The prophet Jeremiah, in predicting the destruction of this great city, contents himself with saying that "Babylon shall become heaps ||." He does not so distinctly as Daniel refer to this process of decomposition, which reduces the once separate materials into one undistinguishable mass.

\* Dan. iii. 21.

† Comp. iii. 29.

‡ l. c. 1, p. 64. 225.

§ Hengst. by Pratten, 272.

|| Jer. li. 37. See also l. 26.

## BOOK II.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### EASTERN IMAGERY AND SYMBOLISM.

No less striking and significant, in the Book of Daniel, is the use of symbols and imagery, eminently distinctive of, and prevalent among the Babylonians.

The writings of all Eastern nations being more or less figurative, the character of the figures employed furnishes, beyond the mere language, an important clue to the age in which, and the people among whom, any particular work may have originated. The figures and symbols to be met with have usually a close correspondence with the external objects, by which the writers have been surrounded. Pastoral images are not common with those, who have all their lives been confined to cities. Still less are the products and embellishments of art and science employed by those, who have had their constant dwelling amid the scenes of nature. The tastes and pursuits of one nation are generally distinct from those of another; while those of the same people vary at different epochs of their history.

Locality and the state of civilization, then, are circumstances which give a complexion to the character of literary productions. Judging by this rule,

we should expect that the hills and valleys of Judea would furnish a set of figures and images of quite an opposite character to those of the sculptured walls of Babylon; while the emblems, drawn from these, would likewise differ from the figures suggested by other parts of Babylonia, where nature still prevailed over art.

So in Egypt, and elsewhere, peculiarities of imagery would naturally prevail; although, as Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt were countries intimately connected in origin and history, a general resemblance might be expected to ensue\*.

Figurative language may be classified under five heads: 1. Pastoral images drawn from nature, and interwoven with the narrative or description given.—2. That species of allegory in which the figures or objects selected partake, more or less, of a pastoral or rural character.—3. Simple illustrations of unknown or future occurrences, indicated by means of known operations or effects, whether of nature or of art.—4. Scenic, or highly significant representations of real or hypothetical actions or objects, expressive of past or future events; a mode of conveying an intimation of important circumstances, often resorted to by the sacred writers, and common throughout the East.—5. Animal symbolism, consisting of actions or events, expressed through the medium of animal forms or representations.

The differences may often be slight; but the two leading divisions, the one composed of pastoral images, and the other of animal symbols, are marked and distinct. The distinction, however, does not consist in the entire recourse to inanimate objects in the one case, and to animate objects in the other. Animals

\* See *int. al. Gesse's Assyria*, p. 19.

may enter into pastoral images; as where they are introduced merely to heighten an effect or description, whether for illustrating that which on a smaller scale might be produced by them in a state of nature, or else as denoting some particular quality in an individual or a nation, in which latter case, however, they border on the symbolical.

Pastoral images, thus understood, are the mere accessories or embellishments of a narrative; and, where descriptive of characters or people, are so only in the way of comparison or illustration.

Animal symbolism, on the contrary, is a peculiar form of allegory; and, though it may be used in connexion with known characters or objects, usually serves as an independent sketch or delineation of persons or events not previously indicated, and forms a perfect picture in itself.

The different forms employed by the sacred writers are very remarkable; and if no other evidence existed to show that the scenes and objects, by which some of these were affected, bore little or no resemblance to those which influenced the minds of others, would of themselves afford sufficient indicia that such was the fact.

#### IMAGERY OF THE EARLIER PROPHETS.

The earlier prophets abound with pastoral images, and none but such are to be met with. There is then a gradual approach to the symbolical style of writing, until symbolism assumes the ascendant. The later prophets recede from this form of allegory, and again have recourse to figures and imagery of a pastoral or more simple character.

There are thus three classes, severally pointing to the three grand epochs in Jewish history: 1, that which preceded the Babylonian captivity; 2, the pe-

riod of the captivity itself; and 3, that which followed it. The internal evidence, to be gathered from the mere figurative style of their several writings, is thus found to be in perfect keeping with actual history, both sacred and profane. These lines of demarcation extended even to the language of the Jewish people; the pure Hebrew representing the *præ-Babylonian*, the double or mixed language that of *the Babylonian*, and the later Aramean that of the *post-Babylonian* æras.

## JOEL.

Taking Joel, the oldest of the prophets (since the writing of Jonah is mere narrative or exhortation), we find that this prophet employs none but pastoral images. In a highly poetic strain he depicts the alternate depression and prosperity of a people, whose land at one period has been laid waste by visitations of Providence, or the ruthless destruction of invading armies, and at another is made to overflow with a superabundant plenty. The natural or but slightly artificial products of the earth, as corn, wine, oil, and milk, serve to represent the outpourings of God's bounty; whilst His displeasure is portrayed in the withering of the vine and other fruitful trees, the wasting of the field, and the perishing of the harvest. Where animals are introduced into the scene, it is simply to give increased tone and color to the picture; as where an invading host is described as having the appearance of horses, or running as horsemen, or having teeth like the teeth of a lion; the prophet thus predicting in a more striking manner the rapid movements of a force, which was mainly to be composed of cavalry, and the extent of destruction which was to be inflicted by them.

## AMOS.

The prophecies of Amos have the same characteristic features. They also are in a high degree poetical; but the whole of the imagery employed is merely designed to give additional effect to that which already is otherwise disclosed, and does not constitute the sole, or even the principal object in the picture.

## HOSEA, MICAH, AND NAHUM.

It is the same with Hosea, Micah, and Nahum. They, as well as Amos, occasionally combine animal with other delineations; but it is merely in order to describe effects in connexion with a futurity, which is primarily predicted without the veil of metaphor or allegory, and not with a view to symbolize at once the persons and actions of the drama.

There is one peculiarity in the prophecies of Nahum which ought not to be passed over. Directed as these are against Nineveh, the prophet works up into his description the substance and manufacture of those materials, which both in Assyria and Babylonia entered so extensively into the construction of their buildings and strongholds\*. This is well worthy of notice, as one out of many instances, which evince, with reference to the particular subject referred to, the appropriateness of expression and allusion, which is to be traced throughout the sacred volume.

## ISAIAH.

Pre-eminent as the Book of Isaiah is for sublimity of thought and expression, this prophet indulges in little which is really emblematic or symbolical. As with the earlier prophets, the introduction of animals

\* Nah. iii. 14.

usually serves to heighten a description, which is primarily given in plain and natural terms. An instance of this occurs in chap. v. 29, 30, where the roaring of the lions, when they lay hold of their prey, is a simple poetic description of the fierceness and destruction of those enemies whose invasion of Israel is previously foretold.

The succeeding chapter opens with a magnificent vision, revealing the Lord sitting upon a lofty throne, with the Seraphims standing above. This, however, is no symbolical representation, but was borrowed from the scenery of the Temple. The prophet afterwards returns to the pastoral, when, in his prediction, he turns into "a possession for the bittern and pools of water \*," the then well-cultivated plains of Babylon. The figure would not be altered, if, by the word here rendered "bittern," קִפּוֹד (*kippod*), we were to understand, as some have suggested, the porcupine, which is common in waste and ruined places †.

An approach to the symbolical occurs in the 29th verse of the same chapter, where one, supposed to be Hezekiah, is personified as springing from the serpent's root, and becoming a fiery, flying serpent. The country, however, which was to be the scene of his military enterprises, is itself distinctly named, and the entire delineation is in reality little more than one of those images, bordering indeed on the symbolical, but in which animals, already known in Scripture, are introduced for the purpose of giving force to a description, the principal features of which are conveyed without any attempt at disguise.

An emblematic figure of a somewhat different description occurs in the 21st chap. 7—9, where the fall of Babylon is portrayed by a vision of chariots, of horses, of asses, and of camels, with attendant horse-

\* Isa. xiv. 23.

† See Gosse's *Assyria*, p. 14.



men, fleeing as it were from the destruction behind them. This would have been directly symbolical, were it not that it forms only part of a description, which in other respects has not the same character.

A more general instance is to be found in the opening of the 27th chapter, where under the representation of "leviathan the piercing serpent, even leviathan that crooked serpent," and "the dragon that is in the sea," a delineation is given of those upon whom the judgments of the Almighty were to fall, but who are not otherwise indicated. The Serpent and the Dragon, however, were the ancient Scriptural types of the author or perpetrator of sin and wickedness. Drawn, as they appear to be, from these sources, without any individual or distinctive character, there would be nothing in their introduction here, while the allusions are too indefinite to amount to real symbolism.

Some few other passages might be referred to of an analogous character; but, although the approach to the symbolical is greater than in the earlier prophets, the imagery of Isaiah is poetical rather than symbolic. This is particularly the case in an instance of pure allegory occurring in the 5th chapter, where the Jewish people are represented under the type or figure of a vineyard, so well known for its touching beauty. No animal symbolism here appears; and, although allegorical, the whole of the picture bears a rural aspect.

#### ZEPHANIAH AND HABAKKUK.

The imagery of Zephaniah is of the same pastoral character as the older prophets\*, while in Habakkuk animals are introduced by way of comparison only; and this, as usual, in connexion with the Chaldeans†.

\* Zeph. ii. 14.

† Hab. i. 8.

## JEREMIAH.

The most marked feature in the prophecies of Jeremiah, is the scenic or representative symbolism which he employs. In the potter's bottle or vessel, which he is to see made, and is commanded afterwards to break, he describes first the original constitution, and then the destruction and scattering of the Jewish people, by the dispensation or permission of their Maker\*. An emblem this of national favors and visitations, familiarized from its adoption by St. Paul; whose allusions have by a large religious body been grievously misapprehended, and by a numerous political party been wholly repudiated.

A similar form of emblematic action is enjoined upon the prophet, to signify the extension of Nebuchadnezzar's kingdom, and the many nations whom he was to bring under subjection. "Make thee bonds and yokes, and put them upon thy neck, and send them" to the nations there specified †.

Sometimes a single object, either real, or beheld only as a vision, is made the type of events which were thereafter to happen, as in chap. i. 11. 13. An instance of a different kind occurs in the 24th chapter, where, under the representation of two baskets of figs, the one good, the other bad, are denoted two classes during the captivity of Judah,—those, who in the general depravity, still maintained their hold of true religion, and were taken "into the land of the Chaldeans" for their good, and whom the Lord would continue to acknowledge as His;—and those, who were to be removed "for their hurt," and were to be a reproach and a taunt among the people to whom they were delivered over ‡.

\* Jer. xviii. 2. 6; xix. 1. 10, 11.

† xxvii. 2, 3.

‡ xxiv.

When the Babylonian supremacy had become complete, and Jerusalem had received a governor from Babylon, the change is indicated, no less in the language of Jeremiah, than in the substance of his descriptions. The images selected are of a Chaldean cast, the originals of which had probably been introduced into the residences of the governor and chief officers. The Lord was to "send unto Babylon fanners, that should fan her, and should empty her land:" while Babylon itself is described, as "a golden cup in the hand of the Lord \*." These may, at first sight, appear to be independent ideas, with no sort of connexion between the figures employed; but the Babylonian Sculptures present both in close combination. On state occasions, particularly such as were of a religious character, the cupbearer is to be seen presenting to the monarch a cup of gold; and then preserving his position, still in front of the throne, waving a fan or whisk over the head of his sovereign. Behind, or on the other side of the king, stand the armour-bearer and other attendants, engaged in the same office of fanning the air above and around the monarch, and so driving away the swarms of winged creatures, whose rapid movements, like those of the Babylonian horsemen, were a source of constant dread and annoyance to those, who were exposed to their attacks. "The pertinacity of minute flies, and the torment they incessantly cause by their venomous punctures in hot climates, is well known. When a person is in rapid motion, as on horseback, or in a carriage, he can manage to evade their assaults tolerably well; but the instant he pauses, they throng around in humming swarms, and soon cover every exposed part of his person with their painful bites †."

\* Jer. li. 2. 7.

† Gosse's Assyria, pp. 143—146. 157.

This insect scourge was strikingly exemplified in the late defence of the British Residency at Lucknow, previously to the advance of Sir Henry Havelock. A narrative written by Mr. L. E. Runtz Rees has the following forcible description:—"To one nuisance, 'the flies,' I have already alluded; but they daily increased to such an extent, that we at last *began to feel life to be irksome, more on their account, than from any other of our numerous troubles*. In the day, flies; at night, mosquitoes. But the latter were bearable, *the former intolerable*. Lucknow had always been noted for its flies; but at no time had they been known to be so troublesome. The mass of putrid matter that was allowed to accumulate, the rains, the commissariat stores, the hospital, had attracted these insects in incredible numbers. The Egyptians could not possibly have been more molested than we were by this pest. They swarmed in millions, and though we blew daily some hundreds of thousands into the air, this seemed to make no diminution in their numbers. The ground was still black with them, and the tables were literally covered with these cursed flies. We could not sleep in the day on account of them: we could scarcely eat \*."

When the tables of the Assyrians were spread, fans had to be used to protect the viands and delicacies, which were provided, from these offensive and injurious insects †. These were dispersed and driven away by the operation of the fan: as the Babylonians were to be by those fanners, who, representing another and a dominant race, were to fan, or clear the land of its then rulers and principal inhabitants. The fan, indeed, was an important instrument with the Assyrians, and the nations who succeeded them.

\* Siege of Lucknow, pp. 166, 167.

† Layard, pl. 30.

It was employed, not only for the purposes just mentioned, but likewise for raising a flame and increasing the intensity of the glowing coals or embers; and was in constant requisition for some object or other. Their practices in this respect were afterwards adopted by other nations, particularly by the Greeks and Romans\*.

In the figures employed by Jeremiah, there is thus a marked approximation to the imagery prevalent in Chaldea; although as yet no direct instance of animal symbolism is to be met with. In proportion as the Babylonians spread themselves more and more over the land, so this approximation may be seen to become closer and closer; but it required a residence in Chaldea itself, for this style of writing to expand into a complete form of symbolism.

#### COMPARISON OF EZEKIEL AND DANIEL.

When, however, we come to Ezekiel and Daniel, we find that both these prophets were actually transported into Babylonia, and there became spectators of scenes and objects, suggesting ideas foreign to those of the Jews, which gave a new direction to their thoughts and contemplations. The symbolism they employ assumes a decided character. Their fortunes, however, were different. Daniel was carried to the capital of the empire, and lived in the midst of its splendid court, where, or at the almost equally polished city of Susa, he was surrounded by all the objects which Babylonian art could devise. His intercourse too was chiefly with the native inhabitants, and not with his own countrymen. Ezekiel, on the contrary, though not unacquainted with the productions of Babylonian art, as displayed in their

\* Smith's Antiq. 539.

cities, was more familiar with the rural parts of Babylonia. His residence was in the province of Mesopotamia, where he was "in the midst of the captivity;" his own people being here located in considerable numbers.

It would be a curious coincidence therefore, though not surprising, if it were found that their respective ideas corresponded with their relative outward positions; and that these exercised such a distinctive influence upon them, as to be observable in their several written compositions. Yet this is precisely the case. Both have allegories of a perfect kind, the delineations being complete in themselves; but Ezekiel draws chiefly from pastoral, and Daniel more from animal life. In some instances, however, there is a marked approximation in their writings. Thus Ezekiel's description of the Assyrian and Egyptian monarchs, under the figures of a cedar, and a lofty tree, may be seen renewed, as it were, in Daniel's relation of the vision of Nebuchadnezzar \*. In point of origin and history, as already remarked, Assyria, Egypt, and Babylonia were closely allied. This connexion is shown in Scripture by the similarity of the emblematic figures employed to describe them; although this is done in so unobtrusive a manner, as to escape the notice of an ordinary observer. Intimately, however, as these countries are associated together in history, they were scarcely less so with Judea: and it is from the cedars of Lebanon that the emblems just referred to are derived, and generally in immediate or indirect association with Judea itself.

#### EZEKIEL.

It is under a similar figure, heightened by the

\* Ezek. xxxi. 3. 14. Dan. iv. 10—15. 20—26.

introduction of living objects, that Ezekiel depicts the Babylonian captivity; but the Chaldean complexion is far stronger in this than in the former instances. The Jewish people are here successively represented under the emblems of a cedar, a willow, and a vine, according to their varying conditions; while Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh, to whom they in turns became subject, are both described under the figure of the royal eagle. "A great eagle with great wings, longwinged, full of feathers, which had divers colors\*, came unto Lebanon, and took the highest branch of the cedar: he cropped off the top of his young twigs, and carried it into a land of traffic; he set it in a city of merchants. He took also of the seed of the land, and planted it in a fruitful field; he placed it by great waters, and set it as a willow tree. And it grew, and became a spreading vine of low stature, whose branches turned toward him, and the roots thereof were under him: so it became a vine, and brought forth branches, and shot forth sprigs. There was also another great eagle, with great wings, and many feathers: and, behold, this vine did bend her roots toward him, and shot forth her branches toward him, that he might water it by the furrows of her plantation. It was planted in a good soil by great waters, that it might bring forth branches, and that it might bear fruit, that it might be a goodly vine†."

The symbolic action is here not only complete; but the entire description is decidedly Chaldean. The eagles are depicted with all the minuteness which is observable in Assyrian sculpture; and moreover are represented as being colored. This corresponds with the practice of the Assyrians and Babylonians, who

\* Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 306. 9.

† Ezek. xvii. 3—8.

were in the habit of coloring over their sculptures; and in doing so aimed at hues appropriate to the objects delineated. Not only were their bas-reliefs thus painted; but above these another range of objects was sometimes represented by the aid of color alone. Some relief of this kind was required; since their buildings were composed chiefly of brick, covered over internally with a thin coat of plaster, except where slabs of stone or alabaster were introduced into the walls. Upon the upper portions of this plaster, designs appear to have been drawn in brilliant colors. This fragile material has been the first to perish; but sufficient fragments remain to reveal the nature of the decoration; though not enough to form an estimate of its merits \*. "The borders and cornices were also painted, as were probably the columns that supported the roof, and the roof itself, with various fanciful devices and patterns in bright and highly contrasted colors; a style of decoration which, though somewhat startling to our taste, accustomed to abjure color in architecture, had no doubt a very rich and gorgeous effect beneath the intense sunlight of that fervid clime. We must not forget that the liberal employment of color, as an auxiliary to form, both in architecture and sculpture, prevailed in Greece, even in the days of Pericles and Phidias †."

In an allegory of a different kind, Ezekiel elsewhere describes the same events, which he had before. "What is thy mother? A lioness: she lay down among lions, she nourished her whelps among young lions. And she brought up one of her whelps: it became a young lion ‡, and it learned to catch the

\* Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 12. 807. 9.

† See "Painted Bricks" and "Cornice," with figures, in Gosse's *Assyria*, p. 576.

‡ See Gen. xlix. 9.



prey; it devoured men. The nations also heard of him; he was taken in their pit, and they brought him with chains unto the land of Egypt. Now when she saw that she had waited, and her hope was lost, then she took another of her whelps, and made him a young lion. And he went up and down among the lions, he became a young lion, and learned to catch the prey, and devoured men. And he knew their desolate palaces, and he laid waste their cities; and the land was desolate, and the fulness thereof, by the noise of his roaring. Then the nations set against him on every side from the provinces, and spread their net over him: he was taken in their pit. And they put him in ward in chains, and brought him to the king of Babylon: they brought him into holds, that his voice should no more be heard upon the mountains of Israel \*."

Here the animal allusions are carefully preserved throughout. Yet both this and the preceding being representations of past and well-known occurrences, viz. the deportation first of Jehoahaz by Pharaoh-nechoh, and then, after various nations had come up against him, of Jehoiachin by Nebuchadnezzar †; their real character is poetical, since symbolism usually indicates something which either has not transpired, or else is yet future.

Very different is the scene depicted in the opening chapter, where a vision is described in which out of a whirlwind and clouds of fire are seen to emerge four living creatures, attended by wheels, likewise endowed with life, their movements being rapid as lightning; with the accompaniments of a firmament, and a throne whose occupant had the appearance of a man, but

\* Ezek. xix. 2—9.

† 2 Kings xxiii. 33; xxiv. 1, 2. 12. 15.

with the glory and majesty of Jehovah \*. "In his strains a Chaldean and Babylonian style are so conspicuous, that it strongly expresses the character of the times in which he lived. This symbolic manner, this thunder-car, these dreadful thunder-steeds yoked to it, this sapphire throne, this arched canopy glowing with the hues of the rainbow, belong to Babylonian temples, to the Babylonian court; and the symbolism is just as much more conspicuous in Ezekiel than in Isaiah, as his poetry is weaker than that of others †." Yet there is a considerable analogy, if not resemblance, between the scene thus depicted by the prophet Ezekiel and that which occurs in the sixth chapter of Isaiah, to which reference has already been made.

Ezekiel also furnishes two or three instances of emblematic action, real or imaginary, significant of events which were to follow. One is the well-known parable wherein the destruction of Jerusalem is intimated by the act of Ezekiel setting upon the fire a pot or caldron, in which the very bones should be burned, and the filthiness and scum of it should be molten and consumed ‡. The same figure of a caldron with the inhabitants of Jerusalem for its contents, the typical instrument of their punishment, is previously to be found in chap. xi. 3. 7. The prophet Micah has an allusion of a similar kind, iii. 3; and mention is also made of similar vessels in 1 Sam. ii. 13, 14. Among the spoils to be seen exhibited in the Assyrian sculptures "the articles most frequently introduced of all are *caldrons*, which hence, and from the apparent eagerness with which they are carried off, we may suppose to have been greatly valued.

\* Ezek. i. 4-28. See also iii. 13; x. 1. 22.

† Schlosser, l. 1, p. 240, quoted in Hengst. Dan. p. 286.

‡ Ezek. xxiv. 3-12.

They are of various sizes, mostly large, circular, flattish at the bottom, without feet, furnished at the rim with ears or rings to receive an arched handle or a hooked chain. We have thus a curious illustration of Homeric manners, in which caldrons (strangely according to our notions) figure conspicuously among the things most highly prized by warriors \*."

We may, indeed, be unable to determine with certainty, that the originals from which the idea was taken by Ezekiel were actually beheld by him in Babylonia, since similar vessels were in use in Judea; but attending to the history of the prophet, and the estimation in which these utensils were held in Chaldea, the conjecture that it was so has a high degree of probability.

So with respect to the line of flax and the measuring reed, spoken of in the third verse of the fortieth chapter, it is probable, as building in Judea must almost have ceased in the prophet's days, while it must have been active in Babylonia, that the originals of these objects were seen by him in the latter country.

In another instance this was unquestionably the case. Among the objects manufactured in Assyria and Babylonia, none were more common than the bricks and tiles, composed of burnt or dried clay, which served (amongst other purposes) as materials for inscriptions, and which from that circumstance have become of the greatest historical interest. Numerous other objects of the same material, such as balls and cakes of clay, and pottery of various kinds, have likewise been discovered. These were impressed, while the clay was soft, with cuneiform characters, or representations of some kind or other, by means of

\* Gosse's *Assyria*, 365, 366.

a mould or die, or else were graven or scratched in with a stylus. They were used for different purposes. The bricks and tiles were employed in building, or served for tablets.

The balls of clay are supposed to have been used as seals, to secure the fastenings of doors from being broken or undone without detection. The clay soon hardened; and the surface was stamped or engraved with letters or with some emblem, the most usual being that of a man stabbing a rampant lion, which he grasps by the upper part of its mane. This emblem was common to these balls as well as to cylinders, which, being composed of valuable stones, were susceptible of finer engraving; and being covered with devices of various kinds, from which impressions could readily be made, answered the purpose of signets and heraldic distinctions\*. Ezekiel's position was not such as to give him the possession of one of these precious stones; and even had such been within his reach, he would not have been able to avail himself of it, since the art of finished engraving must have been far more difficult of attainment in those days than it is in modern times. But in the country of the prophet's forced sojourn tiles abounded, and he could have no difficulty in obeying the divine mandate, "Thou also, son of man, take thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and portray upon it the city, even Jerusalem †."

Materials for the work lay, as it were, strewed around him. They were the ordinary manufacture of the country, and the act he was to perform was one which was there commonly practised. Not so in Judea, where engraving, having the remotest connexion with religion, was prohibited by the Mosaic

\* See "Cylinders," and "Clay Currency," with figures in Gosse's *Assyria*, pp. 587 and 610.

† Ezek. iv. 1.

law, and was consequently but little known. There is thus suggested to the mind by these few words of Ezekiel a vivid representation of the place of his habitation, the scenes and objects with which he was familiar, and even the people among whom his lot was cast.

So in the many pastoral images, to be found scattered throughout his writings, his residence in a country abounding, like Mesopotamia, in water is strikingly manifest. In his frequent reference to rivers and waters, he here and there shows that these were not the streams and narrow waters of Judea, but the more important rivers of the well-watered Babylonia. Those he describes were in truth majestic rivers, "great waters," which he associates with the willow tree, so well known as a characteristic of "the waters of Babylon \*."

In the very first of the allegories referred to, as showing the greatest amount of animal representation, the utmost prominence is given to these mighty streams; and the general character of the description is even more pastoral than many others, in which no such animal representations are introduced.

Throughout these prophecies there is, in fact, a peculiar appropriateness or adaptation of the figures employed to the subject in hand. As observed by an acute writer, "With Ezekiel the king of Babylon is an eagle who fetches a twig from Lebanon †, the Egyptian king a crocodile in the Nile ‡, each of which figures he amplifies §."

The writings of Ezekiel thus furnish numerous internal proofs both of the age in which he lived, and of the country in which he sojourned.

\* Ezek. xvii. 5; xxxi. 8; xxxii. 2; xlvii., &c.

† Ch. xix.

‡ Ch. xxix. xxxii.

§ Herder, cited by Hengst. Dan. by Pratt., 285, 286.

## CHAPTER II.

## SYMBOLISM OF DANIEL.

How, then, stands the case with the Book of Daniel? Are the like internal evidences to be found in the pages which bear his name, as in those of Ezekiel? This inquiry is peculiarly interesting, since it brings to a still more delicate test than even the historical investigations we shall have to pursue, the justness or futility of the observation, that "criticism proves the non-authenticity of great part of Daniel." As already noticed, the remark applies principally to those portions of the Book of Daniel which relate to the overthrow of Persia, and to the contests which, subsequently to the division of Alexander's kingdom, took place between the Ægypto-Macedonian and the Syro-Macedonian dynasties. It also refers to the vision of the four great empires,—the Babylonian, the Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman. Now it is precisely these very portions of the Book of Daniel, which defy the most hostile investigation, and yield to "criticism" the most convincing proofs of the authenticity of a work, thus recklessly impugned.

That species of symbolism which we have seen to have been growing, as it were, on the prophets of Israel and Judah, as these countries were overrun or swallowed up by the Babylonians, is to be found in its utmost fulness in the Book of Daniel. Gradually fading away, as it does, after the age of this prophet, until in the time of the Maccabees it is almost lost, here it takes its greatest expansion. "The Chaldee complexion which distinguishes Ezekiel and Zechariah, so that we could be in no doubt about the age

in which they flourished, even if we had no other arguments (rather tests) at command for determining it, is found in Daniel in a still higher degree. Particularly remarkable is the extended use of animal symbols, the common ones in the symbolic language of these regions, to designate hostile powers \*."

The emblems employed are just those which might have been expected from one in Daniel's position. They are drawn from the very objects which were most conspicuously delineated on the walls and clay productions of Nineveh, of Babylon, and no doubt of Susa also; and which must therefore have been continually present, not merely to the external vision, but also to the dreams and mental contemplations of the prophet. "If," as Herder elegantly remarks, "Daniel sees a vision in which animal forms denote kingdoms, symbolic shapes of that kind must have been no strangers to the waking world; for we dream only of forms which we see when awake, and in our dreams give them new and various combinations †."

So true is this, that we have preserved to this day, if not the actual forms and figures beheld by Daniel with his own eyes, and which acted as the promptings of his mind, (a circumstance highly probable,) yet the still earlier originals, of which there can be little doubt facsimiles or close imitations were seen by him, if the originals were not. The sculptures and drawings of the Assyrians were repeated by the Babylonians, and afterwards by the Persians. As observed by a German writer, "What must most surely strike us is, that we find all the animal symbols of our book on the Babylonian cylinders, with wedge-shaped in-

\* Comp. Herder, i. 57. Münter, i. 89. 98, and seq. 112. 139. Hengst. Dan. by Pratt., 286.

† Herder, i. 57.

scriptions, on Babylonian tapestries, and on the walls of Persepolis \*."

Thus the ram and the he-goat, which are two of the objects employed to indicate the kings of Media and Persia, and of Macedonia, have been preserved amid the wreck of these vast empires; one of them especially being found depicted in the exact attitude represented by Daniel. "Under the star of Bel, the row of altars is interrupted by a mythic animal, which reminds us of the history of Daniel. It has the shape of a he-goat, but is covered with a mail of scales, and has two small wings. The horns are large and twisted. The animal is kneeling on the right fore-foot, but is in the act of rising with the left. By the latter word full light is shed on the often misunderstood words, chap. vii. 5, *לשטרודר הקימת*. We find the same he-goat, likewise before an altar and reclining in the same posture, on the Babylonian stone †." Now the goat was the emblem or armorial distinction of Macedonia ‡, as the ram was the royal ensign of the Persians, the latter being emblazoned as such on the pillars of Persepolis §. Bertholdt endeavours to weaken the impression naturally resulting from these resemblances, by suggesting that similar representations occur in the Apocalypse ||; but this only strengthens the argument derived from hence in favor of the authenticity of Daniel.

\* Comp. Herd. i. 57. Münter, l. c. pp. 89. 98, seq., 112. 139. Hengst. Dan. by Pratt., 286.

† *Fundgruben des Orient.*, iii. 3, pl. 2, fig. 3. Münter, l. c. p. 112, cited with the parenthetical addition in Hengst. Dan. by Pratt., 286, in notes.

‡ Justin, Hist. viii. Mede iii. 654. 712. Joseph. Archæol. x. 10. *Fundgruben des Orient.*, iii. 3, pl. 2, fig. 3.

§ Amm. Marc. xix. Sir J. Chardin's Travels, &c.

|| Berth. i. p. 19.



The several portions of Holy Writ have a mutual relation to, and dependence upon each other; and when from a similarity of idea or expression two books in the sacred canon are found to cohere, an inference arises that the latter has been indebted to the former, just as thoughts or figures in this may have been derived from a still earlier source. Thus dealing first with one, and then with another of the sacred books, all are found to be component parts of a majestic whole, alike falling in with one uniform and comprehensive plan.

#### § I. DANIEL'S FIRST EMPIRE.

For the present we pass to the earlier vision of the four beasts. This description occurs at the outset, "The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings: I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and [*marg. read. wherewith*] it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it\*." Here is a figure delineated under a twofold aspect; the first being its primary form, and the second that of its partial metamorphosis. The recent excavations at Khorsabad and Nimroud have revealed both, and show that this verbal description corresponds in a wonderful manner with some of the compound animal forms, which, beyond all doubt, were in existence in the days of Daniel. Among the sculptured monuments of Assyria, adopted by the Babylonians, none are more remarkable than the winged human-headed lion and bull discovered by Mr. Layard, and which now adorn the British Museum†. Standing out in bold relief, their strongly developed muscular frames, their gigantic proportions reaching far above the stature of man,

\* Dan. vii. 4.

† See also Layard's *Nineveh*, i. 66. 70. 127.

their expanded eagle pinions, and the majesty of their human countenances, viewed from their imposing elevation, were calculated to strike the mind with awe.

These objects were designed to signify the combination in the highest degree of mind, strength, and swiftness\*. Yet in several delineations of embroidered work the winged human-headed lion is represented as exposed to or flying from the attacks of a vulture-headed being, supposed to be a priest, who figures with a mace or formidable weapon of a flexible nature in the act of assault or hot pursuit. The gigantic monster vainly endeavours to escape; and in the fear depicted in his aspect and by his actions, exhibits a strong contrast to the determination and fury expressed in those of his assailant. These embroideries occur in connexion with the king, and either form part of the ornaments of the royal robe, or are mixed up with scenes in which the monarch is personally engaged†. Hence the inference appears to be that this compound animal form, as well alone, as in combination with the other figure, was symbolical of something in the religion or mythology of the nation.

Whatever may have been its exact import, it stood out so conspicuously among the sculptured forms and embroideries of Chaldea, and was so associated with its sovereignty, that, abstractedly taken, no object could better typify the country in which it was found.

Accordingly Daniel appears to have employed it with this view, and it is remarkable how strikingly it answered his purpose. His object was to give a graphic sketch of the Babylonian kingdom when it had reached

\* The Assyrians "could find no better type of intellect and knowledge than the head of the man; of strength, than the body of the lion; of rapidity of motion, than the wings of the bird." Layard's *Nineveh*, i. 70.

† See Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 460. Gosse's *Assyria*, p. 107.

the zenith of its power, and was about to fall under the combined attack of the Medes and Persians.

To this end no emblem could in his hands have been so appropriate as this animal form, which was associated in the mind with terror and defeat; and that from the vulture-headed priest, which was admirably adapted as a type of the Persian monarchy, the head of which claimed to be a visible representation of the Deity. Yet it required discoveries, made with infinite labor after a lapse of more than twenty-four centuries, before the force and beauty of the resemblance could be perceived. That the figure of Daniel was really taken from this source is manifest upon looking closely at his description, "I beheld till the wings thereof *were plucked*;" where the very circumstance of its being exposed to violence is prominently noticed. Thus from amid the buried ruins of Khorsabad and Nimroud has the prophet's entire delineation been brought ocularly before us, so that we are constrained to acknowledge the force of the Psalmist's declaration, "Truth shall spring out of the earth \*."

Similar gigantic winged animals with human heads have been discovered among the ruined monuments of Persepolis †.

It is satisfactory to find that those who had not the aids afforded by these wonderful revelations of modern times, should still have correctly interpreted this part of the vision. Most commentators have taken a similar view from St. Jerome downwards. Bishop Newton gives this explanation of it: "The *eagle's wings* denote its swiftness and rapidity; and the conquests of Babylon were very rapid, that empire being

\* Ps. lxxxv. 21. See figures in Gosse's *Assyria*, p. 105, and Vaux's *Nineveh*, pp. 235 and 220.

† Layard's *Nineveh*, ii. 289.

advanced to the height within a few years by a single person by the conduct and arms of Nebuchadnezzar. It is farther said, *the wings thereof were pluckt, and it was lifted up from the earth*, that is, it was taken away from the earth, as it is commonly understood, and as it is translated in almost all the ancient versions\*: or it may be rendered thus, *the wings thereof were pluckt wherewith it was lifted up from the earth*, as Grotius† explains it, and as we read it in the margin of our Bibles, the conjunction copulative sometimes supplying the place of a relative. Its wings were beginning to be pluckt at the time of the delivery of this prophecy, for at this time the Medes and Persians were encroaching upon it; Belshazzar, the king now reigning, was the last of his race; and in the seventeenth year‡ of his reign Babylon was taken, and the kingdom was transferred to the Medes and Persians." And then of the remainder of the figure,—*And it was made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it*. The Bishop continues: "It is not easy to say what is the precise meaning of this passage, unless it be an allusion to the case of Nebuchadnezzar when in his madness § *a beast's heart was given unto him*, and after he was restored to his senses, *a man's heart was given to him* again. What appears most probable is, that after the Babylonian empire was subverted, the people became more humane and gentle; their minds were humbled with their fortune; and they who vaunted as

\* *Et sublata est inquit de terrâ*; subverso videlicet impio [imperio] Chaldæorum. Hieron. Comm. in loc. iii. 1099. Καὶ ἐξήρθη ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, Sept. Videbam evulsas esse alas ejus, et ab humo sublatam, Syriac. Et egressa est de terrâ, Arab.

† *Et sublata est de terrâ*. Verte: *per quas efferebatur supra terram*. Sæpe enim Chaldæis, ut et Hebrais, copula vim habet relativi. Grot. in loc.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. X. xi. 4. Usher, Prideaux, and other chronologers. § Dan. iv. 6.

if they had been gods, now felt themselves to be but men. They were brought to such a sense as the Psalmist wisheth such persons to have, \* *Put them in fear, O Lord; that the nations may know themselves to be but men* †."

One or other of these may, indeed, not incorrectly convey the hidden meaning of the words; but the learned prelate was ignorant of the sculptures since brought to light, or he would have perceived that this portion of the emblem was suggested to the prophet by the human-headed figure actually beheld by him, and by the apparent identity of the head and neck in the winged human-headed lion, and the winged human figure, the latter of which was to be seen then, as now, literally "standing upon the feet as a man."

#### § II. DANIEL'S SECOND EMPIRE.

Had Daniel personified the next succeeding kingdom under the figure of the vulture-headed priest, it would, as already intimated, have been a suitable emblem. But this figure was not in reality designed to represent Persia; and although its adoption as such would have been justified by the circumstance of its being the determined foe of the winged human-headed lion, so aptly selected to signify the Babylonian Empire, and likewise by its priestly character; yet as these two figures were found in conjunction in Chaldean sculptures, the vulture-headed priest could not have been made to typify Persia, without creating confusion.

With consummate skill therefore, had it proceeded from mere human impulse, Daniel selects another and still more appropriate emblem to designate the nation, by which the empire of the Babylonians was overthrown. The animal form, chosen for this purpose, is

\* Ps. ix. 20.

† Bp. Newton, Proph. i. 256.

that of a bear; "And behold another beast, a second, like to a bear, and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it: and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh \*."

If we look,—1st, at the nature of the country:—2ndly, at the character of the people:—and 3rdly, at the history of the nation, here depicted, the force and beauty of the analogy become strikingly apparent. The original seat of the Persians, whence they derived their most hardy warriors, was sterile and rugged; and that which in the first instance may have been the result of accident, or have arisen from the necessity of finding a secure habitation, was afterwards prolonged from the dictates of a deeper policy.

It is related, that Cyrus dissuaded his countrymen from adopting a proposal of Artembares, to quit their mountainous tracts, with a view to settle in the lower and more fertile regions of Asia. This was expressly on the ground, that they would thereby be rendered effeminate, and lose their supremacy, which they had acquired by their hardihood and valor. Should they determine to do so, "he warned them to be prepared no longer to rule, but to be ruled: since men attached to a rich and luxuriant soil became enervated (*φιλείην γὰρ ἐκ τῶν μαλακῶν χώρων μαλακοὺς ἄνδρας γίνεσθαι*); for it was not in the capacity of any country to produce the fruits of the earth in abundance and also men eminent for martial qualities. So," continues the historian, "the Persians, acknowledging the force of his address, and yielding to the judgment of Cyrus, returned to their homes, dissuaded from their purpose, preferring rather to dwell in an unproductive land, and retain their dominion, than to give themselves up

\* Dan. vii. 5.

to an easy cultivation of level plains, and be in subjection to others \*."

Arrian and Plato give a somewhat similar account; and Hippocrates, as well as the common experience of mankind, confirm the truth of the sentiment here attributed to Cyrus.

A forcible illustration of this, in immediate connexion with Cyrus himself, is exhibited in the final conquests, and then the fall of the Lydian monarchy. Roused by the successes of Cyrus from the state of grief into which he had been plunged by the loss of his son, Croesus determined to oppose the growing power of the Persians. Having consulted the most celebrated oracles of antiquity, he took the field with a numerous army, and crossing the river Halys, entered the fertile province of Cappadocia, and the adjacent districts. Here was enacted that, which might then have been the fate of the Persians themselves, had they followed the advice of Artembares, and which did in fact ultimately overtake them, after the advice of Cyrus had been forgotten, both by himself and his successors. The country was laid waste; and the inhabitants, who had become enervated by the very process which Cyrus had so forcibly described, were either dragged into captivity, or put to the sword. Encouraged by this timidity and effeminacy of the people, the *μαλακοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ μαλακοῦ χώρου* of Cyrus, the Lydian monarch determined to push on to the mountainous regions of Persia.

This dangerous resolution was in vain opposed by one of those, who do honor to human nature by the honest integrity, and manly fortitude of their characters. . . . Availing himself of the freedom, which, amidst the pride and caprices of despotic power, was

\* Herod. ix. 122.

yet by the princes of the East allowed to men, distinguished by their abilities or position, the faithful Sandanis addressed the Lydian king in language, memorable no less for its intrinsic wisdom, than for its showing in reverse the sentiments once delivered by the formidable antagonist of his sovereign:—"You are preparing, O king, to march against a people who lead a laborious life; whose daily sustenance is often denied to them, and is always precarious and scanty, who drink nothing but water, and are clothed with the skins of wild beasts. What can the Lydians gain by the conquest of Persia, they who enjoy all the advantages of which the Persians are destitute? For my part, I deem it a blessing of the gods, that they have not excited the warlike poverty of these miserable barbarians to invade and plunder the luxurious wealth of Lydia." With the rejection of advice so judicious, this blessing was lost to the Lydian empire.

But until they themselves were thus menaced and attacked, the Persians clung to their mountain fortresses, and continued to range over those steppes, the air and unrestrained freedom of which invigorated their frames, and maintained their hardy and independent spirit.

The lion which abounded in the warmer and more luxuriant districts of Babylonia here gave way to the bear, than which no animal could so aptly typify the country or its inhabitants. Rough and shaggy in its appearance, as well as fierce and voracious in its disposition, it was the fit emblem of what Persia was, when the Babylonians and Lydians met them in the shock of battle, or were assailed by them in strongholds until then deemed impregnable.

The learned Bochart \* recounts several instances in

\* Hierozoic. Pars prior iii. ix. col. 816.



which the Medes and Persians resembled animals: and Grotius, in allusion to Aristotle's remark that a bear is an all-devouring animal, subjoins, "So the Medo-Persians were great robbers and spoilers," referring to Jer. li. 48. 56\*. Their institutions were in many respects worthy of admiration; but all writers concur in representing them as having practised the most atrocious and revolting enormities. Bishop Newton makes this comment, "Cambyzes Ochus, and others of their princes were indeed more like bears than men. Instances of their cruelty abound in almost all the historians, who have written of their affairs, from Herodotus down to Ammianus Marcellinus†." The latter author describes them as "haughty, cruel, and in the exercise of the power of life and death, wantonly and barbarously subjecting slaves and obscure plebeians to torture and death. They are accustomed to flay men alive, tearing off their skin in strips, or in masses. The laws existing among them are detestable, by which, for the offence of a single individual, a whole neighbourhood is made to perish‡."

Dr. Prideaux asserts, that the kings of Persia were "the worst race of men that ever governed an empire," a sentiment which Bishop Newton concurs in and approves§. As observed by Calmet in his commentaries on Daniel,—*"Les Perses ont exercé la domination la plus sévère, et la plus cruelle que l'on connoisse. Les supplices usitez parmi eux font horreur à ceux qui les lisent."*

\* See also Isa. xiii. 18.

† Bp. Newton, Proph. i. 257, 258.

‡ *Superbi, crudeles, vitæ necisque potestatem in servos et plebeios vindicantes obscuros. Cutes vivis hominibus detrahunt particulatim vel solidas. Leges apud eos abominandæ—per quas obnoxam unius omnis propinquitus perit.* Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 6.

§ i. 286.

It is at the turning-point of their history; when, though still lingering in the frigid regions inhabited by the bear, (whose skins even served them for clothing,) the Persians were preparing for a descent upon the opulent cities of Central and Western Asia,—that Daniel's first prophecy concerning them purports to have been written. With admirable propriety, he at this time represents them under the symbolic form of a bear; but it is that of *a bear raising itself on one side*; or, according to the marginal reading, *raising up one dominion, and having three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it*.

The nation consisted of two people, the Medes and the Persians, of whom the former once had the supremacy. In Daniel's days, however, they were nearly in a state of equilibrium; while shortly afterwards the Persians were to elevate themselves above their fellows, and assume a decided superiority over the Medes. The nation as a whole was to "raise up one dominion" as the bear of Daniel "raised up itself on one side."

Concerning the "three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it" there has been a diversity of opinion; St. Jerome, Vatablus, and Grotius understanding these as indicating the three kingdoms of the Babylonians, Medes, and Persians, which were reduced into one kingdom; while "Sir Isaac Newton and Bishop Chandler, with greater propriety, explain them to signify the kingdoms of Babylon, Lydia, and Egypt, which were conquered by it (i. e. the Medo-Persian nation); but were not properly parts or members of its body. They might be called *ribs*, as the conquest of them much strengthened the Persian Empire; and they might be said to be *between the teeth of the bear*, as they were much grinded and oppressed by the Persians \*."

\* Bp. Newton's Proph. i. 257.

Others consider that the word "*ribs*" is an incorrect translation, and conveys an erroneous impression of what was intended by the original. Of this number is Houbigant, who ridicules the notion of such being its meaning, though himself very infelicitously rendering it "*jaws*," a sense which is wholly inadmissible. Wintle is more happy in his conjecture, substituting the word *tusks*, which he justifies in the following observations:—"The original word seems to denote something prominent or penetrating, either from *על* in *altum tendere*, or *לל* *intrare*; the bear is called by Aristotle *ζῶον παμφάγον*, a most voracious animal: and the command given to it in the subsequent part of the verse indicates its rapacious nature. From these considerations, I have rather supposed the idea of tusks more natural and agreeable to the sense of the original than the term *ribs*, which seems far-fetched and rather inapplicable. . . . The three *tusks* may refer to the three different points to which the Persians pushed their conquests. Coming from the East they invaded the western, southern, and northern territories; and thus we read in the next chapter, ver. 4, that the ram pushed westward, and northward, and southward. And that great havoc among the human race was made by the Persians may be learnt from Jer. li. 56, and also from the revolt of the Hyrcanians, and of Gobryas in the fourth book, and from other parts of the Cyropædia, as well as from most of the historians\*."

There appear to be scarcely sufficient grounds for the animadversions here cast on the common reading; though were we thus to understand the disputed word, the general signification of the passage would not be materially altered. The translation of Wintle would equally fall in with either of the two interpre-

\* Wint., notes on Dan. 96, 97.

tations, which have been suggested respecting the nations intended to be pointed at, whether as being actually in the jaws of Persia, or else as being in the direction of the Persian attack. Substantially, however, he coincides with the latter of these interpretations, viz. that maintained by the two Newtons and Bishop Chandler.

This difference of opinion, confined though it be to a minor point, among men so learned and so competent to form a correct judgment, sufficiently disproves the assertion that the Book of Daniel was a very late work, the production of the Maccabean or a subsequent age, and that you can trace distinctly the date when it was written, because the events up to that date are given with historical minuteness. There can be no historical minuteness, where events on a grand scale, occupying a large space in history, are delineated as it were with a touch. The single stroke, in a sketch like this, exhibits at once the hand of a master, which no forger could imitate. It is so slight, as not to be recognizable, without concentrating upon it lines of thought, as we are accustomed to do rays of light upon the sketches of a Rembrandt or a Turner, in order to bring out, through a contracted pupil, the objects which a consummate art alone has dimmed.

Viewed with the aid of this, the picture gradually develops itself, until from its dark recesses, or seemingly undistinguishable surface, one object after another stands out in bold and beautiful relief; and it is seen to possess all the varieties of light and shade.

We may rely upon the interpretation given with greater certainty; since the description was inapplicable to Persia at the time of the alleged forgery. In the age of the Maccabees, she could no longer be described under the form of a bear. With her con-

quests, she had thrown aside the shaggy mantle of this once fit emblem of her state; and clad herself in robes of the greatest luxury and splendor. Not merely their cities, but the very camps of Xerxes and Darius, were celebrated for their voluptuous magnificence; and since their descent upon Babylonia, and its absorption into their own empire, the Persians had become the *μαλακοὶ ἄνδρες ἐκ τοῦ μαλακοῦ χώρου*, so truly predicted by the most celebrated of their heroes, Cyrus the Great. From the time of Xerxes, "symptoms of decay and corruption were manifest in the empire: the national character gradually degenerated; the citizens were corrupted and enfeebled by luxury, and confided more in mercenary troops than in native valor and fidelity. The kings submitted to the control of their wives, or the creatures whom they raised to posts of distinction; and the satraps from being civil functionaries began to usurp military authority\*." "With the ancient simplicity of manners, all that was noble and good was irrecoverably lost†."

### § III. DANIEL'S THIRD EMPIRE.

A third kingdom now presents itself; "After this I beheld, and lo another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it‡."

Here, again, is a compound animal form, wholly of a Chaldean character. The objects selected are not, as before, an animal and a man; but a wild beast and a bird. To the eye of sense, this combination of two animals of such diversity of appearance and habit, presents a heterogeneous and ill-assorted emblem. But such a judgment, however applicable it might be

\* Lynam's Hist. Chart.

† Schlosser, i. 288.

‡ Dan. vii. 6.

to the Maccabean æra, when the prophecy "Babylon shall become heaps \*" had been fulfilled, and the treasures of Assyrian and Babylonian art were overwhelmed, would be very erroneous in relation to the age of Daniel. This compound animal form has all the grotesqueness, and other marks of Babylonian device; while in its figurative bearing it has an historic faithfulness and delicacy, which are incompatible with the literary errors and feebleness of the age sought to be ascribed to it. The combination of grotesqueness with historic accuracy is a sure mark of authenticity. A later age may have improved in taste, as respects sensible objects; but would, at least among the Jews, have lost in fidelity of narrative.

What is most remarkable is, that this depth, and shading, as it were, of the picture, are not obvious; and, as in the case of the last preceding emblem, require the rays of light and knowledge to be concentrated upon it, in order to be detected and brought out.

If, however, the bear were a suitable type of Persia, the Macedonian empire was no less appropriately represented under the figure of a winged leopard. Looking at this empire as established in Asia, the most prominent object is undoubtedly its founder. The next striking feature is the rapidity and extent of his conquests. The third, is the division of sovereignty, which took place after his death.

The intrinsic importance of these to indicate the nation was heightened by the circumstance, that there was nothing in the arts and sciences of the Macedonians, to distinguish them from the other nations of the earth. The taste of the Babylonians was exhibited in the gigantic and grotesque. This, and the bent of their genius, are felicitously deli-

\* Jer. li. 87.

neated by Daniel in the winged human-headed figure, huge in its proportions.

The Macedonians had no such characteristics. Wherever they established themselves art and science indeed prevailed; but these sprang from Greece, not from Macedonia\*, and after Alexander's death were rudely checked by wars and political convulsions, except under the fostering care of the Ptolemies in Egypt. That which thereafter was to become history therefore, and not art or science, had to supply the materials for the prophetic picture; and how true and masterly is the sketch, we shall presently see. The entire delineation occupies but three or four short lines, yet it is amazing how much is condensed into it.

The emblem chosen is that of a leopard with four bird's wings attached to its sides, or back: so Wintle renders it; or according to the Greek, and Vulgate, "upon it," or "over it:"—Wintle remarking, "The word *נָבִיא* loses its *Jod* in very many MSS., as well as in the Masora, yet Syr. seems to retain the plural form, and renders 'on its sides †.'"

The leopard is peculiarly an animal of chase, springing upon its prey, which sinks under its attack. It is distinguished by four characteristics,—the smallness of its size, in comparison with other animals of a similar class,—its courage,—its swiftness,—and its spots.

All these marks are to be traced in the personal appearance, the individual qualities, and the public career of Alexander. Small in stature, nothing could be more indomitable than his courage, more impetuous than his assaults, more rapid than his progress, or more varied than his character and conduct.

\* See Grote's H. Gr. xii. 2, 3.

† Notes on Dan. 97.

These striking analogies have frequently been pointed out; although with some diversity of opinion respecting the last of them. The two first are noticed by Bochart in these terms, "As the leopard is small in size, but excels in courage and strength to such a degree as not to be afraid of encountering the lion, and some of the largest wild beasts; so Alexander, scarcely more than a petty king, and with slender means at his disposal, ventured to attack the king of kings, that is, Darius, whose empire extended from the *Ægean* Sea even to India\*."

The third of these analogies is thus referred to by Jerome: "Truly nothing was more rapid than the conquests of Alexander, who from *Illyricum* and the *Adriatic* Sea, even to the *Indian Ocean*, and the river *Ganges*, ran over the various countries by a succession, not so much of battles, as of victories: and in six (rather nine) years subjugated part of Europe, and the whole of Asia†." "He flew with victory swifter than others can travel, often with his horse pursuing his enemies upon the spur, whole days and nights, and sometimes making long marches for several days one after the other, as once he did in pursuit of Darius of near forty miles a day for eleven days together‡."

\* "Ut pardus, staturâ parvus est, sed animo et robore maxime præstans, ita ut cum leone et procerissimis quibusque feris congregari non vereatur: sic Alexander penè regulus, et cum exiguo apparatu, regem regum aggredi ausus est, id est, Darium, cujus regnum a mari *Ægeo* usque ad *Indos* extendebatur."—Boch. in loc.

† "Nihil enim Alexandri victoria velocius fuit, qui ab *Illyrico* et *Adriatico* mari usque ad *Indicum* oceanum, et *Gangem* fluvium, non tam præliis, quam victoriis percurrit, et in sex annis partem *Europæ*, et omnem sibi *Asiam* subjugavit."—Hieron. Comm. iii. 1100. Ed. Bened.

‡ *Prid. Connect.* l. viii. s. 1.



In his last campaign Colonel Chesney computes that his march extended to the enormous length of 19,000 miles.

The spots in the leopard's skin have suggested different interpretations. Bochart considered that they denoted the various names of the several nations over whom Alexander ruled. Grotius more happily points the analogy to the king himself: "The leopard is a spotted and uncertain animal: so Alexander was affected by various tempers and passions; sometimes clement, at other times cruel; sometimes temperate, at other times drunken; sometimes continent, at other times abandoning himself to sensuality\*." Thus changeable in his mood, and exhibiting extremes of evil, with a mixture of much that was good and noble, what more fit than the spots upon the leopard's skin to denote the excellencies and vices of his character?

The force of these several combinations cannot be removed by saying that the analogies are fanciful, or the resemblances casual; for although a solitary instance might give rise to a mistake, multiplied cases, similar in kind, cannot be attributed either to imagination or chance. One quality may not admit of an inference, but repeated characteristics will; and when all the objects and events delineated are found closely to correspond with the emblems, under which they are described, there is no escape from the conclusion that this resemblance is the result, not of accident, but design.

Such is the case throughout the sacred volume; but in no portion of it to a greater degree than in the Book of Daniel, of which the figure before us is at

\* "*Pardus varium animal, sic Alexander moribus variis; modo clemens, modo crudelis; modo victus temperati, modo ebriosus; modo abstinens, modo indulgens amoribus.*"—Grot. in loc.

once an illustration and a proof. No doubt the comparison may be pursued too far; and as Bishop Newton has remarked of some labored commentaries, "with more subtlety than solidity\*." It is no less important in this than in other instances, to keep in view the caution of Tully: "In omnibus rebus videndum est quatenus,—In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat, qui non sentirent quid esset satis †."

Where, however, the broader features are alone taken; there can be little risk of being led far astray; and if, while keeping within these bounds, any misconception should arise, the interpretation oftener falls short of the real meaning, than exceeds it. This happens, I think, in the present instance. Bishop Newton, after observing that by the figure of the leopard with reference to Alexander he conceived "the principal point of likeness was designed between the swiftness and impetuosity of the one and the other," proceeds to remark, "for the *same reason* the beast had upon the back of it the wings of a fowl †."

According to this view, which is the one taken more or less by all writers on the subject, the wings would indicate nothing more than the animal itself, or rather, than one only of its attributes, and would be a mere repetition of the same idea in another shape. This, however, would be a very poor construction of a remarkable addition to the animal's form, and would make that to be purely ideal, which, judging from other parts of the emblem, might reasonably be expected to have been suggested by a material original.

In the fact, therefore, that the Babylonian empire is represented with *two* wings, while that of the Macedonian is delineated with *four*, something beyond the

\* i. 259.

† Orat. n. 78.

‡ i. 259.

mere rapidity of Alexander's victories may, I apprehend, be looked for. Conjecture has not been wanting on the subject. Thus Wintle remarks, that "by the four wings on its back or sides \* seems to be meant the union of the four empires, the Assyrian, Median, Persian, and Grecian; or, as some think, Persia, Greece, Egypt, and India; and the rapidity with which they were united under Alexander, is fitly denoted by the character of wings †."

Were this accepted as a correct interpretation, it would make the wings to signify both the *object accomplished* and the *manner* of its accomplishment; two things, if not inconsistent, at least not to be confounded, if any other solution can be suggested. It would further tend to depress the position of Alexander with reference to these kingdoms, since the wings are depicted in the emblem as being *above* the body of the leopard. They therefore, rather than he, would in this view of it be uppermost or supreme; whereas, over the countries which he conquered, Alexander unquestionably raised himself to be absolute lord.

For these reasons, I conceive, that this suggested explanation must also be rejected. There is, however, another interpretation, which appears not to be liable to any similar objections. It accords in a remarkable manner with the history of Alexander, and that on a point which it is highly probable would be noticed by a prophetic writer such as Daniel. From its having led to no ultimate results and left no traces behind,

\* The figure of Cyrus at Pasargadæ appears to have four wings, though they may be only two spread out at greater length. They do not appear to be attached to the body of Cyrus, and may have been added only for the sake of symmetry, and breadth of coloring. See Gosse's *Assyria*, 445.

† Wint. Dan. 97.

however, it would be most likely to be passed over by a writer in the Maccabean age, even if greater accuracy could then be looked for than is really to be expected.

In Assyria and Babylonia not only the figures already noticed, but many others are delineated with *a pair of wings*. This was especially the case with the vulture-headed priest and various representations of the Deity. So in the country of the Pharaohs such representations abounded. "Amun-Ra or Kneph-Ra, the god of Thebes, or Jupiter Ammon, as he was called by the Greeks, was the god under whose spreading wings Egypt had seen her proudest days\*."

Now the policy of Alexander the Great was in nothing displayed more conspicuously than in his assumption of a divine character, or that of a divinely assisted personage. Besides the general keeping of this character, to be seen throughout, it was especially asserted by him on two notable occasions: once when he entered the temple of Belus, at Babylon, after which he claimed to have divine honors paid to him; and again when, after sacrificing in the temple of Pthah, at Memphis in Lower Egypt, he with a portion of his army undertook a long and arduous march through the Libyan desert to Thebes, the ancient capital of Upper Egypt, situate in the oasis of Ammon, for the express purpose of visiting its celebrated temple. Here he left his gifts before the altar, and was hailed by the Egyptian priests as "the son of Amun-Ra †." Thenceforth he styled himself "Alexander King, son of Amun-Ra," a title which he never afterwards laid aside, except when he used that of "King of Asia," or the still more inflated one of "Lord of all countries and of the world ‡." He thus

\* Sharpe's Egypt, i. 168.

† Arr. iii.

‡ Justin XII. xvi. 9. Arr. vii. 15. Diod. Sic. xvii.

flew, as it were, over a large portion of the earth, not merely with the rapidity of the leopard when bounding after its prey, but under the shadow and with the aid of the twofold pair of outstretched wings, which denoted the hovering divinities of Egypt, and of Babylonia, expanded as it was into Asia.

As with the spots on the animal's skin, so here with the four spreading wings attached, (or, taking the Greek and Vulgate versions, "upon or over it,") are to be traced the closest analogies to the progress, and publicly assumed pretensions of Alexander. At the same time there is nothing to point the emblem, as a whole or in its parts, directly to the Macedonian conqueror. It requires an intimate acquaintance with his history and actions to render them obvious; just as in a picture objects, which fail to catch the eye at a glance, gradually emerge from the canvas when more intently looked upon, and, separating into groups or individual forms, assume a bold and lifelike reality.

If, then, the interpretation of the four wings which I have ventured to offer be considered sound, the simple fact that it has never been suggested for twenty-four centuries, reckoning from the age of Daniel, or for 2000 years, even taking that of the Maccabees, would sufficiently attest the latent character of the emblem. That the interpretation is well founded is shown, I apprehend, by this circumstance, that it falls in with the rest of the delineation in being of an historical character; historical in the sense, not of being aided by past, but of being justified by future history. Thus harmonizing, it gives a peculiar point and force to that, which according to the generally received explanations would either be redundant and comparatively meaningless, or else would be inconsistent, or at the best confused.

One other portion of the emblem remains to be

noticed. The beast is described as having four heads; and, it is added, "dominion was given to it." Considering how brief in point of time was the career of Alexander after his entry upon the Persian war, it is extraordinary to find not merely that his dominion was of such vast extent, but still more, that the Macedonian sovereignty was so firmly rooted after his death. This, however, may be accounted for not merely by the fact that the superior energy of the Greek character at this period of their history had been seen and recognized in the mercenary troops, which had previously been engaged in the foreign services of Asia and of Egypt, but also by the circumstance that Alexander had established such a well-ordered administration, that his removal was at first scarcely felt\*.

History has preserved the names of some twenty or thirty of his generals, who had the government of as many provinces immediately after his death; while other regions were presided over by generals whose names are not even known. This disposition had probably been made by Alexander in his lifetime, in allusion to which Rollin remarks, "And it is in this sense that most interpreters explain that passage in the Maccabees, which declares that Alexander having assembled the great men of his court, who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his lifetime. And, indeed, it is very probable that this prince, when he saw his death approaching, and had no inclination to nominate a successor himself, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the governments he had formerly assigned them; which is sufficient to authorize the declaration in the Mac-

\* Rollin, *Anc. Hist.* vii. 147.

cabees, *that he divided his kingdom among them whilst he was living* \*."

But although this observation may be a just one, yet there is in this, as in other instances, a marked contrast between the extreme nicety of Daniel's prophetic sketch, and the subsequent relation given by the writer of the Maccabees. The latter, immediately after the passage just referred to, subjoins, "And his servants bare rule *every one in his place*. And after his death they *all* put crowns upon themselves: so did their sons after them many years †."

Now if, in the earlier passage cited by Rollin, the Maccabean writer were referring to the mere division of government or subordinate authority among the numerous generals of Alexander, it would not be true that they *all* assumed the insignia of royalty, or that all or even the majority of them were succeeded, either as kings or governors, by their posterity. Nor did any one of them take the title of king until several years after the death of their chief.

In the Maccabean account, therefore, taken as a whole, there is great looseness of description, and much which is positively inaccurate. This may be palliated by saying that it only professes to be a condensed summary of what occurred shortly after the death of Alexander, and consequently that strict accuracy of detail or expression is not to be expected. Daniel's, however, is likewise a mere sketch, and yet it has a delicacy of touch which surpasses any thing to be met with in actual history; and it is by eliciting this that I propose to furnish one more proof of its authenticity.

I know nothing so well calculated for this purpose

\* Rollin, *Anc. Hist.* vii. c. 1. s. 1.

† 1 Macc. i. 8, 9.

as to compare it with narratives of an undoubted character, partly with a view to ascertain its general agreement or disagreement with these, but still more to note the different modes of treating the same subject adopted by various writers, where the facts are not in dispute, and all are in the main correct.

In doing so it will be found that Daniel, though indirectly supported by all, yet coincides with none of them. His description is altogether independent of theirs; and while they either generalize too much, or else take in detached parts only of the great historical landscape, he seizes upon the more prominent objects, just as amid the splendid ranges of the Alps the sun tips with its golden rays a few of their loftiest peaks.

Polybius, who lived at no great distance of time from the events themselves, seems to point, though very indistinctly, to four kingdoms, which would correspond with the four heads of Daniel\*. One of them, however, is rather to be implied than to be found actually mentioned; and to be perceived, the light of other histories is needed.

Livy, one of the next earliest writers on the subject, and whose account approaches the nearest to that of the Maccabean author, though with less of his faults, says this,—“Then was the sovereignty and name of the Macedonians greatest upon the earth, when being broken up into many kingdoms by reason of the death of Alexander, all in power were exhausting their strength in the eager rapacity for extended dominion †.” Here the Roman historian does not profess to give the number of derivative kingdoms, which sprung from that of Alexander; but although

\* Polyb. II. iii. v.

† “Tum maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenque, inde morte Alexandri distractum, in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus.”—Liv. xlv. 9.



his relation is indefinite, it is perfectly accurate as far as it goes. There is no approach to the erroneous representation of the Maccabean writer, that there were as many kings, as in Alexander's lifetime there had been governors of districts or provinces.

There is a passage nearly identical in Dionysius Halicarnassus, who says,—“The Macedonian empire having overturned the force of the Persians, in greatness indeed of dominion exceeded all the kingdoms which were before it: yet it did not flourish for any length of time, but after the death of Alexander began to decline. For being presently broken up into many governments by his successors, and none of them having strength to go on to the second or third generation, it was weakened of itself and ended in being destroyed by the Romans \*.”

Josephus, though he gives much the same account as Livy, has the appearance of greater particularity. After mentioning the death of Alexander, he proceeds thus,—“And as his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia, Seleucus Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont, and Cassander possessed Macedonia; as did Ptolemy the son of Lagus seize upon Egypt. And as these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continual wars, and those lasting wars too †.”

The Jewish historian here mentions the *five* generals of Alexander, who played the most conspicuous parts after his death: but without as yet representing their governments or principalities as being converted into actual kingdoms; his allusions being applicable

\* Dion. Hal. Ann. Rom. i. 2, 3.

† Joseph. Antiq. xii. 1.

to them as well before, as after their regal assumptions. In the following chapter, however, Ptolemy is spoken of as having succeeded to the Egyptian throne immediately on the death of Alexander. "When Alexander had reigned twelve years, *and after him Ptolemy Soter forty years*, Philadelphus then took the kingdom of Egypt, and held it forty years within one \*." Thus confounding the periods during which the first Ptolemy governed Egypt, as lieutenant and as king, Josephus is not free from that inaccuracy of expression, which is occasionally to be met with even in the best historians, especially when referring to incidental circumstances, collateral to the main topic and end of their writings. So far as he enters into the subject, Josephus seems to indicate five heads, rather than four, as described in Daniel. Alluding to the wars which ensued, without intimating their results, he does not in reality go beyond the period immediately following the death of Alexander; nor can any thing definite be collected from the mere passing allusions, thus to be found in his works.

Plutarch has a passage very similar to that cited from Livy. "As Empedocles observed that there was a continual hostility among the four elements which compose the universe, every one of them still combating with his neighbour, and all of them continually striving to enlarge the boundaries of their empires; so did it happen among the potent successors of the great Alexander, betwixt whom, especially those whose dominions lay contiguous, there was an eternal jealousy and almost perpetual wars †."

The contrast, which this passage offers to that in the Maccabees, is even more marked than the one in

\* Joseph. Antiq. xii. 2.

† Plut. Vit. Demet.

Livy; since the writer is careful to distinguish such of Alexander's generals, as attained to sovereign power, from the rest, by the epithet of "potent."

But in Plutarch we have more than mere general remarks; for in tracing the life of Demetrius, he has occasion here and there to bring the successors of Alexander generally upon the scene. This he does in such a manner as to show the extraordinary accuracy of Daniel. Like Josephus, he mentions, though at greater length, the five generals of Alexander, who acted the most prominent parts after his death. But before noticing his mode of doing this, it may be well to recall the reader's recollection to some of the principal events, which occurred at this period, attending to their chronological order. The dates commonly received are given below\*.

On a hasty glance at these dates and events, it might be thought that for a period of some four or five years, that is, between the years 306 and 301 before the Christian æra, there were five regal successors to Alexander, and consequently that the leopard of Daniel ought to have been represented with that number of heads, instead of four.

Not only was the interval between the two periods

	B. C.
* Alexander's death . . . . .	323
Extinction of Alexander's family . . . .	308
Naval victory of Demetrius, son of Ptolemy, near Cyprus; after which the victors were saluted as, and took the title of kings . .	307
Assumption by Ptolemy of the title of king, in which he was followed by Seleucus, and Lysimachus . . . . .	306
Battle of Ipsus, and death of Antigonus, when, and not before, Seleucus, Lysima- chus, and Cassander, were generally ac- knowledged as kings . . . . .	301

too transient for a lasting impression; but the position in which these five powerful chiefs stood, relatively to each other, would have rendered the addition of a fifth head highly improper.

There never were in the strict sense five separate kingdoms. As long as any son or brother of the late king survived, the Macedonians, in whatever part of the world they might be settled, "pleased themselves with the thought, that the whole of the conquered countries were still governed by the brother of Alexander: and no one of his generals, in his wildest thoughts of ambition, whether aiming like Ptolemy at founding a kingdom, or like Perdiccas at the government of the world, was unwise enough to throw off the title of lieutenant to Philip Aridæus, and to forfeit the love of the Macedonian soldier, and his surest hold on their loyalty\*."

After the death of Aridæus, and during the lifetime of Alexander Ægus, who was styled the heir of his father's extensive conquests, the same restraint continued to prevail, all abstaining from assuming the regal title, as long as there existed any rightful heir of Alexander †.

So soon, however, as this impediment was removed, the towering ambition of Antigonus induced him to aim at universal dominion. He had early overcome the only true servant of his master's house, the brave and faithful Eumenes, through the treachery of some of his own troops, and caused him to be put to death. He had compelled Seleucus to fly from Babylonia, and was preparing for further conquests, when he was opposed by the combined efforts of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus. These generals, at the

\* Sharpe's Egypt, i. 179.

† "Quoad Alexander justus hæres fuit," Justin xv. 2.

persuasion of Seleucus, entered into a general league against him; and the issue which had ultimately to be decided was, whether they should reign as four independent sovereigns, or he should be universal monarch. The principal object of his attack was Ptolemy, through whose assistance Seleucus had been enabled to recover Babylon; and it was in a contest with Ptolemy's naval forces, that Antigonus and Demetrius gained the great naval victory, which led to their assumption of the title of kings.

Three out of the confederate chiefs, determining not to be outdone, followed the example thus set them; although it was not until after the defeat and death of Antigonus, that their regal titles were generally recognized. In his lifetime there was a striking difference: for while Antigonus assumed the title of king of all the provinces, Ptolemy called himself king of Egypt alone\*.

Cassander still retained his ancient style in all his letters and public documents, leaving others who addressed themselves to him at liberty to give him the title of king, or to withhold it†. It was also to the dominions of this very Cassander, that Demetrius himself, after his own and his father's overthrow, ultimately succeeded by a treacherous usurpation.

But although these circumstances are not to be lost sight of, they are far outweighed in importance by others, which show that Antigonus could not be considered as one of five kings; but that the claim he asserted was to a supreme, universal dominion. Not only could Cassander obtain no terms from Antigonus, without submitting himself entirely to the mercy of his adversary; but Demetrius would not

\* Diod. Sic. xx. 53. Sharpe's Egypt, i. 207.

† Plut. Vit. Demet.

allow "the title of king to any of the successors of Alexander, except his father and himself;" ridiculing his opponents for assuming it, and branding them with opprobrious epithets\*.

Meanwhile preparations for the grand struggle for mastery continued. This resulted in the complete overthrow of Antigonus and his son, and the death of the former. After the memorable battle of Ipsus, which thus determined the fate of these presumptuous princes, the four confederate kings, whose regal titles then became assured, divided between them the dominions of Antigonus, and added them to those which they already possessed. Ptolemy had Egypt, Libya, Arabia, Cœlo-Syria, and Palestine. Cassander had Macedonia, Epirus, and such hold as he could obtain over Greece. Lysimachus had Thrace, Bithynia, and some other provinces beyond the Hellespont, with the Bosphorus: while Seleucus had Syria, and the rest of Asia, as far as to the Indus.

Thus within little more than twenty years from Alexander's death, and within only six or seven years from the extinction of his family, was the extensive empire of Alexander divided into four distinct and considerable kingdoms.

The assumption of a regal title, even by Antigonus, had been delayed in the first instance, by the existence of Aridæus, and Alexander Ægus; and after their deaths the struggle for royalty was continued only for the space of seven years.

The partition of Alexander's vast empire was thus effected through the vaulting ambition of Antigonus, who therefore could not be regarded as one of the heads of Daniel's prophetic emblems; but rather, though but for a time, as their strenuous opponent.

\* Plut. Vit. Demet.

How likely was it, however, that a writer should have been misled on this point. Few individuals in history have ever stood forth more conspicuously than this Antigonus, and the talented, though profligate, Demetrius. But for a nice discrimination of the history of the times, he more than any other of Alexander's generals was likely to be treated as one of the heads, who succeeded to his authority. A forger indeed would scarcely have committed himself to any definite number. Even writers of history and biography, such as Livy, Dionysius Halicarnassus, and Plutarch, did not venture to do so; but had this been attempted by a Maccabean Jew, it would have been next to impossible, that with scarcely any materials before him, he should have just hit upon that precise number, which with all the advantages of convergence, arising no less from distance of time, than of space, we can only now perceive to be correct by a delicate appreciation of the scattered materials, presented to our notice in the works of various authors\*.

An earlier writer (with the exception of Polybius) than any yet mentioned, Diodorus Siculus, who flourished about the time of Plutarch, and two others of later date, Justin and Ammianus Marcellinus, all relate or refer more or less to the contests which took place between these five celebrated generals of Alexander, particularly those in which Antigonus, Seleucus, and Ptolemy were principally engaged. They also mention the alliance formed between the two latter in conjunction with Cassander and Lysimachus: but the remains of Diodorus Siculus, the most copious writer of all on these subjects, stop short of the battle of Ipsus. They all substantially agree with Plutarch

\* See a succinct but comprehensive view of the subject, similar to the above, in Elliott's *Horæ Apoc.* iii. n. 1.

in representing Antigonus as engaged in pushing his fortunes on the one side, and the four others as confederating together for the purpose of resistance and mutual support on the other.

Looking back at the emblem, how exquisite is the sketch here given by Daniel! A king, whose littleness of stature contrasted strongly with the greatness of his actions, and the vastness of his designs; whose progress was marked by its rapidity, and by its continued course of conquest; whose character, however renowned, was stained by spots of the deepest dye; who asserted a claim to divine protection, and received the honors of a god; by whose energy and exploits a state small in extent was expanded into a vast dominion; and finally, on whose death, this widespread empire branched out into four still considerable kingdoms. All these find their corresponding members in the image before us. Yet not only are these several types or allusions difficult to comprehend; but even the events or circumstances themselves were not, as a whole, so clearly discernible, as to be fully understood by those who lived at, or even a considerable time after the period of their occurrence. It required a long vista of years ere, for the purpose of a sketch like this, they could be seen in their true light; and the proper focus, as it were, for the picture could be obtained. There should in all cases be a telescopic view to judge of history aright.

Add to all this, that the leopard was a favorite subject of representation in Babylonia, and that the whole figure has a Chaldean cast; and the proof that Daniel was the inspired author of it, is carried as high as human testimony on such a subject is capable of reaching.



## § IV. DANIEL'S FOURTH EMPIRE.

We now pass to the fourth kingdom, in describing which Daniel still has recourse to the same kind of animal symbolism; "After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth: it devoured and brake in pieces; and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it." The writer adds, "and it had ten horns:" and then, upon considering the horns, "there came up among them another little horn \*."

These he proceeds to describe as so many kingdoms, and in doing so carries on the action long past the period when it was written, whatever date may be attributed to it. The latter part of the prophecy is yet in process of accomplishment: and we of the present day, if not in the midst of the stream, borne along by its current, are at least spectators of its still onward flow. The course of events is so clear and distinct, and this clearness and distinctness increase so much the more as the Maccabean age is past, that the attempts which have been made to confine them to this age are little short of infatuation.

As, however, it is not the province of this work to deal with any prophecies but those which have been completely fulfilled, the reader is referred for an interpretation of the little horn in this prediction to the various works which have treated of the subject †.

Ere yet the ten horns had branched forth, there is this further elucidation, "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of

\* Dan. vii. 7, 8.

† See particularly Bp. Newton's *Proph.* i. 273, &c.

iron, and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet." And the angel said, "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces\*." And of the little horn it is said, "And another shall rise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings. And he shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time†."

I have hitherto abstained from noticing the delineation of this and the three other preceding kingdoms contained in the earlier chapter of the Book of Daniel which gives a relation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, and the interpretation of it; because the same amount of animal symbolism is not here to be found. But there is such a close resemblance in the several descriptions of the fourth kingdom in the two passages, that it seems desirable to view them together. After describing the upper parts of the great image seen by Nebuchadnezzar, (the huge size of which was quite Babylonian,) Daniel adds, "His legs were of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay," which is afterwards thus explained,—“And the fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron that breaketh all these, shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and toes, part of potters' clay, and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed

\* Dan. vii. 19. 23.

† Dan. vii. 24, 25.

with miry clay. And as the toes of the feet were part of iron, and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong, and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay \*."

A number of hostile commentators, such as Porphyry, Collins, Bertholdt, Bleek, and De Wette, profess to understand the fourth kingdom as signifying the kingdom of the Seleucidæ and Lagidæ, and the little horn in this place as indicating Antiochus Epiphanes. In order to arrive at this result they are compelled to alter the whole scheme of interpretation of these wonderful prophecies. The assertion being that the Book of Daniel is the production of the Maccabean age, the period to be assigned to this fourth kingdom is felt to be the critical period, the crucial point; for should this once be passed, it would be as fatal to infidelity, as was the passage of the Rubicon to the existence of the Roman Republic, or of the Granicus to that of the empire of Darius. With a view therefore to maintain their position, they are driven to resort to the most desperate expedients in order to antedate, and throw back one or more of the four kingdoms, symbolized by Daniel under animal forms. It must be allowed, however, that they are countenanced in this view by some writers of a higher stamp, such as Grotius, Dr. Halifax, Jahn, Maurer, Professor Stuart, and others.

#### ERRONEOUS INTERPRETATIONS.

One suggested interpretation, that of Eichhorn, Jahn, Dereser, De Wette, and Bleek, is that by the

\* Dan. ii. 40—43.

four beasts are denoted the following kingdoms:—by the *first* the Chaldean:—by the *second*, the Median:—by the *third*, the Persian:—and by the *fourth*, the Macedonian, the last including the Macedonian Asiatic kingdom growing out of it.

Another hypothesis, that of Porphyry, Grotius, Collins, Bertholdt, Professor Stuart, and others, is that the empires intended to be designated are,—The *first* that of the Babylonians;—the *second* that of the Medes and Persians;—the *third* that of Alexander, confining it to his own life;—and the *fourth* a portion only of his successors, with certain erroneous additions; the ten horns symbolizing, as is affirmed, ten kings preceding Antiochus Epiphanes, and springing, not out of all their dominions, but out of one, or at most two of them only, viz. Syria, or Syria with some addition from Egypt.

The fallacy of these two theories has been ably exposed by Bishop Newton and Professor Hengstenberg\*, who are followed by Barnes†, and others. With respect to the first of them, no amount of sophistry can get over the fact that Daniel expressly makes the kingdom of the Babylonians to be succeeded by that of the Medes and Persians in their union as an entire people‡:—that when the Medes are mentioned separately from the Persians, it is at a much earlier period of their history, when they were in a state of subjection to the Assyrians§. That two distinct and separate *kingdoms*, one of the Medes and the other of the Persians, are never spoken of in Scripture; but that the Medo-Persian kingdom is always represented as forming one single empire||;—

\* Dan., trans. by Pratt., 161—169.

† Note to Dan. vii. 28.

‡ Dan. v. 28; vi. 8. 12. 15; viii. 26.

§ 2 Kings xvii. 6.

|| Esth. i. 3. 18, 19; x. 2. See also 1 Macc. i. 1.

and lastly, that no quadrupartite division of sovereignty can be shown to have taken place among the Persians, as was the case among the Macedonians.

The second of these theories is equally untenable. Daniel distinctly connects the kingdom of Alexander the Great with that of his successors, by making the latter to spring out of the former in his symbolic image of the beast having four heads. Josephus and heathen writers similarly refer to the empire of Alexander, and his successors, as one \*.

The attempt to make out ten kings of Syria to correspond with the ten horns of Daniel has likewise signally failed. The theory would be met by the serious, if not insuperable objections,—first, that according to this mode of interpretation the horns are made to denote *individual kings*, instead of states or kingdoms, contrary to the general tenor of Scripture, and to the derivation of the term, the same word signifying in oriental language a *horn*, a *crown*, also power, and *splendor* †: and secondly, that whereas the prophecy itself makes the ten horns to assume the place of the fourth beast or kingdom, as a whole, extending over its several parts, this scheme confines them to one only of its divisions, for which there is not the slightest warrant.

But in truth, as has been repeatedly shown, there were not ten Syrian kings, prior to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. There were but seven sovereigns who preceded this monarch. Accordingly Bertholdt, while acknowledging the apparent deficiency in their number, vainly endeavours to supply the gaps by the three following additions.

\* See Joseph. Antiq. xi. 8. s. 7. Dion. Hal. i. 2, 3. Liv. xlv. 9. Justin xii. c. 1. s. 5, c. 4. s. 1. 2 c. 5. s. 5. Also Diod. Siculus, Polybius, and Amm. Marcel. *passim*.

† Spanheim de usu Numismatum, 1 Diss. vii. 400, and 1 Newt. Proph. 301.

1. Heliodorus, the treasurer of Seleucus Philopator, who taking advantage of the absence of Demetrius, and Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, the son and brother of the king, poisoned his sovereign, and endeavoured to usurp the throne. In this attempt he was defeated by the rapid return of Antiochus, who was at Athens on his way back from Rome, where he received intelligence of the event.

2. Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who at the same time laid claim to the throne as nephew to Seleucus Philopator, being the son of his sister Cleopatra, but who made no serious effort to support his pretensions. His efforts were in fact confined to the recovery of the provinces of Cælo-Syria, Judea, and Phœnicia, which rightfully belonged to him.

3. Demetrius, the late king's son, to whom the sceptre rightfully belonged; but, who being then a youthful hostage at Rome, was from his continued detention there, and in the confusion which followed the treachery of Heliodorus, supplanted by Antiochus, and made no attempt to gain the kingdom, until after his uncle's death.

The number of ten kings being thus arbitrarily made up, the eleventh king, put forward as answering to the little horn of Daniel in this place, is Antiochus Epiphanes. This monarch, however, as we have seen, succeeded immediately to his brother Seleucus Philopator; neither Heliodorus, nor Ptolemy Philometor having made good their claims: while Demetrius remained inactive at Rome during the entire reign of Antiochus, and can only be ranked among the Syrian kings, after Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, who succeeded his father, though reigning but two years.

The following is a list of the Kings of Syria, with

the dates, and duration of their several reigns, according to the received chronology.

ÆRA OF THE SELEUCIDÆ.

	B. C.
1. Seleucus Nicator . . . . .	312—280
2. Antiochus Soter, his son . . . . .	280—261
3. Antiochus Theos, his son . . . . .	261—246
4. Seleucus Callinicus, his son . . . . .	247—226
5. Seleucus Ceraunus, his son . . . . .	226—223
6. Antiochus the Great, his brother . . . . .	223—187
7. Seleucus Philopator or Soter, his son . . . . .	187—175
[Here Bertholdt interposes,	
8. Heliodorus.	
9. Ptolemy Philometor.	
10. Demetrius, son of Seleucus.]	
8. Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of Seleucus Philopator . . . . .	176—164
9. Antiochus Eupator, his son . . . . .	164—162
10. Demetrius Soter, son of Seleucus Philopator . . . . .	162—150
11. Alexander Balas, reputed son of Antiochus Epiphanes . . . . .	150—146
12. Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius, who became captive to the Parthians . . . . .	146—138
13. Antiochus Sidetes, his brother . . . . .	138—128
Demetrius Nicator, for the second time, after his release by the Parthians . . . . .	128—125
14. Seleucus his son, and Cleopatra his widow * over part . . . . .	125—123
Alexander Zebina over another part . . . . .	125—123
Their reigns are however sometimes omitted from those of the Syrian Sovereigns.	
15. Antiochus Grypus, variously styled Philometor or Epiphanes . . . . .	123—96
Proclaimed king by his mother, the wicked Cleopatra, merely to confirm her own power, about the year 125. Succeeded to the whole empire by the death of Zebina in 123. But his reign	

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\* Who killed Seleucus her son with her own hands.

- is often reckoned as commencing immediately on the death of his father Demetrius. B.C.
16. Antiochus Cyzicenus, his half-brother, who dispossessed him of part of his dominions. . . . . 111—96
  17. Seleucus, son of Antiochus Grypus . . . . . 96—93  
His reign over the whole of Syria did not commence till the year 94, when he defeated and killed Antiochus Cyzicenus.
  18. Antiochus Eusebes, son of Cyzicenus . . . . . 93—89
  19. Philip and Demetrius, sons of Antiochus Grypus, who shared the empire . . . . . 89—86
  20. Antiochus Eusebes recovered part of the kingdom . . . . . } 86—83
  21. Antiochus Dionysius his brother seized the other part . . . . . }  
Tigranes, king of Armenia . . . . . 83—69  
Selena, or Selene, the wife of Eusebes retaining Ptolemais, Cælo-Syria, and part of Phœnicia . . . . . 83—69
  22. Antiochus Asiaticus, son of Antiochus Eusebes and Selena, in succession to the latter . . . . . 69—65  
Syria annexed by Pompey as a province to the Roman Empire \*.

Considering the constant wars in which the Romans were engaged, it is remarkable how little they interfered in the affairs of Syria. Their contests with Antiochus the Great may be considered to have sprung out of their Punic Wars; and to have been a struggle, rather for superiority of name and position among the other nations of the earth, than with a view to accession of territory, on the one side or the other.

So far also as they came into collision with Antiochus Epiphanes, it arose from a desire to preserve their influence in Egypt, and not for the sake of territorial aggrandizement in Asia.

\* See Clinton's F. H. iii. 308—346. Hale's Chron. i. 175, 176.



The reign of this monarch occurs about midway in the Syrian dynasty; and from the above line of kings, it must be evident how hard pressed they are, who seek to eke out the requisite number of monarchs, in order that Antiochus Epiphanes may be the eleventh king, or little horn of Daniel.

Professor Stuart, however, substantially adopts the same view as Bertholdt: while Grotius gives another list, in which he seeks to make up the *ten* kings preceding Antiochus Epiphanes, by taking five from Syria, and five from Egypt.

It is extraordinary how writers will sometimes lay hold of a single circumstance, or point of resemblance, which may be common to many persons or objects, and shut their eyes to the general scope and bearing of an entire delineation, whereof the one circumstance or point of resemblance, to which so much prominence is given, forms but a small and insignificant part. The present is an illustration of this. Because Antiochus Epiphanes polluted the temple, and there set up an idol altar over the altar of Jehovah, and bitterly persecuted the Jews, some of whom were compelled to eat swine's flesh, it has been contended, that it can be no other than he, who is referred to as one, who should "speak great words against the Most High \*." There is, it is true, the additional circumstance, that a period for the domination of this persecuting power is spoken of as "a time, times, and the dividing of time." This is said to be three years and a half, answering (it is alleged) to the period, during which Antiochus Epiphanes had possession of Jerusalem and the temple.

Not only, however, do *days* in prophetic language usually stand for *years*, which, on the assumption that by "*a time*" was to be understood *a year*, would

\* Dan. vii. 25.

make the period 1260 *years*, instead of three years and a half: but looking at the various accounts given by Josephus, it is impossible to make out this number.

In his earlier work he says, that Antiochus "took Jerusalem *by force*, and held it for *three years and three months* \*:" and shortly afterwards that he "spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for *three years and six months* †." But in his later work Josephus, after relating that Antiochus obtained possession of the city, *not by force, but by treachery*, says in the most distinct terms, that "the temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for *three years*;" and that at the end of this time, it was purified and the offerings resumed on *the very same day*, on which Divine worship had ceased ‡. He thus corrects his previous mistakes, no doubt on the authority of the first Book of Maccabees. The writer of this book,—after stating that it was on the fifteenth day of the ninth month Casleu, in the 145th year, i. e. of the Seleucidæ, (B.C. 167, or according to some 168,) that the soldiers of Antiochus Epiphanes "set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar §:" and then, that on "the five and twentieth day of the ninth month they did sacrifice on the idol altar ||,"—afterwards relates that on the five and twentieth day of the same month, i. e. in the 148th year of the Seleucidæ (B.C. 165), the Jews offered "sacrifice upon the *new altar*." To this coincidence in point of date he thus pointedly alludes: "Look, at what time *and*

\* Proœm. ad Bell. Jud. s. 7.

† Bell. Jud. I. 1. s. 1.

‡ Antiq. xii. 5. s. 4. 7. s. 6.

§ 1 Macc. i. 54.

|| 1 Macc. i. 59.

*what day* the heathen had profaned it, even *in that* was it dedicated \*."

So far therefore as this profanation of the temple is concerned, it is impossible to make out the three years and a half, or 1260 days; since it is clear that the duration of this event was confined to three years, or at the most, reckoning from the fifteenth, when the work of profanation may be said to have begun, three years and ten days.

But notwithstanding this and other difficulties, it is pretended that the allusion to Antiochus is too pointed and manifest to be mistaken, and that the prophecy refers primarily, if not exclusively, to him. Professor Moses Stuart advances this opinion in the boldest terms. He says, "The passage in Dan. vii. 25, is so clear as to leave no reasonable room for doubt. . . . In verses 8. 20. 24, the rise of Antiochus Epiphanes is described: for the fourth beast is beyond all reasonable doubt the divided Grecian dominion, which succeeded the reign of Alexander the Great. From this dynasty springs Antiochus, v. 8—20, who is most graphically described in verse 25, 'as one who shall speak great words against the Most High, and shall wear out the saints of the Most High †.'"

The very passage, however, which is thus adduced in support of this view, appears plainly to establish the contrary. The persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes was far too limited in duration, and was followed too closely by the successful insurrection of the Jews under their Asmonean leaders, to satisfy the expression, "he shall *wear out* the saints of the Most

\* 1 Macc. iv. 52—54. See also 2 Macc. x. 5, and Joseph. Antiq. xii. c. v. s. 4; c. vii. s. 6.

† Hints on Interp. of Proph. 86, and also Comm. on Dan. 205—211.

High;" that is, according to the sense in the Targum, "make to grow old as a garment does by continual wearing\*." This evidently implies a long-continued course of persecution; but instead of this description being applicable to the persecution under Antiochus, it had only raged about six months, when Mattathias and the Maccabees were raised up as deliverers of God's people.

A war of some duration then ensued; but a state of open warfare, terminating in ultimate success, would be very inappropriately described as one, which should "wear out" the party that was to prove triumphant.

Still more strange is it to find the eighth and twenty-fourth verses of this chapter referred to in support of the same opinion. "I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, *before whom three of the first horns were* plucked up by the roots†." "And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise: and another shall arise after them; and *he shall be diverse* from the first, and *he shall subdue three kings*‡."

It has been repeatedly shown that this description is wholly inapplicable to Antiochus Epiphanes. The case is thus admirably argued by Bishop Newton: "One absurdity generally produceth another; and Grotius, in consequence of his former supposition that the fourth kingdom was the kingdom of the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, supposeth also that *the little horn* was Antiochus Epiphanes, and that *the three horns, which were plucked up before him*, were the elder brother Seleucus, and Demetrius the son of Seleucus, and Ptolemy Philopator king of Egypt: and Collins adopts the same notion after Grotius, for

\* Wintle's Dan., notes, p. 187.

† Dan. vii. 8.

‡ Dan. v. 24.

Collins was only a retailer of scraps, and could not advance any thing of the kind of his own. But surely it is very arbitrary to reckon Antiochus Epiphanes as one of the ten horns, and at the same time as the little horn, when the prophet hath plainly made the little horn an eleventh horn, distinct from the former ten. There were *three of the first horns* to be pluckt up by the roots before the little horn; but the three kings mentioned by Grotius are not in his first catalogue of ten kings, neither Ptolemy Philometor (if Philometor be meant) nor Demetrius being of the number. Neither were they *pluckt up by the roots* by Antiochus or by his order. Seleucus was poisoned by Heliodorus, whose aim it was to usurp the crown to himself before Antiochus returned from Rome, where he had been detained a hostage several years. Demetrius lived to dethrone and murder the son of Antiochus, and succeeded him in the kingdom of Syria. Ptolemy Philopator died king of Egypt before Antiochus came to the throne of Syria; or if Ptolemy Philometor (as is most probable) was meant by Grotius, Philometor, though he suffered much in his wars with Antiochus, yet survived him about eighteen years, and died in possession of the crown of Egypt, after the family of Antiochus had been set aside from the succession to the crown of Syria \*."

#### APPLICATION OF THE FOURTH EMPIRE TO THE ROMANS.

Another solution must therefore be sought; and notwithstanding the opposition of opinion respecting the kingdoms intended to be denoted by the ten horns, all the best commentators are agreed that by the fourth beast or kingdom was prefigured the Roman empire.

Of no nation could it so truly be affirmed that it

\* Bp. Newton, Proph. i. 267, 268.

was "dreadful and terrible and strong exceedingly, and it had great iron teeth." In their early history the Romans were distinguished for valor, hardiness, frugality, and poverty, of which iron is a proper emblem \*. The celebrated maxim, *parcere subjectis et debellare superbos*, was unrelentingly enforced against all who dared to dispute the supremacy or withstand the force of the Roman arms. The stern character of the people was displayed in the severity of their discipline, their stubborn courage under reverses, the strong determination of the national will, the firm texture of their constitution, and the lengthened duration of their power.

It is next said of this fourth beast or kingdom that "its nails were of brass." This was a metal much in use among the Romans, not merely for offensive and defensive weapons and armour, but also for other purposes. Their coins were at one time entirely composed of brass, whence money generally acquired with them the name of *æs*. Their laws and their treaties were likewise inscribed on tables of brass.

The subsequent part of the description is no less applicable. "It devoured, and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it." The wars of the Romans were fearfully destructive; myriads of the human race being slain in the various campaigns in Africa, Asia, Gaul, Germany, Britain, Spain, and elsewhere. One of the terms upon which a triumph was commonly decreed was that the Roman general should have slain above 5000 enemies of the state in a single battle †.

In their impetuous career they overturned and

\* Gibb., Decl. and Fall, c. iii. xxxviii.

† Val. Max. II. viii. 1.

destroyed communities and kingdoms without number, and reduced whole countries to the condition of Roman provinces. Thus did the fourth beast "devour and break in pieces." In the powerful language of Gibbon, which while it approaches and forcibly illustrates that of Scripture, seems rather to have been derived from classical sources: "The arms of the Republic, sometimes vanquished in battle, always victorious in war, advanced with rapid steps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the ocean; and the images of *gold*, or *silver*, or *brass*, that might serve to represent the nations and their kings, were successively broken by the *iron* monarchy of Rome \*."

Another writer in language of great force, (which deserves to be placed side by side with that of Gibbon,) observes, "The Roman empire did beat down the constitution and establishment of all other kingdoms; abolishing their independence, and bringing them into the most entire subjection; humbling the pride, subjecting the will, using the property, and trampling upon the power and dignity of all other states. For by this was the Roman dominion distinguished from all the rest, that it was the work of almost as many centuries as those were of years; the fruit of a thousand years, in which millions of men were slain. It made room for itself, as doth a battering ram, by continual successive blows; and it ceased not to beat and bruise all nations, so long as they continued to offer any resistance †."

The Romans asserted and made good their claim to be masters of the world; and fondly styled their empire—*terrarum orbis imperium*. See a passage elsewhere cited from Dion. Hal. 1, 2, 3. "The empire of the Romans filled the world, and when that empire fell

\* Decl. and Fall, c. xxxviii. Gen. Obs. &c.

† Irving's Discourse on Dan. 180.

into the hand of a single person, the world became a safe and dreary prison for his enemies \*."

In addition to the slain in battle or the siege, long trains of captives were led in chains to Rome, and when a triumph was decreed, swelled the procession of the victor. As his chariot turned from the forum to the capitol, he usually gave orders that the kings and principal chiefs should be taken to prison and there despatched, and on reaching the capitol awaited the announcement that these savage orders had been executed. Of the rest a large proportion was forced upon the arena, doomed to perish (*ad gladium damnati*) in the gladiatorial shows exhibited to the crowds assembled in the various amphitheatres. Of these the celebrated Colisæum at Rome is said to have contained no less than 87,000 spectators. There were others of nearly equal dimensions. When the amphitheatre at Phidenæ fell, 50,000 individuals were buried in its ruins.

Incredible numbers of men were in this savage manner destroyed. Upon the occasion of Trajan's victory over the Dacians, the public spectacles were continued for upwards of four months, or 123 successive days, during which there fought 10,000 gladiators, being at the rate of nearly 100 a day. During the same space of time there were also killed 11,000 animals of various kinds, so that the combats and slaughter must have been kept up during this long period with scarcely any intermission.

But it was not the celebration of occasional victories only, that caused this enormous sacrifice of human life. Such scenes were frequently enacted for the ordinary pastime of the people; and it is related of the Emperor Claudius, that though naturally of a

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, c. iii. in fin.



mild disposition, he was rendered cruel by his frequent attendance at these bloody spectacles\*. The imperial purple covered only a heart whose unequal pulses were moderated or agitated by external objects; and in this respect Claudius was but a conspicuous exemplar of the brutalizing effects of these inhuman exhibitions.

For the almost incredible space of nearly seven centuries did such displays continue to disgrace the Roman name and character; nor were they put an end to, until the Romans had themselves felt the scourge of the Gothic invasion under Alaric, and even then they were with difficulty suppressed.

The Emperor Honorius celebrated his doubtful victory over this intrepid barbarian with games of the greatest magnificence. "In these games of Honorius the inhuman combats of gladiators polluted for the last time the amphitheatre of Rome. The first Christian emperor may claim the honor of the first edict, which condemned the art and amusement of shedding human blood; but this benevolent law expressed the wishes of the prince, without reforming an inveterate abuse, which degraded a civilized nation below the condition of savage cannibals. Several hundred, perhaps several thousand victims were annually slaughtered in the great cities of the empire; and the month of December, more particularly devoted to the combats of the gladiators, still exhibited to the eyes of the Roman people a grateful spectacle of blood and cruelty †."

The heroic devotion however of one man, and the loss of a single life, boldly hazarded in the cause of humanity, effected that which the imperial edict alone would have failed to accomplish. The monk Tele-

\* Dio. xlviii. 15; lx. 14.

† Gibb. Dec. and Fall, c. xxx.

machus is related to have thrown himself into the arena in order to separate the combatants, and was there overwhelmed with stones, hurled upon him by the indignant spectators. "But the madness of the multitude soon subsided; they respected the memory of Telemachus, who had deserved the honor of martyrdom; and they submitted without a murmur to the laws of Honorius, which abolished for ever the human sacrifices of the amphitheatre\*."

This wanton outpouring of their blood was not the only mode, in which the vanquished nations were crushed under the iron heel of their conquerors. Vast numbers of them were reduced to a state of slavery. Individual citizens are said to have possessed several thousands †. Seneca alludes to the imminent danger there would be, if their slaves were to commence numbering the Romans. And when a proposal was made to distinguish the slaves by a peculiar habit, it was abandoned from the danger which was to be apprehended from their becoming acquainted with their own numbers ‡. Until the reigns of Hadrian and the Antonines slaves were in the absolute power of their masters, who might scourge or otherwise torture them, immure them in vaults or dungeons, or even put them to death at pleasure. This right was often exercised with such extreme cruelty, especially in the corrupt ages of the republic, that at various times laws were passed to restrain it. When the lash was inflicted, it was customary to suspend the slaves from a beam with weights fastened to their feet, so as to prevent them from flinching §.

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, c. xxx.

† Sen. Tranq. Ani. viii. Athen. Deipn. vi. 272. Plin. Nat. Hist. xxxiii.

‡ Quantum periculum immineret, si servi nostri numerare nos cœpissent. Seneca de Clement. i. 24.

§ Plant. Asin. ii. 2. 84. Aul. iv. 4. 16. Ter. Phorm. i. 4. 43.

Still more excruciating means of punishment and instruments of torture were invented and employed, particularly for extorting revelations, where there was the remotest suspicion. If the master of a family were slain in his own house, and the murderer were not discovered, all his domestic slaves were liable to be put to death. On an occasion of this kind no less than 400 in one family were thus butchered \*. When capitally punished, they were commonly crucified †; though later in the empire burning alive, and other modes of torture were added to the criminal code ‡.

So abhorrent to the noble natures of many among the captives were the degradation of slavery, and the public exhibitions of the amphitheatre, as to urge them more than once to rise indignantly against their oppressors, and peril the existence of the republic. The most formidable of these insurrections was that under Spartacus and other leaders, known as the war of Spartacus the gladiator. He was one of a few, who succeeded in escaping from the fate which had been reserved for them. Skilful in stratagem, fruitful in expedients, intrepid in danger, moderate in prosperity, and superior to adversity, he has been described as "a hero reduced to the condition of a slave §." His followers soon swelled into an army. He defeated several of the consuls and other generals of Rome; and the force of insurgent slaves at one time rose to 120,000 men. But his nature was almost too noble for the attempt. Instead of aspiring to the sole command, which might have changed the issue of the conflict, he allowed it to be shared by others,

\* Tac. Ann. xiv. 43.

† Juv. vi. 219. Cic. Verr. v. 3. 64.

‡ See Blair on Roman Slavery, 60. Also Kennett and Adams, Rom. Antiq.

§ Hooke's Rom. Hist. viii. 4.

and the usual fate of distracted counsels was the result. He was met by Crassus, one of the ablest of the Roman generals, and nobly determining either to conquer or die, he in the face of his army killed his horse, exclaiming that "if he proved victorious, he should have horses enough; if vanquished, he should have no need of them." In the battle which ensued he fought with the most desperate courage, and with his own hand slew two centurions in the effort to reach the person of Crassus. But all in vain; he rushed too impetuously among the enemy, and fell dead, covered with wounds. With his fall sank the spirits of his soldiers, and 40,000 slaves perished on the field of battle.

Terrible was the vengeance taken by the victorious Romans. Pompey, endeavouring to wrest from Crassus the glory of terminating the war, put all whom he encountered to the sword; while no less than 6000 fugitives, who fell alive into the hands of the Romans, were crucified along the road from Capua to Rome\*. So in the previous insurrection under Eunus the Syrian, many thousand slaves after their defeat met with the same cruel death†.

Great, however, as were the miseries of slavery and the brutal carnage of the amphitheatre, there was another infliction which was felt even more extensively. "The obscure millions of a great empire have much less to dread from the cruelty than from the avarice of their masters: and *their* humble happiness is principally affected by the grievance of excessive taxes, which gently pressing on the wealthy,

\* Appian, Bell. Civ. Plut. Crassus and Pomp. Frontin. ii.

† Oros. v. 9. Dio. Sic. Eclog. xxxv. Hooke's Rom. Hist. ii. 542.

descend with an accelerated weight on the meaner and more indigent classes of society \*."

As luxury increased in the capital and principal cities of Italy, the heavier became the pressure upon the remoter parts of the empire, and the provinces groaned under the weight of an oppressive taxation.

In addition to the ordinary capitation or agrarian tax imposed by the Romans on all the vanquished nations, nearly every natural product of the country, as well as all imports and exports, were subjected to a heavy impost. But the tax which was most severely felt was that upon art and industry, which was collected every fourth year. "The historian Zosimus laments that the approach of the fatal period was announced by the tears and terrors of the citizens, who were often compelled by the impending scourge to embrace the most abhorred and unnatural methods of procuring the sum at which their property had been assessed." . . . This may be a highly colored picture; although "the cruel treatment of the insolvent debtors of the state is attested, and was perhaps instigated by a very humane edict of Constantine, who, disclaiming the use of racks and of scourges, allots a spacious and airy prison for the place of their confinement †."

In these various ways did the fourth beast of Daniel after "*devouring*" numerous kingdoms, and "*breaking them in pieces*, STAMP THE RESIDUE WITH HIS FEET;" or, according to the further description of it, "*devour the whole earth, tread it down, and break it in pieces.*" Or again, as intimated in the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, "Like iron that bruise, all these shall it break in pieces *and bruise* †."

\* Gibb. xvii.

† Gibb. xvii.

‡ ii. 40, Wintle's version.

This language approaches closely to that of the Roman writers themselves, whose boast of Rome as—*terrarum orbis imperium*—is only a varied form of expression for Daniel's *devourer of the whole earth*. "And thus that spectacle was exhibited, which Daniel had long before discerned with the eye of prophecy. To 'devour,' to 'tread down,' and 'to break in pieces' was exactly Rome's office among the nations. Every thing must tend and yield to the iron sceptre of its sway. Beforetime the aspect of the world had been diversified. There were republics in Europe, and monarchies in Asia; the East had her cavalry, the West her foot soldiers; some cities were enriched by commerce, others distinguished for arts or arms. But now all was frozen up in the cold uniformity of this iron empire. The old forms, whether of empire or freedom, were trampled under foot and forgotten. The mistress of the world sent forth her prætors and proconsuls to rule instead of kings; she spread abroad her colonies to be a model and rule for cities; she imposed her laws and customs on nations the most dissimilar; and so 'dreadful and terrible' was she, that none might gainsay her\*."

This character was displayed in another and more durable manner, of which the remains to the present day lie scattered over the face of the globe.

All the cities of the empire "were connected with each other and with the capital by the public highways, which issuing from the forum of Rome, traversed Italy, pervaded the provinces, and were terminated only by the frontiers of the empire. If we carefully trace the distance from the wall of Antoninus to Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem, it will be found that the great chain of communication from

\* Wilberf. Five Empires, 157, 158.

the north-west to the south-east point of the empire, was drawn out to the length of 4080 Roman miles. . . . Mountains were perforated, and bold arches thrown over the broadest and most rapid streams. . . . Such was the solid construction of the Roman highways, whose firmness has not entirely yielded to the effect of fifteen centuries \*."

Another feature noticed by the prophet still remains; and here likewise the resemblance is perfect. In the extent of its dominion, the solidity of its institutions, the form of its government,—first a republic, and then an empire, and finally, in the extraordinary duration of its power, this beast was unquestionably "diverse from all other beasts that were before it." A Greek writer, contrasting it with the Macedonian empire, which he says "did not reduce all the earth and sea to its dominion: for neither did it possess Africa, except that part which adjoins Egypt; nor did it subdue all Europe, but only proceeded northwards as far as Thrace, and descended westward to the Adriatic Sea;" immediately adds,—  
 "But the Roman Commonwealth rules over all the earth where it is not inaccessible, but is inhabited by man; and commands all the sea, not only that within the pillars of Hercules, but also the ocean as far as it is navigable, having first and alone of the most celebrated kingdoms from the earliest ages made the east and west the limits of its dominion: nor has its sovereignty been of short continuance, but has endured longer than that of any other state or kingdom †." The empire alone, from the first of the Cæsars to the last of the Constantines, extended over 1500 years; and "the term of dominion, unbroken by foreign

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, ii.

† Dion. Hal. 1, 2, 8. See a similar passage in Polybius, i. 2. See also Irving's Disc. on Dan. 180.

conquest, surpasses the measure of the ancient monarchies, the Assyrians, Medes, the successors of Cyrus, or those of Alexander \*."

Not less remarkable was the form of its government. Of its earlier constitution, we have the glowing panegyric of Tully. He urged upon his countrymen the importance of acquainting themselves "with the frame and details of that civil polity, which was most wisely established among us by our ancestors, at a period of our history, when refusing to submit to the tyranny of kings, they created annual magistrates, and resolved at the same time to have a deliberative body to be a permanent council of state; that the members of that council should be chosen into it by the whole body of the people; and that admission into that supreme order of the commonwealth should be accessible to industry and virtue. They appointed the senate as the guardian, the presiding body, the strong tower of the republic; they ordained that all public officers should submit to its authority, and be as it were the executive of this most respected assembly. It was their intention also that the senate should be raised to still higher consideration by the splendor of the orders of the state immediately below it, while the liberties and comforts of the people should be maintained and increased †." No state had previously existed with so admirable a polity. In this as in other points it was "diverse from all the kingdoms that were before it."

But in addition to these marks of identity with the fourth beast of Daniel, others are given in connexion with Nebuchadnezzar's dream. *The feet were partly iron and partly clay, and the kingdom was to be*

\* Dec. and Fall, cxlviii. in fin.

† Cic. pro Sext. lxx.



*divided, to be partly strong and partly broken, and the people were to mingle themselves with the seed of men, but they were not to cleave one to another.* This description appears to be mainly applicable to the period which succeeded the budding of the ten horns, when so many kingdoms had sprung up out of the ruins of the vast fabric, which had been reared by the genius and energy of the Romans. It may have some reference also to the later periods of the Roman Empire itself.

The mixture of iron and clay, of strength and weakness, was one of the marks of the empire in its decline. After the conquest of the first emperors there occurred a brief but splendid æra, in which the ruthless spirit that had so long delighted in the destruction of mankind, for a time became softened under the genial influence of art and science.

The gladiatorial shows continued to subsist; but the amphitheatre was fed only by occasional outbreaks and partial disturbance in some of the provinces. In the language of Gibbon, the constant though unwitting illustration of Holy Writ, "the golden age of Trajan and the Antonines had been preceded by an *age of iron* \*."

During this age, however, the *clay* was insensibly gaining upon the *iron*. "It was scarcely possible that the eyes of contemporaries should discover in the public felicity the latent causes of decay and corruption. This long peace, and the uniform government of the Romans introduced a slow and secret poison into the vitals of the empire. The minds of men were gradually reduced to the same level, the fire of genius was extinguished, and even the military spirit evaporated. The natives of Europe were brave and

\* c. iii.

robust. Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Illyricum supplied the legions with excellent soldiers, and constituted the real strength of the monarchy. Their personal valor remained; but they no longer possessed that public courage, which is nourished by the love of independence, the sense of national honor, the presence of danger, and the habit of command. They received laws and governors from the will of their sovereign, and trusted for their defence to a mercenary army. The posterity of their boldest leaders were contented with the rank of citizens and subjects. The most aspiring spirits resorted to the court or standard of the emperors: and *the deserted provinces deprived of political strength or union*, insensibly sunk into the languid indifference of private life\*."

It would be difficult to illustrate more forcibly than by the picture here drawn the two elements of weakness, which pervaded at this period the entire Roman empire, and of which the iron and clay were the fitting emblems. These were to co-exist, but not for mutual support. The iron itself was to lose its strong fibrous tenacity, and the clay was to become soft and yielding. The hardy courage of the Roman warrior, and the fierce impetuosity of the vanquished nations, were alike to fade away. What yet remained of vital energy was to be withdrawn more and more towards the capital and seat of empire; and the provinces drained not merely of their ancient strength, but of the very force which after "*bruising*" them and *trampling them under foot*, had for a time served for their protection, were to exhibit manifest symptoms of languor and decay.

The trunk and limbs of this vast political organization were to become less and less firmly united. The

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, c. ii.

kingdom was to be "partly strong and partly broken," and its various parts were "not to cleave one to another." Italy was long "the centre of public unity," but "the provinces of the empire were destitute of any public force or constitutional freedom."

This supremacy, however, of the parent state became gradually absorbed, as the privileges of Latium were extended; until the Romans found that their proud pre-eminence had disappeared, and that they had sunk to a level with the subjugated provinces. "The nation of soldiers, magistrates, and legislators, who composed the thirty-five tribes of the Roman people, was dissolved into the common mass of mankind, and confounded with the millions of servile provincials, who had received the name without adopting the spirit of Romans \*."

Their jurisprudence had proscribed the marriage of a citizen and a stranger, and the haughty pride of the Romans long refused to recognize such an alliance. "In the days of freedom and virtue, a senator would have scorned to match his daughter with a king. The glory of Mark Antony was sullied by an Egyptian wife; and the Emperor Titus was compelled by popular censure to dismiss with reluctance the reluctant Berenice †." The Emperor Gallienus even in the hour of his triumph could not obtain a recognition of his alliance with the royal house of the Marcomanni. "The haughty prejudice of Rome still refused the name of marriage to the profane mixture of a citizen and a barbarian, and had stigmatized the German princess with the opprobrious title of concubine of Gallienus ‡." But at a later period intermarriages became frequent, though without obliterating the lines of ethnological distinction.

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, c. vii.

† Ibid. liii.

‡ Ibid. cx.

Thus there came a change over the spirit of the Romans. Politically and socially "*the people mingled themselves with the seed of men, but they did not cleave one to another.*" The state was not merely torn by successive contests for the purple, which could now be worn alike by Roman and barbarian: but as the one or the other arose to power, the seat of government, or at least the Imperial residence, underwent a change, and was almost as often in some one of the provinces as at Rome itself. At length the great division of the empire into West and East took place. *The kingdom was divided*, not merely by intestine commotion; but also by Imperial and geographical demarcations.

Looking back upon this last emblem, as previously upon that under which the Syro-Macedonian kingdom was depicted, it is impossible not to be struck with the graphic character of the delineation. In a few lines is given a striking outline of an empire, which endured for upwards of fifteen centuries, and which has exercised a more extensive and lasting influence upon the world, than any other that has either preceded or followed it.

Brief as is the sketch, it embraces the points of the greatest prominence in the history of this extraordinary empire. But what is most observable is, that comprehensive and perfect as is the description, it was not applicable to the Roman state at or near the time of the Maccabees, which is the age assigned to it by Dr. Arnold, Chevalier Bunsen, Dr. Rowland Williams, and others. It could not then be affirmed of this fourth kingdom, that *it had devoured the whole earth, and broke it in pieces*. The Romans had indeed just overcome the Carthaginians and likewise the Numantians, and some of the other tribes in Spain; but this result was only attained after wars

of many years' duration, in the course of which the tide of battle frequently fluctuated; and the final victory long hung doubtful, while more than once the very existence of the Republic was endangered.

They had also turned their arms against parts of the great Macedonian empire; but the greater portion of this still remained in its integrity: while Gaul, Germany, Britain, and other nations of Europe and Asia, likewise preserved their independence. More than a century had to elapse ere these countries were brought under subjection; and Marius, Sylla, Crassus, Pompey, Cæsar, and other celebrated generals, had first to appear upon the scene. Even then, many of the materials for the picture would be wanting, and it required the whole range of Rome's history adequately to bring out the beauty and perfection of the sketch here presented to our view.

The contrast in this respect between Daniel's delineation and the account given of the Romans in the Maccabees is very striking: for although the writer of the latter speaks of the Romans as having conquered "kingdoms both far and nigh," the remark is chiefly applied to the nations who came *against them*; alluding no doubt to the invasions of the Roman territories by the Gauls, and by the Carthaginians under Hannibal, as well as to the repeated appearance of the Punic fleets off the coasts of Italy.

The general scope of the narrative exhibits them as a people who had not yet attained the summit of their dominion, but were engaged in extending their conquests, as well by wars as by a systematic course of artful policy\*.

As a further mark of identification of the fourth beast or kingdom, it is added, "And it had ten

\* 1 Macc. viii. 1. 4.

horns." Wintle's reading of the passage gives a peculiar force to this:—"And it was distinguished from all the beasts that were before it, *for* it had ten horns\*." As if the distinction or diversity between this kingdom and the others consisted in the circumstance of its having these numerous horns, and in that alone. What these indicated is thus explained:—"And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise†:" *kings* according to the usual phraseology of Scripture signifying *kingdoms*.

If, by the fourth beast or kingdom was intended, as cannot reasonably be doubted, that of the Romans, then we must look for the ten kings or kingdoms amid the broken fragments of the Roman empire, and not as Porphyry, Collins, and even Grotius would have us do, among the individual kings of Syria and Egypt, who belonged to the Macedonian dynasty.

As remarked by Bishop Newton, "The Roman Empire, as the Romanists themselves allow, was by means of the incursions of the Northern nations dismembered into ten kingdoms: and Machiavel‡, little thinking what he was doing (as Bishop Chandler observes) hath given us their names§." His enumeration differs but slightly from several others. The few variations must be ascribed to the great disorder of the times, one kingdom falling and another rising, and scarce any subsisting for a long while together. "Not that there were constantly *ten* kingdoms; there were sometimes more and sometimes fewer||." Sir Isaac Newton says, "Whatever was their number afterwards, they are still called the *ten kings* from their first number¶."

\* Wint. on Dan. p. 28 of translation.

† Dan. vii. 24.

§ Bp. Newt. Proph. i. 265.

¶ Sir I. Newt., Dan. vi. 73.

‡ Hist. Flor. l. 1.

|| Ibid. 266, 267.

"All these kingdoms were variously divided either by conquest or inheritance. However, as if the number of *ten* had been fatal in the Roman dominions, it hath been taken notice of upon particular occasions. As about A.D. 1240, by Everard, Bishop of Saltsburg, in the diet at Ratisbon. At the time of the Reformation, they were also ten. So that the Roman empire was divided into *ten* in a manner first and last \*."

And "as the number of the kingdoms, into which the Roman empire in Europe agreeably to the ancient prophecies was originally divided, A.D. 456, was exactly *ten*, so it is also very nearly returned again to the same condition, and at present (A.D. 1706) divided into ten grand or principal kingdoms or states. For though there are many more great kingdoms and dominions in Europe besides, yet they are out of the bounds of the old Roman empire, and so not so directly within our present inquiry †."

Mr. Elliott, for reasons which he assigns, selects two periods, both of later date, the first being from about the year A.D. 486 to 490, and the second that of the year 532 or 533; and after giving lists applicable to each, both consisting exactly of *ten* kingdoms, observes, "No doubt at intermediate times between 486 and 533 lists might be made of contemporarily existing kingdoms in the territory of the Western empire, exhibiting one or two more than the number ten, or one or two short. But I think it may be said that *ten*, rather than any other, was about that time the characteristic number; all gathered or gathering round Rome as a common *ecclesiastical* and *spiritual* centre. And indeed it is to be observed, that not only did a thus divided form con-

\* Daubuz on Rev. xiii. 1, p. 559.

† Whiston on Rev.

tinue for ages afterward to characterize the great commonwealth (if we may so call it) of Western Christendom. . . . At certain subsequent epochs of note, notwithstanding many intervening revolutions and changes in Western Europe, the number *ten* will be found to have been observed on from time to time, as that of the Western Roman or Papal kingdom."

"So Gibbon, speaking of the twelfth century (c. x. 310); Daubuz, of the time of the Reformation (p. 557); Whiston, of the commencement of the eighteenth century (pp. 265, 266); and, finally, Cunninghame, of the last great political settlement of Europe, A.D. 1815 (p. 144) \*."

It is remarkable how forcibly, yet how unconsciously, this existence and repetition of a tenfold division of sovereignty, arising out of the great Western empire, is elucidated by Gibbon. Under the date A.D. 400 he thus mentions eight of the ten kingdoms, "The formidable *Visigoths* (1) universally adopted the religion of the Romans. . . . During the same period Christianity was embraced by almost all the barbarians, who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the Western empire; the *Burgundians* (2) in Gaul; the *Suevi* (3) in Spain; the *Vandals* (4) in Africa; the *Ostrogoths* (5) in Pannonia; and the various bands of mercenaries [i.e. the *Heruli*] (6) that raised Odoacer to the throne of Italy. The *Franks* (7) and *Saxons* (8) still persevered in the errors of paganism †."

In the next following chapter, dwelling upon the power and influence of Euric king of the Visigoths, he says, "The Ostrogoths of Pannonia were supported by his powerful aid against the oppression of the

\* Ell. Hor. Apoc. iii. 129, 180.

† Dec. and Fall, cxxxvii. s. 2. The numbers do not occur in Gibbon.



neighbouring *Huns* (9) \*." A few passages on he resumes the history of the *Alemanni* (10), who at an early period of the empire had invaded several of the Roman provinces, and even Italy itself, and who at the period preceding their defeat by Clovis inhabited the district on either side of the Rhine, from its source to its confluence with the Meuse and the Moselle †.

Thus does Gibbon mention the *ten* great nations, which grew out of or were engrafted upon the Roman dominions. He also notices, but not so as to give any prominence to it, the territory of the Bavarians, in which however Mr. Elliott places his ninth kingdom, observing "that the kingdom of Bavaria was formed just about this time; a kingdom unnoticed by former commentators; but of which continuous notices occur subsequently in *European history*, from Theodoric to Charlemagne, and the middle ages ‡." But this connexion of the kingdom of Bavaria, *not with Roman, but with European history*, is sufficient to raise at least a doubt whether Bavaria can be correctly represented as one of the *original* ten horns.

From the circumstance that through the victory obtained over them by Clovis, the Alemanni ceased to exist as an independent people about the period referred to, the inference would be that instead of being ranked among the original horns, the Bavarian kingdom ought rather to be considered as succeeding to, or taking the place of that of the Alemanni. The Bavarians indeed, as well as the Alemanni, were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of Clovis and his sons, whose wide-spread conquests also extended over the Burgundians and other nations. These and the Bavarians, however, after the death of Clotaire and Dagobert, were able to shake off their

\* Dec. and Fall, c. xxxviii.

† c. x. c. xxxviii.

‡ Hor. Apoc. iii. 126.

state of dependence; while the Alemanni never resumed their former position, but are thenceforth mentioned as the submissive allies or companions of the Franks, until taking the lead in their united invasion of Italy, the greatest part of the army perished at the fatal battle of Casilinum, and no more than five of the Alemanni survived the glorious victory of Narses\*.

The territories of the Alemanni and Bavarians bordered upon each other, and the people themselves are found blended in history. Thus Gibbon, in reference to the impetuous career of Clovis and his sons, says, "The Alemanni and Bavarians, who had occupied the Roman provinces of Rhætia and Noricum to the south of the Danube, confessed themselves the humble vassals of the Franks." And again, "The rude institutions of the *Alemanni* and *Bavarians* were diligently compiled and ratified by the supreme authority of the Merovingian kings †."

These were, no doubt, a kindred people, distinguished more by having separate chiefs than by any difference of race. It would appear, therefore, to be more correct to couple them together, or else to make the one succeed to the other, rather than regard them as forming distinct and separate kingdoms, and being two out of the original ten horns.

But it is of a later division of the great Roman empire that the historian of its Decline and Fall, when describing the conquests and thirst for a regal title of Roger, the first king of Sicily, uses the most striking expressions, "The *nine* kings of the Latin world might disclaim their new associate, unless he were consecrated by the authority of the supreme pontiff ‡." In a note he enumerates the nine, as "the

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, c. xliii. A.D. 554.

† Ibid. xxxviii. A.D. 536.

‡ Ibid. lvi. A.D. 1127—1130.

kings of France, England, Scotland, Castile, Arragon, Navarre, Sweden, Denmark, and Hungary;" adding, "The three first were more ancient than Charlemagne; and the three next were created by their sword; the three last by their baptism; and of these the king of Hungary alone was honored or debased by a papal crown \*." The *tenth* in this view would be the king of Sicily himself.

From the two tables given at the end of this chapter—the first † preserving the order in which the ten kingdoms are mentioned by the several authors, whose names are given in the headings; and the second reversing this order, so as to show how each describes the same territory to have been occupied,—it will be seen how very little diversity of opinion has prevailed upon the subject.

Not only were *ten* kingdoms formed in the first instance out of the Roman dominions, but this number has been carried down even to modern times. To borrow the language of Mr. Elliott, the *decuple* number has continued *the standard numeral type* ‡. Michaelis remarks similarly, "The number of the kingdoms in the great commonwealth of Europe moves, so to speak, fluctuatingly about this round number, being sometimes more sometimes less."

These are strong facts when thus looked at affirmatively; but, regarded negatively, the case assumes a still higher character. If the several kingdoms taking the place of the great Roman empire were to be described numerically, they could not have been indicated otherwise than by the number actually found in the Book of Daniel. No other number could by any possibility have been selected.

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, c. lvi. A.D. 1127—1180, note h.

† See partially as to this, Horne's Introd. iv. 209.

‡ Hor. Apoc. iii. 180.

The means are thus afforded of testing one part of the book itself by another. For this purpose let it be supposed that it was written shortly after the Maccabean age. The writer would then have lived at a time when the Macedonian sovereignty in Judea had been determined. He could look back on the conquests of Alexander, and the subsequent dismemberment of his empire. Assuming that all which relates to the then past has an historical character, and constitutes mere history, let us see whether the events after that date present any contrast, so as to justify the notion that a line of demarcation can be drawn between what is past, and what is future.

The facts, as ascertained by collating all the information which can be gathered from various sources, have been already noticed. After the death of Alexander the Great his extensive dominions were administered by upwards of thirty different commanders, who had been appointed to as many districts or territories in his lifetime: a struggle for the mastery then took place, when some six or more of these chiefs rose conspicuously above the rest: on the fall of Eumenes five certainly remained, when further wars and fluctuations of dominion ensued. The confusion resulting from these causes was such, that with the few historical materials which then existed, especially in Judea, where literary talent was at a low ebb, it was difficult, if not impossible, for any one living in the Maccabean age to unravel the tangled web which complicated relations and events are sure to weave, to cast aside changes and occurrences, of minor influence, and to seize only upon those of primary importance, and, like a skilful painter, to throw back the one and bring out the other.

But allow this difficulty to have been surmounted. The writer would then have had presented to his

mind at different periods several kingdoms varying in number and importance, sometimes more sometimes fewer; but at one marked epoch he would have found a quadrupartite division of Alexander's dominions among four of his greatest generals, who about this time assumed the name and dignity of kings. Upon this period then he fixes, and represents four horns or kingdoms, as arising out of the vast empire of Alexander.

On this hypothesis the writer could know nothing of what might occur after the Maccabean age. To him the future would be a perfect blank. Having up to his own day dealt with definite numbers, it could not otherwise than follow, that were he bold enough to attempt the prediction of occurrences as yet shrouded by the veil of futurity, he would now change his style of expression. The vague would take the place of the positive; and for *definite* numbers he would substitute those that were *indefinite*. Accordingly Dr. Arnold characterizes the description of the two periods—the past as distinguished by “*historical minuteness*,” the future as being “*imaginary*,” that is, I presume, fanciful, visionary, and unreal, not borne out by the events as they actually occurred, but manifestly contradicted by subsequent history.

What then must be the amazement of any one, who might be disposed to take for granted a representation coming from so respectable a quarter, to find that the description of the fourth Roman kingdom, which during the time of the Maccabees had not attained the zenith of its power, nor as yet exhibited any symptoms of breaking up, like the empire of Alexander, into several smaller states, occurs in one continuous course of delineation! That so far from there being any change of style or enumeration, the expressions are equally clear and positive, and the numbers given just as definite as before. Nay more,

that the writer is bolder as he quits the Maccabean age, and advances into future ages. He hazards different numbers, one of far higher amount, in which any failure would be fatal to his credit.

Instead of four horns or kingdoms he now ventures upon *ten*. "The fourth beast shall be a fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be different from all the kingdoms. . . . Also the ten horns out of the kingdom are *ten* kings (or kingdoms) that shall arise; and another shall arise after them, which shall be distinguished from the former and shall reduce three kings\*."

Turning to actual history, the correspondence of the two descriptions is of the most marked character. Both the Macedonian and Roman empires became dismembered and broken up into fragments. In either case the period when this division took place was one of great political convulsion. As of the Macedonian, so of the Roman kingdom it might be said, "that these powers arose in the midst of great confusion: that one kingdom arose, and another fell in rapid succession; and that there was not that entire certainty of location and boundary which there is in old established states†."

The number of kingdoms was not always the same. In both instances the number was sometimes more and sometimes fewer. But amid these vast military operations, these shocks of empire, and this continual fluctuation, two distinct numbers have been indelibly impressed upon these respective periods, of which the number *ten* is applicable to the Roman empire in a manner no less clear and striking than the number *four* is to that of the Macedonian.

\* Dan. vii. 23, 24.

† Barnes' notes on Dan. vii. 28.

## THE TEN HORNS

INTO WHICH THE ROMAN EMPIRE WAS BROKEN UP,

The Ten Horns.	Machiavel.	Mede A.D. 456.	Ep. Lloyd, Dr. Hales, A.D. 356—483.	Sir I. Newton. 5th and 6th Centuries.
1.	Ostrogoths in Moesia.	Britons.	Huns, A.D. 356.	Vandals and Alans in Spain and Africa.
2.	Visigoths in Pannonia.	Saxons in Britain.	Ostrogoths, A.D. 377.	Suevians in Spain.
3.	Sueves and Alans in Gascoigne and Spain.	Franks.	Visigoths, A.D. 378.	Visigoths.
4.	Vandals in Africa.	Burgundians in France.	Franks, A.D. 407.	Alans in Gallia.
5.	Franks in France.	Visigoths in S. of France and part of Spain.	Vandals, A.D. 407.	Burgundians.
6.	Burgundians in Burgundy.	Sueves and Alans in Galicia and Portugal.	Sueves and Alans, A.D. 407.	Franks.
7.	Heruli and Thu- ringi in Italy.	Vandals in Africa.	Burgundians, A.D. 407.	Britons.
8.	Saxons and Angles in Britain.	Alemanes in Germany.	Herules, Ru- gians, and Thu- ringians, A.D. 476.	Huns.
9.	Huns in Hungary.	Ostrogoths who preceded the Lombards in Pannonia and then in Italy.	Saxons, A.D. 476.	Lombards.
10.	Lombards first on the Danube, then Italy.	Greeks in the residue of the Empire.	Longobardi in Hungary, A.D. 536, but in N. Germany about 483.	Kingdom of Ravenna.

## OR KINGDOMS,

## AFTER THE HUNNIC AND GOTHIC INVASIONS.

Bp. Newton, 8th Century.	E. B. Elliott, A.D. 486—490.	E. B. Elliott, A.D. 533, or 533.	Lyman's Historical Chart.
Senate of Rome revolted from the Greek Emperors, and claiming the choice of an Emperor.	Anglo-Saxons in Britain.	Anglo-Saxons.	Ostrogoths.
Greeks in Ra- venna.	Franks of France.	Franks of Central France.	Visigoths.
Lombards in Lombardy.	Allemanes on both sides of the Rhine.	Alleman-Franks of Eastern France.	Suevi.
Huns in Hungary.	Burgundians in W. and S. of France, Switzerland, and Savoy.	Burgundio- Franks of South Eastern France.	Alans.
Allemanes in Germany.	Visigoths in S. W. of France and Spain.	Visigoths.	Vandals.
Franks in France.	Suevi in Galicia and Portugal.	Suevi.	Franks.
Burgundians in Burgundy.	Vandals in Africa, with Sicily, &c.	Vandals.	Burgundians.
Goths in Spain.	Heruli in Italy, Rhetia, and the Tyrol.	Ostrogoths in Italy.	Heruli.
Britons.	Bavarians in W. Germany.	Bavarians.	Britons.
Saxons in Bri- tain.	Ostrogoths in Pannonia.	Lombards.	Lombards.



Territories of the Ten Horns.	Machiavel's.	Mede's.	Bp. Lloyd's, and Dr. Hales'.
1. Hungary (ultimately) and Countries Eastward to the River Tanais.	No. 9. Huna.	No. 8. Alemanes.	No. 1. Huna.
2. Moesia from the Black Sea to Pannonia and countries to the South.	Nos. 1 and 10. Ostrogoths.	No. 9. Ostrogoths.	No. 3. Ostrogoths.
3. Pannonia, embracing Central Germany.	No. 2. Visigoths.	No. 9. Ostrogoths, then the Longobards.	No. 3. Visigoths.
7. Africa.	No. 4. Vandals.	No. 7. Vandals.	No. 5. Vandals.
4. Gallia or North Western part of France.	No. 5. Franks.	No. 3. Franks.	No. 4. Franks.
6. Spain and South Western part of France.	No. 3. Sueves and Alans.	Nos. 5 and 6. Visigoths, Sueves, and Alans.	No. 6. Sueves and Alans.
5. Burgundy, part of Switzerland and Savoy.	No. 6. Burgundians.	No. 4. Burgundians.	No. 7. Burgundians.
8. Italy with part of France and Germany.	No. 7. Heruli and Thuringii.	No. 9. Ostrogoths after driving out the Heruli, then the Longobards.	No. 8. Herules, Rugians, and Thuringians.
9. Britain, or that and part of North Germany.	No. 8. Saxons and Angles.	Nos. 1 and 2. Britons and Saxons in Britain.	No. 9. Saxons.
10. North and Western Germany.	Nos. 9 and 10. Lombards when arrived on the Danube.	Nos. 8 and 9. Alemanes and Longobards.	Nos. 9 and 10. Longobardi before moving downwards, first into Hungary, then on the Danube, and finally into Italy.

Sir I. Newton's.	Ep. Newton's.	E. B. Elliott's.	Lyman's.
No. 8. Huns.	No. 4. Huns.	No. 3. Alemans, Os- trogoths.	Alans.
No. 3. Visigoths, the two Gothic branches not being dis- tinguished.	No. 4. Huns, or Goths.	No. 5. Ostrogoths.	Ostrogoths.
No. 3. Visigoths.	No. 5. Alesmanes (taking a later period).	Nos. 3, 5, and 9. Visigoths, Ale- manni, then in part the Bavarians.	Visigoths.
No. 1. Vandals and Alans.	No. 8. Goths (taking a later period).	No. 7. Vandals.	Vandals.
No. 6. Alans and Franks.	No. 6. Franks.	No. 2. Franks.	Franks.
Nos. 2 and 4 Suevians and Alans.	No. 8. Goths (taking a later period).	No. 6. Suevi.	Suevi.
No. 5. Burgundians.	No. 7. Burgundians.	No. 4. Burgundians.	Burgundians.
No. 10. Kingdom or Ex- archate of Ra- venna.	Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Greeks in Ravenna, Roman Senate, and Lombards.	Nos. 8 and 10. Heruli, Ostrogoths, and Lombards.	Heruli.
No. 7. Britons.	Nos. 9 and 10. Britons and Saxons in Britain.	No. 1. Anglo Saxons.	Britons.
No. 9. Lombards (in their original settlements).	No. 5. Alemans.	No. 3. Allesmans.	Lombards.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE RAM AND THE HE-GOAT.

PASSING over for the present, what was to take place after the dismemberment of the Roman empire, we next come to the vision of the Ram, and the He-goat.

Here also the writer maintains the same species of allegory:—animal forms, represented in a state of action, being employed to delineate events, which were to be transacted on the great stage of the world. "There stood before the river a ram, which had two horns; and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the highest came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beast might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will, and became great\*."

This is a description of the same empire, which in the preceding chapter had been depicted under the figure of a *bear*. It has been seen how appropriate that was to delineate the Medo-Persian kingdom. The figure here adopted was no less so. The ram was the royal ensign of the Persians; and as such was emblazoned on the walls of Persepolis†.

Instead of the Eastern diadem, the kings of Persia usually wore as a distinguishing ornament a ram's head made of gold, and set with precious stones‡.

\* Dan. viii. 3.

† Sir J. Chardin's Travels, &c. Bp. Chandler's Vindication, i. s. 4, p. 154. Wetstein in Rev. xiii. 11. Elliott's Hor. Apoc. iii. 395, 396, plate.

‡ *Aureum capitis arietini figmentum interstinctum lapillis pro diademate gestans*. Amm. Marc. xix. 1. Bp. Newt. Proph. i. 302.

Mede has further suggested, that as the Hebrew word for a *ram* and the Hebrew word for *Persia* sprang from the same root, and equally signified strength, the one was appropriately used for the other\*.

The two horns, both of them high, but one higher than the other, and the higher coming up last, are equally characteristic and distinctive. The sacred writer has himself furnished the explanation: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia †."

The Median was the more ancient kingdom, but was surpassed in power and importance by the Persian, which though of more recent origin, acquired greater renown and a more extended dominion. "*Coming up last*" it yet rose "*higher than the other.*"

This united empire, thus symbolized by the ram with the two horns, pushed westward towards Lydia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Syria; northward towards Asia Minor, Armenia, and other countries lying between the Caspian and the Euxine; and southward towards Arabia, Æthiopia, and Egypt. From the time that Cyrus descended from his mountain fastnesses to the days of Xerxes, a period of about fifty or sixty years, "no beast (scil. kingdom) might stand before him (i.e. the power of Persia); neither was there any (other potentate) that could deliver out of his hand; but (in every country overrun by the Medo-Persian) he did according to his will, and became great."

The admirable agreement of this description with the course of events recorded in history must be apparent to all: nor indeed is the interpretation disputed.

\* Mede's Works, iii. Com. Apoc. 474. Bp. Newton, ut sup.

† Dan. viii. 20.

The only question is, whether it is prophetic or historical. Now there can be no surer mark of authenticity than to find a general harmony prevailing throughout, discernible in the minuter, no less than the more prominent parts. The turn of an expression frequently indicates the truth, or betrays the fictitious character of a narrative. Whether genuine or not, the writer throws off the less important portions of his composition with little, if any, thought or preparation. These consequently fall in with his actual position, whether this be consistent, or at variance with that which he has assumed.

Into productions of such opposite character as prophecy and history, casual expressions will find their way, which, if not directly suggestive of the future or past, are yet more appropriate to the one than the other: nor will any amount of care prevent these slender filaments being found interwoven in a relation, of which the date and character are feigned. The slighter these indications are, the more may they commonly be relied upon.

In the present instance Daniel, having depicted the general aspect and actions of the Medo-Persian power, and being about to give a description of the Macedonian empire, lets fall an expression, which, though barely, is just sufficient to indicate a process going on in his own mind, different from that which would be excited by what was past and known. His words are—"And as I was *considering*," or *contemplating*, a term which in an incidental and apparently unconscious manner exhibits thoughts, mingled with perplexity, on the subject of what he had already beheld, and not respecting what was next to happen. There is no intimation that another emblematical figure was expected to follow. If the writer, though seeking to palm off history for prophecy, had been describing

two scenes or objects which were familiar to him, the one succeeding to the other, it would have been far more natural for him to have said, "As I was beholding, or looking on," than thus to have used an expression, which without being apparently calculated to further the description, or to convey any definite idea, so completely harmonizes with the subsequent words, "When I, Daniel, had seen the vision, and *sought for the meaning* \*." This is said of the *entire* vision, and implies ignorance of the subject, without directly asserting it; a circumstance which in itself is not unworthy of observation. What is directly represented is, that the writer was put upon a train of reflection or inquiry. The same tone or cast of thought is suggested by the word "considering," or "contemplating;" but so faintly that had it not been for the latter passage, in which this is brought out more fully, it would never have been perceived.

Both indicate an unknown, and are therefore appropriate to a future state of things; but in neither case is futurity pointed at in terms. The coincidence is thus too casual, and too little obvious to be attributed to design; and its harmony is of that hidden character, which is the distinguishing characteristic of truth. Wherever the particular phraseology employed coincides with the general tenor of a subject, it is at least *primâ facie* evidence of the genuineness of the narrative.

The sacred writer then proceeds to give that emblematic delineation of the Macedonian empire, the exactness of which is shown by coins and other records, which have been preserved to the present day:—"Behold a he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground: and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes †."

\* Dan. viii. 15.

† Ibid. viii. 5.

The animal, here put forward as the emblem of Macedonia, is known to have been still more intimately associated with that country, than was even the ram with that of Persia. It is bound up in the history of the people, as Justin and other ancient authors, as well as Mede, Bishop Newton, and other moderns have shown.

According to the well-known relation of heathen writers—About 200 years before the time of Daniel, Caranus their first king, with a number of Greeks, in obedience to an oracle sought new habitations in Macedonia. He came into *Æmathia*, where by command of the oracle he was to take the goats for his guides. This he did as they fled from a storm of rain, and made himself master of the city of Edessa, his approach to which, owing to the rain and mist, had been unperceived by the inhabitants. He there established the seat of his empire, and ordained goats to be the ensigns or standards of his army; and in commemoration of the divine favor, denominated the city *Ægeæ*, or the *goat's town*, and the people *Ægeadæ*, or the *goat's people*. "*Urbem Edessam ob memoriam muneris Ægeas populum Ægeadas vocavit \**." The remembrance of this was preserved in after ages; and the city *Ægeæ* or *Ægæ* was the usual burial-place of the Macedonian kings. It is also remarkable that Alexander's son by Roxana was named Alexander *Ægus*, or the *son of the goat*; and some of the successors of Alexander are represented in their coins with the horns of this animal †.

The sculptured figures and coins, which have been discovered, furnish a complete history of the fortunes of the Macedonians. First in order is one, which is a

\* Justin, vii.

† See Plin. iv. 10. s. 17. Mede, iii. Com. Apoc. 473, 474. Bp. Newton, Proph. i. 304.

symbol of the country itself. This was an ancient bronze figure of a goat with a single horn, found in Asia Minor, and procured by Mr. Taylor Combe, from a Turk, who brought it with other antiquities to this country.

In the language of Mr. Combe, "Not only many of the individual towns in Macedon and Thrace employed this type, but the kingdom itself of Macedon, which is the oldest in Europe of which we have any regular and connected history, was represented by a goat with this peculiarity, that it had one horn\*."

Next in character, though not in date, are the coins of one of the ablest among the Macedonian sovereigns, Archelaus the First, who succeeded his father Perdiccas the Second, in the year B.C. 416. This monarch is represented on horseback, and on the reverse are the head and neck, or the forepart of a goat with a single horn. There are two varieties of this coin, one of which was in the cabinet of the late Dr. W. Hunter, and the other was engraved by Pellerin. In the former, where the neck of the goat terminates, there is a band or row of what appear to be pearls. This may be intended to represent the animal as having its neck encircled with the diadem; although, among the Macedonian kings, Alexander is said to have been the first to assume the diadem as an ensign of royalty†.

In the second coin, the goat is delineated in a recumbent posture, but with one leg raised, as if prepared to rise. Both the one and the other, like the bronze figure, are emblems of the country of which Archelaus was the sovereign‡.

\* Taylor's Calmet, 410, 412, and plates. Also Barnes on Dan. ii. 32.

† Justin. xii. 3.

‡ See plates in Taylor's Calmet, 412. Elliott's Hor. Apoc. iii. 395, 396, and Barnes on Dan. ii. 33.



The two next illustrations are very remarkable for their historical character.

The first of them occurs on the walls of Persepolis; and is a representation of the subjection of Macedonia to Persia. This event took place during the reign of Amyntas the First, about three centuries after the foundation of the Macedonian kingdom, or B.C. 547, when the Macedonians, unable to withstand the power of Darius, became tributary to, or came under the protection of the Persians. On one of the pilasters of Persepolis, this very event appears to be recorded in a manner calculated to throw considerable light on this subject. A goat is represented with an immense horn growing out of his forehead, and by his side is a man in a Persian dress, holding the horn with his left hand, and resting his right on the head of the goat, thus significantly intimating the dependence of Macedonia at this time upon Medo-Persia. We know also from history that at the battle of Platæa, and on other occasions, the Macedonians fought on the side of the Persians, and formed a portion of their vast army on the invasion of Greece. It is remarkable that this acknowledgment of the supremacy of Medo-Persia commenced during the life of Daniel, though at a somewhat later period than the vision before us\*.

The next illustration likewise brings the two countries together, but at a period when the order of pre-eminence was reversed. The following account of it is given by Mr. Taylor Combe. "There is a gem engraved in the Florentine collection, which as it confirms what has been already said, and has not hitherto been understood, I think worthy of mention. It will be seen by the drawing of this gem, that nothing more or less is meant by the ram's head with two

\* See the plates, *ut sup.*

horns, and the goat's head with one, than the kingdoms of Persia and Macedon, represented under their appropriate symbols. From the circumstance, however, of these characteristic types being united, it is extremely probable that the gem was engraved after the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great\*."

If the emblems selected by the sacred writer are thus suitable, the actions of the two animals are not less so, particularly of the goat. The extent and rapidity of Alexander's conquests are first indicated. "An he-goat came from the west *on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground.*" The remarkable empire established by Alexander the Great is next adverted to, "And the goat had a notable horn between his eyes." The description then proceeds, "And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I saw him come close unto the ram, and he was moved with choler against him, and smote the ram, and brake his two horns: and there was no power in the ram to stand before him, but he cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great: and when he was strong, the great horn was broken; and for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven †." Or, as it is afterwards said,—“Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power ‡.”

No more graphic description could be given of the relative attitudes and actions of the two great states

\* Taylor's Calmet, 412. Also Barnes' Dan. ii. 33.

† Dan. viii. 6—8.

‡ Dan. viii. 22.

of Macedonia and of Persia, than is furnished by the figurative delineation before us. So vivid is the picture, that we almost see the two opposing armies drawn up in hostile array on the banks of the Granicus: the Macedonians plunging into the stream, and rushing impetuously on the Persians as they lined the opposite bank, and there stood on the defensive\*.

It does not even stop here; but carries on the action of these two emblematic figures, bringing out in the boldest relief the complete overthrow and prostration of Persia, and the subsequent consolidation and aggrandizement of the Macedonian empire, until, having attained the zenith of its power, it became broken into four smaller kingdoms still under Macedonian rule, though not continued in the family of Alexander.

As in former instances, so in this, the entire history of a nation is compressed into a few lines, and yet the principal events have all their appropriate allusion. These allusions, perfect as they prove when they come to be investigated, are often so slight as not to be readily discernible, and are such as might easily escape observation.

Besides Persia, Alexander the Great subdued Egypt, the whole of Asia, and India. These extensions of his dominions, without being expressly mentioned, find a hidden reference in the words, "*Therefore the he-goat waxed very great*†." There is here intimated, and that as a sequence of his conquest of Persia, a course of progressive aggrandizement, but of what kind is left to conjecture. It may have arisen from mere consolidation of power, from further acquisitions of territory, or from both. But ambiguous as the language is in this respect, it is admirably adapted

\* See Newt. Proph. i. 306.

† Dan. viii. 8.

to meet the facts, as they are found to have occurred during the reign of the Macedonian conqueror.

The statement is ample for prophecy, but not sufficient for history. Too meagre for one writing of past events, as a prophetic intimation of the future it has the happy faculty of adapting itself to the state of things, which subsequently took place. It is in truth an epitome of these events; but an epitome so wonderfully condensed, as could scarcely have been produced after their occurrence, when actual materials for history existed.

A similar observation applies to the next part of the description. "And when he was strong the great horn was broken." Throughout these prophecies it is remarkable how slight is the touch used to produce an effect. A simple word, as here, opens up whole pages of history, in a manner of which no single instance can be adduced, even from the terse sentences of Tacitus.

It was when the Macedonian kingdom represented by the goat had reached its utmost limits; when its power was undiminished, and exhibited the greatest vigor; when, in the striking language of Daniel, "he was *strong*," that the great horn, signifying the empire of Alexander and his family, was broken.

In a mode only still more summary, allusion is next made to the four smaller Macedonian states, that were to spring out of that of Alexander. "And for it came up four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven\*." So brief is the sketch, that it seems scarcely to afford scope for observation; and yet the passage is well worthy of notice.

As Alexander's empire had been described as a *great* or "notable" horn, that is, distinguished for its great-

\* Dan. viii. 8.

ness among other nations of the earth, so the four kingdoms that were to arise out of this mighty empire, were to be "four notable ones." Accordingly, as we have already seen, there were at the death of Alexander a great number of generals having distinct commands; out of which body five rose conspicuous above their fellows. After an ineffectual struggle by one of them to acquire universal dominion, in which he was overthrown and perished, the remaining four divided between them the vast territories of their departed chief; and thus four kingdoms were formed out of the numerous provinces, which had previously existed: and among, or contrasted with these, became pre-eminent or "notable."

The same word "notable" is used in both instances. Its proper signification in the Hebrew, נִמְצָא, is *look*, or *appearance*, and the phrase is on this account rendered in the margin "horn of sight," for which Gesenius substitutes "a horn of appearance,"—meaning one which was *conspicuous*, *remarkable*, or *pre-eminent*. This was a term peculiarly appropriate to Alexander's empire, in comparison with that of other potentates. It was equally appropriate to the four comparatively smaller sovereignties which arose, or "came up" out of it; since, though less in comparison with his single and consolidated dominion, they were collectively and separately *notable* or *conspicuous*, when viewed in connexion, not only with the several principalities or provinces out of which they were formed, but even with the contemporary states, until severally obscured by the meridian splendor of Rome. Yet all this is brought out by a mere stroke, as it were, of the pen; and thus, as before, ample as the description is for prophecy, it is too slender and indefinite for history, which from the supply of materials necessarily becomes more diffuse.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE LITTLE HORN OF DANIEL.

WE now come to one of the most contested passages in the Book of Daniel, "And out of one of them came forth a little horn, which waxed exceeding great, toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land. And it waxed great, even to [marg. 'against'] the host of heaven; and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to [marg. 'against'] the prince of the host, and by [marg. 'from'] him the daily *sacrifice* was taken away, and the place of the sanctuary was cast down. And an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, [marg. 'the host was given over for the transgression against the daily sacrifice:'] and it cast down the truth to the ground; and it practised and prospered. Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain *saint* [marg. the numberer of secrets or the wonderful numberer. *Heb.* Palmoni] which spake, How long shall be the vision *concerning* the daily *sacrifice*, and the transgression of desolation [marg. 'making desolate']; to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days [Heb. evening, morning]; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed" [Heb. justified] \*.

In the interpretation afterwards vouchsafed by the angel, it is said, "And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full [marg. 'are accomplished'], a king of fierce counte-

\* Dan. viii. 9—14.

nance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up. And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper, and practise, and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people. And through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand; and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace [marg. 'prosperity'] shall destroy many: he shall also stand up against the Prince of princes; but he shall be broken without hand. And the vision of the evening and the morning which was told is true: wherefore shut thou up the vision; for it shall be for many days. And I Daniel fainted, and was sick *certain* days; afterwards I rose up, and did the king's business; and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it\*."

#### § I. VARIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THIS VISION.

There have been three most discordant views taken of this passage. According to these the "little horn" in this vision was designed to denote:—1. Antiochus Epiphanes,—2. The Romans,—or 3. The Seljukian or Othman Turks.

The chronological period of 2300 days would, of course, be a most important element in considering which of these several parties,—the first and last of them living at such remote periods from each other,—was really intended. But for this purpose it is previously necessary to determine what space of time is referred to by this period. It has been interpreted in three different ways. From the Hebrew expression here used for "days," literally "*evening, morning*," rendered by Theodotion *ἑως ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωῒ*, and in the Vulgate, *ad vesperam et manè*, two deductions have been drawn.

\* Dan. viii. 23—27.

1. The first is that it has reference to the evening and morning sacrifices of the Jews, each of these being reckoned as one, which would require the number 2300 to be divided into two equal parts, making but 1150 entire days. This computation is resorted to in order to make the period approximate to that, during which the temple was actually profaned by Antiochus. This we have seen to have been three years, or at the most three years and ten days, that is, from the fifteenth or twenty-fifth day of the month Chisleo or Casleu to the twenty-fifth day of the same month, when the sacrifices were resumed\*. This period falls short of 1150 days by at least a month and a half, the number 1150, divided by 365, giving only three years and fifty-five days.

But it has been suggested, that this difference of time may not unreasonably be accounted for. Taking the period of actual profanation to have been three years and ten days, it has been contended that "for the remaining forty-five days, a space must be allowed after the publication of the order for the first profanation, and the execution of it, while the altar was building, under the direction of Apollonius, and the daily sacrifices disused †."

The extra ten days, however, seem to have been expressly allowed by the Maccabean writer himself for the execution of the order. He says, "Now [on] the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, in the 145th year, they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side." And then, that on "the five and twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol altar ‡." From another pas-

\* Ante, pp. 155, 156.

† Argument as stated in Wintle's Notes on Dan. 124.

‡ 1 Macc. i. 54. 59.



sage in the same book it may be inferred, that no more than a few additional stones were placed upon the altar of burnt offering \*: so that by "setting up the abomination of desolation," must be understood the commencement of the work, for the completion of which but a short time was required.

Unless we are thus to understand the passage, we must conclude that it refers to the accomplishment, or conclusion of the work: but this seems opposed to the language; though were it otherwise, it is unlikely that an interval of ten days should be allowed to elapse after the altar was finished before the idolatrous sacrifices began. If, on the contrary, the fifteenth day of the month occurred during the progress of the work, there could be no possible reason for specifying that day rather than any other. In some other divisions only 360 days are allowed to a year, and if this number were to be the divisor, then the period of 1150 days would be, not three years and fifty-five days, but three years and 170 days, which would cause an excess that no ingenuity could account for. In no view of it, therefore, will this interpretation stand the test of investigation.

2. A second deduction drawn from the term here employed is derived from the *νυχθήμερον* of the Greeks, which is supposed to have the same signification, and consequently the expression is said to denote a natural day, a space of twenty-four hours. This was the view adopted by Wintle, who says, "I am inclined to think this *vespera—mane* should induce us to understand these days in the first instance literally, rather than of months and years." "But" (as he candidly acknowledges) "the great difficulty is to reconcile

\* See 1 Macc. iv. 43, 44.

this term of 2300 days with the period, to which it has been usually referred, under the tyranny of Antiochus \*."

Various have been the attempts to fix upon some two historical events, which would give the requisite interval, or number of days. Two schemes have been specifically put forward by those, who desire to connect the vision with Antiochus Epiphanes.

The *first* of these is to take the re-dedication of the temple by Judas Maccabeus on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Chisleo, or Casleu, answering to about the twenty-seventh of November (or, according to the others, the twenty-fifth December, or, according to others, January), in the year B.C. 165, as the *terminus ad quem*, and to date upwards from thence, in order to arrive at the *terminus à quo*. This would bring the commencement of the period to the twenty-fifth day of the month Ab, about the twenty-seventh July (or according to some the fifth of August), in the year B.C. 171. The fifteenth day of the month Chisleo has been suggested as a better concluding date than the twenty-fifth, which of course would throw back the whole period by the space of ten days.

The *second* of these schemes reverses the order of computation. It assumes the date of the command to set up heathen altars in the temple as the *terminus à quo*, and then proceeds downwards in search of a concluding point.

The first of these two theories is supported on the alleged ground, that up to the year B.C. 171, the relations of Antiochus Epiphanes with the Jewish people had been of a friendly character; but that in the course of this year there commenced a series of aggressions upon the temple, the city, and people

\* Notes on Dan. 123.

of the Jews, which led to "the setting up of the abomination of desolation," and which, notwithstanding the reverses he, through his generals, sustained at the hands of the Maccabees, terminated only with the death of Antiochus. This allegation is certainly erroneous in point of date, and has arisen from a mistaken or confused view of the narratives to be found in Josephus, and the books of the Maccabees.

§ II. HISTORY OF THE JEWS FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE REIGN OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

Before entering upon these, it may be well to take a glance at the history of the times antecedent to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Situated as Judea was, it was scarcely possible for the Jews to avoid becoming involved in the struggles for dominion which ensued upon the death of Alexander the Great.

In the distribution of government made by this monarch among his generals, the provinces of Syria, Judea, and Phœnicia had been entrusted to Laomedon the Mitylenian. From him they were wrested first by Antigonus, whose behaviour towards the Jews was so tyrannical, that vast numbers fled into Egypt, Asia Minor, and elsewhere, so that the country was threatened with depopulation. These provinces were afterwards gained through artifice by Ptolemy, son of Lagus, Alexander's lieutenant in Egypt. This general entered Judea with an army, though not with any declaration of hostility. On reaching Jerusalem he availed himself of the religious observance of the Jewish sabbath to gain possession of the city; the Jews not opposing his entrance under the impression that he came to offer sacrifice.

They found themselves miserably deceived, and suffered great severities at the hands of Ptolemy. As

many as 100,000 were carried off into captivity. Of these, some were placed in garrison towns, while a considerable number were settled in the countries of Libya and Cyrene, from whom the Cyrenian Jews so frequently mentioned in Scripture, were descended. From a consideration, however, of the fidelity which the Jews had ever evinced towards those to whom they had once promised allegiance, Ptolemy not long afterwards restored them to the privileges of Macedonians, which had been granted to them by Alexander the Great \*. Still, while it lasted, the persecution was extremely severe.

On the subsequent partition of Alexander's dominions among the four confederate generals, after the defeat of Antigonus, the provinces of Cœlo-Syria, Judea, with Samaria and Phœnicia, fell to the share of Ptolemy, partly in return for the important services which he had rendered against the common enemy, partly to compensate him for the much larger territory assigned to Seleucus towards the east; and still more from the fact of his being in the actual occupation of them, and at least as powerful as any of the other competitors for regal dignity †.

This settlement of territory remained undisturbed during the respective reigns of Ptolemy Soter, and Seleucus Nicator. But in the reigns of their immediate successors, the revolt of a celebrated dependency of Egypt, at some distance, where so many of the captive Jews had been located, became the means of involving the two countries in a state of hostility, which, once produced, necessarily made the border provinces objects of contention ‡.

By his second wife, Berenice, Ptolemy Soter had

\* Joseph. Antiq. XII. i. s. 1. Contr. Apion. i. 22.

† Diod. Sic. xx. 113; xxi. 1. Sharpe's Egypt, i. 221.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. XII. iii. 3.

a son, to whom he assigned the crown in his lifetime, the no less illustrious Ptolemy Philadelphus. At the time of her marriage with the first Ptolemy, Berenice was the widow of one Philip, by whom she had a son, named Magas. To him Philadelphus committed the government of Cyrenaica, so renowned for its school of philosophy. Unmindful of his trust, Magas, favored it has been supposed by the otherwise wise and gentle Berenice, shortly after declared himself independent. A war ensued between the half-brothers; but with all the power of Egypt at his command, Philadelphus was unable to reduce the revolted province to obedience by force of arms. A compromise was ultimately effected, Philadelphus acceding to overtures from Magas for terminating the contest by the betrothal of his daughter and only child, Berenice, to the son of Philadelphus. The terms of this treaty were fulfilled after the death of Magas, which occurred soon afterwards; and Cyrenaica thus gracefully resumed her former state of dependence upon Egypt\*.

But, although the flames of discord were thus extinguished where they originally broke out, the fire was kept alive in other countries to which it had spread. At the commencement of hostilities Magas had solicited succour from Antiochus Soter king of Syria, whose daughter, Apime, he had married; and, as the readiest way of drawing off the Egyptian forces from Cyrene, urged his father-in-law to make an inroad upon Cœlo-Syria and Palestine. Philadelphus anticipating an attack, instead of awaiting it, marched an army into Syria before the forces of Antiochus were prepared for action. The war thus commenced lingered on through the entire reign of

\* Pausanias i. 7. Justin. xxvi. 3.

Antiochus Soter, and at his death was inherited by his son Antiochus Theos. To him Ptolemy Philadelphus, with almost unparalleled weakness, proffered a peace upon terms, which seem to have been suggested by those that had been previously proposed to himself by Magas. The circumstances, however, of one of the parties were now widely different. From affection to his mother, the Egyptian monarch had a daughter of his own named after her, Berenice. Her Philadelphus offered as a bribe to the Syrian king, although he was already married to a wife whom he tenderly loved, and by whom he had two sons, Seleucus and Antiochus. At the call of ambition, however, Antiochus Theos consented to sacrifice these cherished objects by declaring his marriage with Laodice to be void, and his sons by her to be illegitimate. These were to be supplanted on the throne by the children he might have by Berenice\*.

With her Philadelphus not only gave an enormous amount in gold and silver; but as if to crown his weakness, which is inexplicable in so sagacious a monarch, he assigned over to Antiochus as a further dowry, one-half of the revenues of the very provinces which had been in dispute†. He retained, indeed, the nominal sovereignty over the country; but such an arrangement manifestly contained within it the germs of future contest. On such terms was solemnized a marriage, which proved fatal to the three parties most intimately concerned.

The peace, thus purchased, remained uninterrupted during the remaining years of Philadelphus; but no sooner was this monarch gathered to his fathers, than the alliance, which he had so basely

\* Hieron. in Dan. x. xi. Polyæn. IV. xv. Strab. viii. 50. Athen. ii. 45.

† Joseph. Antiq. XII. iv. 1. Sharpe's Egypt, i. 261.

promoted, began to bear its natural fruits. Had Antiochus himself been so disposed, it was not to be expected that Laodice and her sons would tamely submit to the disgrace which had been put upon them; but although Berenice had borne him a son, Antiochus was the first to recall Laodice and her children, and to retaliate upon the Egyptian princess the injury he had reluctantly inflicted upon his former queen. In so doing, however, he sealed his own doom. He divorced Berenice; but without reviving the love of Laodice, or extinguishing the thirst for revenge which raged within her bosom. Notwithstanding this proof of his affection she distrusted the constancy of her husband. Dissembling with Antiochus, she lost no time in carrying him off by poison, and raised her son Seleucus Callinicus to the throne.

Her fierce spirit was not even thus to be appeased. She followed up the blow by tracking the footsteps of Berenice and her son. The unhappy princess sought refuge with her child at Daphne, where she endeavoured to fortify herself in an asylum, which had been erected by Seleucus Nicator. Here they were besieged by the sons of Laodice; but although the cities of Asia Minor formed a confederacy in her favor, and her brother Ptolemy Euergetes, with an army from Egypt, hastened to her relief, these succours arrived too late for their rescue. The intensity of hate proved greater than the incitements of love. The fortress was taken by storm, and she and her son, together with all their Egyptian attendants, were barbarously murdered\*.

On learning these melancholy tidings, Ptolemy Euergetes resolved to take the most ample vengeance. Effecting a junction with the forces which had been

\* Valer. Max. ix. 14. Solin. 1. Justin. xxvii. 1.

raised in Asia Minor, he seized the person of Laodice, and caused her to be put to death. He then continued his victorious career, wresting from his adversary the government of Syria and Cilicia; and passing the Euphrates subdued the entire country, as far as Babylon and the Tigris\*.

He would probably have annexed the whole Syrian empire to his own dominions, but for an insurrection breaking out in Egypt, which recalled him to that country, ere he could consolidate his conquests, or secure his authority. He, however, retained possession, not only of the provinces which had been in dispute, but also of a great part of Syria and Asia Minor †. These territories were attempted to be recovered by Seleucus Callinicus; but his fleet having been destroyed by a storm, and his army defeated by Euergetes, a truce for ten years was concluded between the contending parties ‡.

In an expedition which Seleucus Callinicus then undertook against Arsaces, the Parthian monarch, his army was routed, and himself taken prisoner. He remained during four years a captive in Parthia, where he died, and was succeeded by his son Seleucus Ceraunus, who was a weak prince, and after a brief reign of one year was killed by two of his officers.

This brings us to the reign of Antiochus the Great, by whom the provinces of Cœlo-Syria, Judea, and Phœnicia were again invaded. In this contest, the Jews at first sided with the Egyptians, under whose dominion they had, with some few exceptions, and without any serious interruption of tranquillity, continued from the time of the first Ptolemy for the space of 100 years §. The rule of the Egyptians had been a

\* Hieron. in Dan. xi.

† Polyb. v.

‡ Justin. xxvii. 2; xli. 4, 5.

§ Sharpe's Egypt, i. 272. 284.



mild one; although towards the latter end of this period the pressure of taxation had been greatly augmented. Still, when Ptolemy Philopator, rousing himself from a state of luxurious indolence, had taken the field against Antiochus, and had gained possession of the provinces of Cœlo-Syria, Judea, and Phœnicia, the Jews would readily have returned to their allegiance to Egypt, had it not been for Ptolemy's impious conduct at Jerusalem, and his subsequent cruel treatment of the Jews at Alexandria and elsewhere\*.

Having offered sacrifice for his recent victories in the temple, and being struck with its beauty, he insisted upon entering into the holy of holies, which he is said to have only been prevented from doing by a sudden seizure†. On his return to Egypt, he evinced a bitter hostility to the Jews.

The inhabitants of Alexandria were divided into three ranks or classes: 1. the Macedonians, and those admitted to equal rights; 2. the Mercenaries, who served under Alexander and the Ptolemies; and 3, the native Egyptians. By an edict of Alexander the Great, confirmed by Ptolemy Soter and Euergetes, the Jews had been invested with the privileges of Macedonians. They were now degraded from the first rank, and enrolled among the native Egyptians.

By another decree all Jews were commanded to appear before the Egyptian tribunals. On making their appearance in obedience to this mandate, they were directed to be branded on their faces with an ivy leaf, the distinctive emblem of Bacchus. Those thus branded were to be made slaves, and all who neglected to come in were to be put to death. This of itself

\* Polyb. v. 241. 428. Univ. Hist. ix. 220. Rollins's Anc. Hist. viii. 20, 21. Prid. Conn. ii. 99.

† 3 Macc. i. 2. 5. Rollins's Anc. Hist. viii. 21, 22. Prid. Conn. ii. 97. Sharpe's Egypt, i. 287, 288.

was a direct attack on the religious feelings of the Jews, since the practice of marking the body had been forbidden by the Levitical law \*. They were further required to do sacrifice on Pagan altars: while those who did not sacrifice to the gods worshipped by the king, were excluded from any approach to the royal palace, whereby they were debarred from all justice, and from suing for the royal protection.

For resisting this decree, numbers were sent from Judea to Alexandria for punishment. As an inducement to compliance, those who offered sacrifice were to be restored to their privileges; but of the many thousand Jews who dwelt at Alexandria, only 300 could be found thus to renounce their religion, in order to preserve themselves from slavery or death. These apostates from the faith were excommunicated by their brethren, an act which was interpreted into an open attack upon the royal authority. This so enraged the tyrant that he resolved to exterminate the whole Jewish nation, commencing with those who lived at Alexandria and other cities of Egypt, and thence proceeding to Judea and Jerusalem. In order to carry out this cruel resolve, a command was issued that all the Jews dwelling in Egypt should be sent in chains to Alexandria †. Whether it was on this occasion, or at a later period during the reign of Ptolemy Physcon, that the Jews were confined in the spacious range of buildings without the city known as the Hippodrome, and there exposed to the attack of 500 elephants, or whether this cruelty was practised on both of these occasions, is uncertain ‡.

\* Levit. xix. 28 ; xxi. 5.

† 8 Macc. iii. iv. v. Joseph. contr. Ap. ii. 5. Prid. Conn. ii. 400.

‡ Ptolemy Physcon was contemporary with Antiochus Euphanes; and the one evinced just as much animosity to the Israelites as the other.

But, however this may have been, the efforts of Ptolemy Philopator to withdraw them from the service of Jehovah, and to coerce them into idolatry, appear to have been of the most determined character, and the persecution to have been proportionally severe.

When, therefore, Ptolemy Philopator not long afterwards died, and Antiochus the Great, availing himself of the confusion and weakness which ensued upon the death of the Egyptian king, and the minority of his successor Ptolemy Epiphanes, re-occupied the disputed provinces, it only required a politic remission of taxation by Antiochus to induce the Jews to enter heartily into his cause. They joined the army of Antiochus, when in the valley of the Jordan he encountered the Egyptian troops, under Scopas the Etolian, and succeeded, after some partial successes on the part of this general, in driving his forces back into Egypt\*.

Subsequently an alliance was formed between the youthful monarch, and the victorious Antiochus, who gave his daughter Cleopatra in marriage, and with her ostensibly made over Cælo-Syria, Judea, and Phœnicia, as a dowry suitable to her exalted position†. Antiochus, however, did not quit his hold upon these provinces, and several efforts on the part of the Egyptian monarch to recover them from him were uniformly attended with failure.

When Antiochus Epiphanes mounted the throne, he denied that they had been given by his father as a dowry with Cleopatra, and after opposite interdicts, successively issued to the two contending parties by the Romans, they permanently remained under the

\* Polyb. v. 402. 9. Ib. Legat. 72. Justin. xxxi. 1. Polyæn. iv. 15.

† Joseph. Antiq. XII. iv. 1.

sway of the kings of Syria, to whom geographically they more appropriately belonged \*.

These occurrences brought the Jewish people into direct communication with the heathen by whom they were surrounded. The contact with idolatry had always exerted a fatal influence upon the Jews. Whenever "they were mingled with the heathen" they "learned their works †." This result was not likely to be lessened when their intercourse was with nations of superior power and intelligence, and holding a higher position among mankind than themselves.

Accordingly, during the reign of Seleucus Philopator, the son of Antiochus the Great, the evil fruits of it began to appear. This monarch, upon a quarrel among the Jews, and a report made to him by the evil-disposed among them of the vast amount of treasure laid up in the temple, despatched his treasurer Heliodorus to rifle it of its wealth. The design was, in the very act of its accomplishment, prevented by a real or pretended miracle: but the quarrels and intrigues of the Jews were not thereby terminated ‡.

### § III. HISTORY OF THE JEWS UNDER ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

Such is an outline of the history of Judea and the adjacent provinces up to this period, and of the events which circling around them placed the Jewish people in the position in which they stood, relatively to Antiochus Epiphanes, during the early period of his reign. Originating with the revolt of Cyrenaica, the attention of its inhabitants, especially those of Jewish birth or origin, would naturally be directed to those

\* See Sharpe's Egypt, i. 299. 308—314.

† Ps. cvi. 35. 2 Macc. xiv. 3.

‡ 2 Macc. iii. 4—40; iv. 1—4.

prolonged struggles which arose out of it. Cyrene, its capital, was one of the celebrated seats of learning and philosophy. Any one, therefore, writing or coming from thence, and flourishing about or not long after the period of their occurrence, would be likely to be well informed on these topics.

It so happens that this is the case in the present instance. A voluminous work of five volumes, giving a history of Maccabean times and events, was left by Jason, a Hellenistic Jew of Cyrene\*. Part of the Second Book of Maccabees is an epitome of this work: and although both the author of the first book and Josephus occasionally differ from it, yet where it is at variance with either of these writers, it is commonly supported by the other: while it receives corroboration from profane history on some points in which these can be shown to have been in error.

The writer of this gives an account of a series of intrigues carried on by the brother of the good Onias, who was high priest at the death of Seleucus, dating from the commencement of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, which led to many sanguinary conflicts among the Jews, and a state approaching to anarchy at Jerusalem. Antiochus at length interposed, and with a bloody arm stayed the intestine strife. The origin of these disorders is thus referred to: "After the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom, Jason, the brother of Onias, labored underhand to be high priest, promising unto the king by intercession three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and of another revenue eighty talents: beside these he promised to assign an hundred and fifty more, if he might have licence to set him up a place for exercise, and for the training up of youth

\* 2 Macc. ii. 23.

in the fashions of the heathen, and to write them of Jerusalem by the name of Antiochians; which the king granted." Upon that a gymnasium was established at Jerusalem\*.

Such was the struggle for supremacy carried on in Judea under the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, that led to the commotions raised by the Jews, which ultimately brought upon them the vengeance of this monarch.

It should not be forgotten that similar intrigues and disturbances had taken place in the previous reign of Seleucus, and that it would be impossible to fix upon any particular period as originating this disordered state of things.

Confining ourselves, however, to the life of Antiochus Epiphanes, we find that these intrigues and disorders commenced as early as the year B.C. 176, or not later than the year 175. The subsequent occurrences were as follows:—

Menelaus, having been sent by his brother Jason, who was then the high priest, on a mission to Antioch, there took occasion to supplant Jason, and obtain the high priesthood for himself, by offering to Antiochus a still larger tribute. This, when his end was attained, he neglected to pay; and for his contumacy was summoned before Antiochus. Partly to avert the king's anger, and partly for his own purposes, he, by the aid of another brother, Lysimachus, whom he temporarily placed in the priesthood in his stead, procured several golden vessels out of the temple, some of which he presented to Andronicus, the king's deputy, and others he sold at Tyre and the cities round about. This sacrilege excited the indignation of Onias, his eldest brother, the former high priest,

\* 2 Macc. iv. 7—10.

who had been undermined by Jason, the latter in his turn being supplanted by Menelaus \*.

Having openly reproved the latter for his daring act of impiety, and fearing his resentment, Onias withdrew to a sanctuary at Daphne, from whence having been enticed by Andronicus at the instigation of Menelaus, he was seized upon and put to death †.

Nothing could be more praiseworthy than the conduct of Antiochus on this occasion. On hearing of the virtues of Onias, and his treacherous murder, "Antiochus was heartily sorry, and moved to pity, and wept, because of the sober and modest behaviour of him that was dead. And being kindled with anger, forthwith he took away Andronicus his purple, and rent off his clothes, and leading him through the whole city unto that very place, where he had committed impiety against Onias, there slew he the cursed murderer ‡."

While Antiochus thus brought his own officer to justice, Menelaus, who was the real author of the foul deed, which was visited on his tool Andronicus, managed to avert suspicion from himself. His restless spirit soon involved him in fresh disturbances. As before, however, he artfully kept himself in the background, and left another to take the prominent part. This was his own brother Lysimachus, who, with the participation of Menelaus, perpetrated new sacrileges.

Incensed at these outrages, the people rose up against Lysimachus, but he immediately armed a body of 3000 men, and was the first to resort to violence. A conflict ensued at Jerusalem, in which Lysimachus himself and many others were slain §.

\* 2 Macc. iv. 23—27. 32.

† Id. 33, 34.

‡ Id. 37, 38.

§ B.C. 170. 2 Macc. iv. 39—42.

A commotion of so serious a character, amounting almost to a civil war, was not likely to be passed over by Antiochus. Coming to Tyre, he personally instituted an inquiry into the matter; but Menelaus, though convicted, having recourse to his former expedient of bribery, again contrived to escape, and even succeeded in procuring his principal opponents to be pronounced guilty and put to death\*.

This turbulent and wicked family, with the single exception of the virtuous Onias, was doomed to bring at length the utmost misery upon their country. Jason, who had been degraded by the arts of his more designing brother, on a false report that Antiochus was dead, reappeared upon the scene with an armed force, and assaulting the city compelled Menelaus and his adherents to take refuge in the castle.

Having once more obtained the ascendant, Jason made a fearful slaughter of his own nation, and drove many out of their country. Such, however, was the detestation of the people, that he was compelled to take refuge in the country of the Ammonites, from whence he was driven by a public accusation brought against him; and fleeing from one place to another at length "was cast out into Egypt," where he "perished in a strange land †."

When tidings of these new commotions reached the ears of Antiochus, "he thought that Judea had revolted." A report to this effect was in all probability transmitted to him by Menelaus. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Syrian monarch, whose temper had been irritated by the ill success which had attended his last expedition into Egypt, should have turned his arms against Jerusalem, with

\* Circa B.C. 169. 2 Macc. iv. 42—47.

† 2 Macc. iv. 26; v. 7—10.



a determination to strike terror into its inhabitants, who must have appeared ever ready to rise into tumult. Accordingly, "removing out of Egypt in a furious mind, he took the city by force of arms." The command issued to his captains was to slay all whom "they met, and such as went up upon the houses \*."

This order, which was greatly exceeded in its execution, deserves especial attention. Severe as it may have been, and barbarously as it was executed, 40,000 being slain, and as many sold into slavery †, its sole object seems to have been to quell the internal disorders which had arisen. It was directed against those only, who ventured to resist his arms, or appeared to do so, by showing themselves in public. It protected from molestation all who remained quietly at home, without ascending upon the flat roofs of their houses, from whence they might have acted offensively by hurling missiles upon the soldiery.

Up to this time, then, there does not appear to have been any settled hostility in the mind of Antiochus against the Jewish people, or, notwithstanding what ensued, against their religion.

It must be remembered, that hitherto these outbreaks had been caused by tumultuous risings of opposite factions among the Jews themselves, and chiefly had reference to contests for the high priesthood. They thus partook of the double character of political and religious disturbances. As respects the danger resulting to his own authority, Antiochus must have regarded them as wholly political; but he could not have been unaware that they were occasioned or aggravated by religious feuds; nor could he have been favorably impressed with a religion,

\* 2 Macc. v. 12.

† Id. v. 14.

which was continually leading to such dangerous tumults.

When, therefore, Antiochus subsequently plundered and desecrated the temple, and sought by every means in his power to substitute heathen rites for the worship of the true God, it may be inferred that his design was to put down these religious discords with a high hand.

A living historian, misled by a general introductory statement in Josephus, views these struggles in a different light, and represents them as springing, not from religious or purely civil feuds, but from a contest carried on among the Jews, whether their country should be subject to Syria or to Egypt. He says that, "During the wars in Syria between Philometor and Antiochus, at the beginning of this reign, the Jews were divided into two parties, one favoring the Egyptians, and one the Syrians. At last the Syrian party drove their enemies out of Jerusalem, and Onias [the son of the former individual of that name], the high priest, with a large body of Jews, fled to Egypt. There they were well received by Philometor, who allowed them to dwell in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis, perhaps on the very spot which had been given to their forefathers, when they entered Egypt under Jacob; and he gave them leave to build a temple, and ordain priests for themselves\*."

This passage does not evince the author's usual discrimination and accuracy. Not only are two reigns, those of Antiochus Epiphanes and of Antiochus Eupator, here confounded; but the cause of the Jewish divisions is erroneously attributed, not to a desire for supremacy among themselves, but to a partiality for one or other of two foreign govern-

\* Sharpe's Egypt, i. 322.

ments, which, though it operated with the Jews at an earlier period, had at this period ceased to influence them. There had, no doubt, been frequent wars, and but rarely any friendly sentiments between the Egypto-Macedonian and the Syro-Macedonian dynasties; and it was natural, therefore, that those, who became obnoxious to their own ruler, should seek refuge in the territories of the other. But, except for some few inroads by the Egyptians, and the temporary occupation of Jerusalem by Ptolemy Philometor in his homeward march from Cœlo-Syria, which he had for the moment recovered from the grasp of Antiochus Epiphanes, Judea remained subject to Syria during the entire reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and his son; nor does there appear to have existed any such permanent Egyptian faction at Jerusalem, as the above representation would lead us to suppose.

It was not the triumph of the Syrian party over the Egyptian, which induced the younger Onias to take refuge in Egypt. This arose from a totally different cause. Antiochus Eupator, the son of Epiphanes, having laid siege to Jerusalem, made proposals of peace, offering to allow the Jews the free exercise of their religion, and to leave them perfectly unmolested. These proposals, which were confirmed by the king's oath, were immediately broken on two material points. Antiochus Eupator so far supported the religious part of the people against the violent faction which had sought to oppress them, as to put to death the wicked Menelaus as the author of all the disorders which had taken place\*. But on observing the strength of the temple walls he ordered them to be thrown down: and instead of permitting the Jews

\* 2 Macc. xiii. 4—7.

to choose their own high priest, he appointed one to that office, who, though of the stock of Aaron, did not belong to the rightful line. This was the real cause of Onias's flight into Egypt.

The Jewish historian, after mentioning the destruction of the temple walls, states these matters very distinctly:—"And when he had so done, he returned to Antioch; he also carried with him Onias the high priest, who was also called Menelaus; for Lysias advised the king to slay Menelaus, *if he would have the Jews be quiet, and cause him no further disturbance, for that this man was the origin of all the mischief the Jews had done them*, by persuading his father to compel the Jews to leave the religion of their fathers. The king thereupon sent Menelaus to Berea, a city of Syria, and there had him put to death, after he had been high priest ten years. He had been a wicked and impious man: and *in order to get the government to himself* had compelled his nation to transgress their own laws. After the death of Menelaus, Alcimus, who was also called Jacimus, was made high priest. . . . Now as to Onias, the son of the high priest, who, as before stated, was left a child at the death of his father, when he saw that the king had slain his uncle Menelaus, and given the high priesthood to Alcimus, who was not of the high priest stock, having been induced by Lysias to translate that dignity from his own family to another house, he fled to Ptolemy, king of Egypt\*." This account is slightly inaccurate, as Alcimus or Jacimus appears, from another passage in the same author, to have been "of the stock of Aaron, though not of the family of Onias†."

The passage in Josephus which the historian of

\* Antiq. xii. 9. s. 7.

† Antiq. xx. 10. s. 1. See also 1 Macc. vii. 5. 9—14. 21—25; ix. 1. 54—57. 2 Macc. xiv. 3—13. 26.

~~There~~ has incontinently followed occurs in the opening of the history of the Jewish wars. "At the same time that Antiochus, who is called Epiphanes, had a quarrel with the sixth Ptolemy, about his right to the whole country of Syria, a great sedition fell out among the men of power in Judea, and they had a contention about obtaining the government; while each of those that were of dignity could not endure to be subject to their equals. However, Onias, one of the high priests, got the better, and cast the sons of Tobias out of the city; who fled to Antiochus, and besought him to make use of them for his leaders, and to make an expedition into Judea. The king being thereto disposed beforehand, complied with their entreaties, and came upon the Jews with a great army and took their city by force, and slew a great multitude of those that favored Ptolemy, and sent out his soldiers to plunder them without mercy. He also spoiled the temple, and put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation of three years and six months\*. But Onias the high priest fled to Ptolemy, and received a place from him in the Nomus of Heliopolis, where he built a city resembling Jerusalem, and a temple that was like its temple†." This statement is full of inaccuracies. The least incorrect portion is the earlier part of it, where the contests for power among the Jews are represented, not as consequent upon, but merely as synchronous with the disputes for territory between Antiochus Epiphanes and Ptolemy Philometor. The account, however, is so indistinct, even in this respect, as to have misled the acute writer referred to.

The other alleged occurrences are either taken

\* This is corrected, as already pointed out, in *Antiq.* XII. v. 4; vii. 6.

† *Bell. Jud.* i. 1.

from some source not to be relied on, or are else jumbled together in marvellous confusion. The truth seems to be that Josephus is here confounding the Onias who fled into Egypt with his uncle Menelaus, whose name originally was also Onias \*. The former of these was the son of the good Onias, and was, as we have just learnt from Josephus himself, a child at the death of his father †. That he should have driven out of Jerusalem the sons of Tobias, even if it could be distinctly ascertained who these were, which it is not easy to do, and have got the high priesthood to himself is wholly unworthy of credit ‡. Being a child at the murder of his father, he must have been still young at the death of Antiochus Epiphanes; and during the life of this monarch, whose reign barely exceeded eleven years, could have taken no such part as is here represented.

The real facts, as we have seen, appear to have been very different. By means of successive acts of duplicity and treachery the elder Onias was supplanted in the office of high priest by Jason. Jason in his turn was displaced by Menelaus, who having temporarily ceded it to Lysimachus, was afterwards reinstated; and either from that time, or from his original appointment, filled the office for ten years. This extended into the reign of Antiochus Eupator, by whom he was put to death as the instigator of all the evils which had occurred.

It thus plainly appears that the authors of the frightful disorders which took place at Jerusalem were Menelaus and his almost equally guilty brothers, Jason and Lysimachus.

The real cause of these disturbances was the

\* See Antiq. XII. iv. 2. 10.

† Antiq. XII. ix. 7.

‡ See Prid. Connect. ii. 141.

struggle for the high priesthood, and the impious desire of one party to strengthen their position among the Jews themselves, by imposing upon their brethren a conformity with heathen rites and ceremonies.

In acting, then, as he did, Antiochus Epiphanes was apparently actuated by the dictates of a worldly policy, rather than by any deliberate intention of arraying himself against the majesty of Jehovah. One faction of the Jews, the party of Menelaus, sided with him; and not only instigated his worst acts, but abused his authority to *the oppression* of their countrymen. This arch-traitor himself acted as guide to Antiochus Epiphanes, when he entered into the holy temple, and plundered it of no less than "a thousand and eight hundred talents\*."

On his first invasion of Egypt Antiochus had carried off an immense quantity of treasure from that country †. "His court and even his own dinner-table shone with a blaze of silver and gold, unknown in Syria before this inroad into Egypt ‡." His appetite for the precious metals had thus been stimulated, and it can be no wonder that the Jewish temple, "forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty §," should have been despoiled of its riches.

So far Antiochus appears to have acted as a monarch determined, by having recourse to violent measures, to restore order to a disturbed portion of his dominions, and to have availed himself of the opportunity to gratify his avarice, by plundering the temple of his restless subjects.

From this time, however, a bitter hostility to the Jews, instigated apparently by the wicked Menelaus, sprang up in the breast of Antiochus, who appears to

\* 2 Macc. v. 21.

† Athenæus v. 5.

‡ Sharpe's Egypt, i. 316.

§ 2 Macc. v. 20.

have vented upon others the vexation he experienced at his own treatment by the Romans. On quitting the city "he left governors to vex the nation;" and shortly afterwards despatched Apollonius with an army to Jerusalem, with orders to slay "all those that were of the best age, and to sell the women and the younger sort \*."

On his arrival at Jerusalem Apollonius commenced slaughtering the inhabitants, Judas Maccabeus with a few followers effecting their escape, first to the village of Modin, and thence to the desert †. "Not long after this ‡" there took place that profanation of the temple by the orders of Antiochus, which continued for three years.

Such will, I think, be found a faithful representation of these transactions, as narrated in the second book of the Maccabees. The relation of Josephus is substantially the same, except that he differs in some degree in his account of what followed upon the disturbances caused by Lysimachus. He passes over in silence the inquiry instituted by Antiochus at Tyre, and says that the king in the 143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, answering to the year 170 B.C., marched an army to Jerusalem, which he took without fighting, those Jews who were favorable to him opening the gates, when having got possession of the city he slew many of the opposite party. He prefaces this by a representation that the event occurred upon "king Antiochus returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans §."

The date, and the events here associated with it, do not harmonize. The year B.C. 170 was the date of

\* 2 Macc. v. 22—24.

† 2 Macc. v. 24, 25. 1 Macc. ii. 1. 28, 29. Joseph. Antiq. XII. vi. 1, 2.

‡ 2 Macc. vi. 1.

§ Antiq. XII. v. 3.



Antiochus' second expedition to Egypt\*; while it is an undoubted historic fact that it was the king's fourth and last departure from that country† which was occasioned by the imperious mandate of the Roman ambassadors to quit the country, enforced by the energetic and insulting act of the consul Popillius in drawing a circle round the king, and insisting upon a categorical reply before allowing him to pass out of it‡.

Josephus then says that *after two years*, in the 145th year (i.e. of the Seleucidæ, or in the year B.C. 168), on the twenty-fifth day of the month of the Chisleo, Antiochus again went up to Jerusalem, when he plundered the temple of its rich vessels and other treasures, and then proceeded to his great act of profanation§. These events are differently related in the first book of the Maccabees. After briefly noticing what seems to be intended for the first expedition to Egypt, the writer, in connexion with Antiochus' second expedition, gives the following account: "And after that Antiochus had smitten Egypt, *he returned* again in the 143rd year (i. e. of the Seleucidæ, or in the year B.C. 170) and went up against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude, and entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar,

\* 1 Macc. i. 17, 18. 2 Macc. v. 1. Hieron. Comm. Dan. xi. 24, 25. Diod. Sic. in Excerpt. Vales. 311. Clinton's Fast. Hellen. iii. 319, 320.

† In the whole Antiochus Epiphanes is thought to have undertaken four expeditions to or against Egypt: the first in B.C. 171, which was ostensibly as the friend and guardian of the young Ptolemy Philometor; the second in B.C. 170; the third in B.C. 169; and the fourth in B.C. 168, all consecutive years. On the second and last of these occasions he went up to Jerusalem; but not on the others. See Prid. Conn. ii. 144—150, also his Chron. Tables.

‡ Liv. xlv. 19; xlv. 11.

§ Antiq. xii. 5. s. 3.

and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof, and the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials, and the censers of gold, and the veil, and the crowns, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple, all of which he pulled off. He took also the silver and the gold, and the precious vessels: also he took the hidden treasures which he found. And when he had *taken all* away, he went into his own land, having made a great massacre, and spoken very proudly \*."

Here we have an account of the complete stripping of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes. Nothing of value could have been left in it. Accordingly the same writer, when he speaks of the subsequent entry into and plunder of Jerusalem, makes no allusion to any treasure being found in the temple. All that was then seized upon he mentions as being taken from the city, which was subsequently set on fire. "And after two years fully expired (i. e. in the 145th year of the Seleucidæ, or the year 168 B.C.) the king sent his chief collector of tribute into the cities of Judah, who came into Jerusalem with a great multitude. . . . And when he had taken the spoils of the city, he set it on fire, and pulled down the houses and walls thereof on every side †." He then relates that a "great and strong wall" was built by the Syrians, "with mighty towers," as "a stronghold for them," made to overawe the Jews, and particularly as "a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary;" after which he proceeds to mention the letters of the king, commanding the sanctuary to be polluted, and to describe the desecration of the temple which ensued ‡.

\* 1 Macc. i. 20—24. † This account is much exaggerated.

‡ 1 Macc. i. 29—36.

According to this writer Antiochus, on returning from his second expedition into Egypt, personally entered and took possession of Jerusalem, and despoiled the temple of its riches; while upon the occasion referred to, when the temple was so fearfully profaned, the king is represented, not as going to Jerusalem himself, but as merely despatching an officer to collect the tribute.

This in the main agrees with the account given in the second book of Maccabees; so that the two events, namely, the plunder of the temple and its desecration, would seem to have been confounded by Josephus.

After the second of these expeditions a treaty was entered into between the brothers Ptolemy Philometor and Ptolemy Euergetes, by which they agreed to share between them the Egyptian throne. The year in which this treaty was concluded was called the twelfth of Ptolemy Philometor and the first of Ptolemy Euergetes, and the public records of the kingdom were so dated\*. It appears to answer to the year B.C. 169†.

#### UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO CONNECT THE LITTLE HORN WITH ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

In reverting to those who advocate the application of this vision to the Syrian monarch, a marked inaccuracy will be found in their statements. In a modern work, which presents a fair compendium of most of the views which have been advanced, the writer thus emphatically expresses his concurrence in one of these on the subject of the little horn: "There can be no doubt that Antiochus Epiphanes is denoted here. All the circumstances of the prediction find a

\* Porphyrius ap. Scalig.

† Prid. Conn. ii. 148.

fulfilment in him; and if it were supposed that this was written *after* he had lived, and that it was the design of the writer to describe him by this symbol, he could not have found a symbol that would have been more striking, or more appropriate than this \*." Then speaking of the profanation of the temple and the acts associated with it,—“It was undoubtedly to these acts of Antiochus that the passage before us (v. 11) refers, and the event accords with the words of the prediction as clearly, as if what is a prediction had been written afterwards, and had been designed to represent what actually occurred, as a matter of historical record †.” And again, “One of two things indeed is certain,—either that this *was* written after the events here referred to occurred, or that Daniel was inspired ‡.”

Considering how very different an interpretation had been given of this same emblem by the two Newtons, Mr. Elliott, and other eminent men, the boldness of these expressions is somewhat startling. One who entertained such an opinion would of course seek to support it by some corresponding application of the 2300 days. Accordingly the writer proceeds to state both the views which have been suggested, supporting the first as that which is to be preferred, as follows: “The truth was, there were several decisive acts in the history of Antiochus that led to the ultimate desolation of Jerusalem (i. e. the city); and at one time a writer may have contemplated one, and at another time another. Thus there was the act by which Jason, made high priest by Antiochus, was permitted to set up a gymnasium in Jerusalem after the manner

\* A. Barnes' Notes on Dan. viii. 9.

† Ibid. viii. 11.

‡ Ibid. viii. Analysis.

of the heathen \*; the act by which he (i. e. Antiochus) assaulted and took Jerusalem, entering the most holy place, stripping the temple of its treasures, defiling the temple, and offering a great sow on the altar of burnt offerings †; the act, *just two years after this*, by which, having been defeated in his expedition to Egypt, he resolved to vent all his wrath on the Jews, and on his return sent Apollonius with a great army to ravage and destroy Jerusalem,—when Apollonius having plundered the city set it on fire, demolished the houses, pulled down the walls, and with the ruins of the demolished city built a strong fortress on Mount Accra, which overlooked the temple, and from which he could attack all who went to the temple to worship ‡; and the act by which Antiochus solemnly forbade all burnt offerings, and sacrifices, and drink offerings in the temple §.”

Here is an inexcusable mistake. The great act of desecration by Antiochus Epiphanes is wholly misplaced in point of time; and the order of events is completely inverted. Not only Josephus, but also the authors of both the books of Maccabees, though differing as to the period when the temple was stripped of its riches, distinctly relate that this great act of desecration did not take place until *after*, instead of two years *before*, the last expedition of Antiochus Epiphanes into Egypt ||.

The writer then proceeds—“Now it is evident that one writing of these calamitous events, and mention-

\* Prideaux iii. 216. 1 Macc. i. 11—15.

† Prideaux iii. 230, 231. 1 Macc. i. 20—28.

‡ Prideaux iii. 239, 240. 1 Macc. i. 29—40.

§ Prideaux iii. 241, 242. 1 Macc. i. 44—51. Barnes' Notes on Dan. viii. 14.

|| Joseph. Antiq. xii. 5. s. 4. 1 Macc. i. 29. 45—47. 54. 59. 2 Macc. v. 1—15; vi. 2. 5.

ing *how long* they would continue, might at one time contemplate one of these events as the beginning, the *terminus à quo*, and at another time another of these events might be in his eye. Each one of these was a strongly marked and decisive event, and each might be contemplated as a period which, in an important sense, determined the destiny of the city, and put an end to the worship of God there. It seems probable that the time mentioned in the passage before us is designed to take in the whole series of disastrous events, from *the decisive act* which led to the suspending of the daily sacrifice, or the termination of the worship of God there, to the time when 'the sanctuary was cleansed.' The acts of the 'little horn' representing Antiochus, as seen in the vision, *began with his attack on the 'pleasant land'\**, and the things which attracted the attention of Daniel were, that he 'waxed great,' and made war on 'the host of heaven,' and 'cast some of the host and of the stars to the ground †,' and 'magnified himself against the prince of the host ‡:' acts which refer manifestly to his attack on the people of God, and the priests or ministers of religion, and on God himself, as the 'prince of the host,'—unless this phrase should be understood as referring rather to the high priest. We are then rather to look to the whole series of events, as included within the two thousand and three hundred days, than the period within which literally the daily sacrifice was *forbidden* by a solemn statute. It was practically suspended, and the worship of God interrupted during all that time §."

If there were gross inaccuracy before, there is great confusion here. The acts enumerated are five

\* Dan. viii. 9.

† ver. 10.

‡ ver. 11.

§ Barnes ut sup.

in number: 1, the erection of a gymnasium, B.C. 175;—2, the capture of Jerusalem, and pollution of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, of which the real date was B.C. 168;—3, the discomfiture of his last expedition against Egypt, which really occurred just previously in the same year;—4, the plunder and partial destruction of Jerusalem by Apollonius, and the construction of a fortress on Mount Accra, also in B.C. 168;—5, the edict of Antiochus, forbidding the temple worship, also B.C. 168\*.

Thus out of these five events, four of them occurred in one and the same year, which is three years too late for the writer's purpose; while the first is four years too early. Which of these was intended to be referred to as "the first decisive act," is left to conjecture. It is indeed immediately added, "the acts of the 'little horn,' as seen in the vision, *began* with his attack on the 'pleasant land,'" which the writer attributes to the year B.C. 170; but neither would this date suit his views.

The profanation of the temple did not occur until B.C. 168; and if the 'little horn' in the vision were really intended to denote Antiochus Epiphanes, it would be most surprising that what, amongst other things, "attracted the attention of Daniel" should be that he "waxed great" at the very time when he had received a public humiliation, and appeared as a potentate to be weak, instead of strong.

Possibly, "the first decisive act" was intended to be afterwards referred to, since the writer under review thus pursues the subject:—"The *terminus ad quem*—the conclusion of the period is marked and settled. This was the 'cleansing of the sanctuary.'

\* The dates given here and elsewhere, unless otherwise indicated, are according to Fynes-Clinton's received chronology.

This took place under Judas Maccabeus, December 25, B.C. 165\*. Now reckoning *back* from this period two thousand and three hundred days, we come to August 5, B.C. 171†. The question is whether there were in this year, and at about this time, any events in the series of sufficient importance to constitute *a period* from which to reckon: events answering to what Daniel saw as the commencement of the vision, when some of the host and the stars were cast down, and stamped upon. Now as a matter of fact, there commenced in the year 171 B.C. a series of aggressions upon the priesthood, and temple, and city of the Jews, on the part of Antiochus, which terminated only with his death. Up to this year the relations of Antiochus and the Jewish people were peaceful and cordial. In the year 175 B.C. he granted to the Jewish people, who desired it, permission to erect a gymnasium at Jerusalem as above stated. In the year 173 B.C. demand was made of Antiochus of the provinces of Cœlo-Syria and Palestine by the young Philometor of Egypt, who had just come to the throne, and by his mother,—a demand which was the origin of the war between Antiochus and the king of Egypt, and the beginning of all the disturbances‡. In the year 172 B.C. Antiochus bestowed the office of high priest on Menelaus, who was the brother of Jason, the high priest. Jason had sent Menelaus to Antioch to pay

\* Prideaux ii. 265—8.

† This is arrived at by computing the years at 360 days only, and the months at thirty days each; a species of reckoning which is quite inadmissible. When, however, a particular day has been arrived at by this backward process, and a downward computation is resumed, the commencement of the 2800 *days* is made to consist, not of any one day, but of *a period* comprehending several events, which extend over months, and even years!

‡ Prideaux iii. 218.



the king his tribute money, and while there Menelaus conceived the design of supplanting his brother, and by offering for it more than Jason had, he procured the appointment, and returned to Jerusalem \*. Up to this time all the intercourse of Antiochus with the Jews had been of a peaceful character, and nothing of a hostile nature had occurred. In 171 B.C., however, began the series of events, which finally resulted in the invasion and destruction of the city, and the cessation of the public worship of God. Menelaus, having procured the high priesthood, refused to pay the tribute money he had promised for it, and was summoned to Antioch. Antiochus being then absent, Menelaus took advantage of his absence, and having by means of Lysimachus, whom he had left at Jerusalem, procured the vessels out of the temple, he sold them at Tyre, and thus raised money to pay the king. In the mean time Onias III., the lawful high priest, who had fled to Antioch, sternly rebuked Menelaus for his sacrilege, and soon after, at the instigation of Menelaus, was allured from his retreat at Daphnè, where he had sought an asylum, and was murdered by Andronicus, the vice-regent of Antiochus. At the same time the Jews in Jerusalem, highly indignant at the profanation by Menelaus, and the sacrilege in robbing the temple, rose in rebellion against Lysimachus and the Syrian forces who defended him, and both cut off this sacrilegious robber (Prideaux) and the guards by whom he was surrounded. This assault on the officer of Antiochus, and rebellion against him was the commencement of the hostilities, which resulted in the ruin of the city, and the closing of the worship of God †. Here commenced a series

\* Prideaux iii. 220—2.

† Prideaux iii. 224—6. Stuart's Hints on Prophecy, p. 102.

of aggressions upon the priesthood and the temple, and the city of the Jews, which with occasional interruption continued to the death of Antiochus, and which led to all that was done in profaning the temple, and in suspending the public worship of God, *and it is doubtless to this time that the prophet here refers.* This is the natural period in describing the series of events, which were so disastrous to the Jewish people; this is the period at which one, who should describe them as *history*, would begin. It may not be practicable to make out the precise number of *days*, for the exact dates are not preserved in history, but the calculation brings it into the year 171 B.C., *the year* which is necessary to be supposed, in order that the two thousand and three hundred days should be completed \*."

In the above extract there are not only serious misstatements, but the whole complexion of events as related in the second book of Maccabees is altered. Yet the materials must have been taken from thence, since they are not to be found in the first book; while from the slight introductory notice of them in Josephus †, little can be collected; and that little appears to have been derived either from the second book of Maccabees, or a common source.

Such being the case, there is no foundation for the assertion that "as a matter of fact there commenced in the year 171 B.C., a series of aggressions upon the priesthood, and temple, and city of the Jews, *on the part of Antiochus.*" If by "aggression upon the priesthood" be meant the nomination of the high priest by royal authority, instead of his election by

\* Barnes' Notes on Dan. viii. 14. (5); referring to Lengerke *in loc.* p. 388.

† Antiq. xii. 5. s. 1.

the Jewish Sanhedrim, this was commenced as early as the year B.C. 175, when Antiochus first ascended the throne.

If again the act of Menelaus when high priest, in taking and selling some of the golden vessels from the temple, be referred to, not only had Antiochus nothing to do with this, but on the murder of Onias for declaiming against its coming to his knowledge, he "was moved to pity and wept," and punished his own officer, by whom the murder had been committed (at the instigation of Menelaus) with death\*.

Should it be contended, however, that Antiochus was indirectly concerned in this sacrilegious plunder of the temple, inasmuch as it arose from his demanding the tribute promised to him, which it partly went to pay,—the observation is met by the fact that the amount of this tribute was settled the year previously, viz. 172 B.C., which is a year too early; and moreover that the raising of the tribute from the mere outbidding of the Jews against each other, which was the case here, was no new occurrence, but took place equally under their Egyptian, as under their Syrian rulers. This was the natural consequence of farming the taxes, which was a common practice among all nations at this period†.

With respect to the city, we have seen that Antiochus did not go up until the year B.C. 170; and thus was there no act of aggression on the part of Antiochus Epiphanes against the priesthood, the temple, or the city in the year 171 B.C., "the year *which is necessary to be supposed*, in order that the 2300 days should be completed." So far from Antiochus having any thing to do with the transactions, which occurred in this year, he was not even at

\* 2 Macc. iv. 37, 38.

† Joseph. Antiq. xii. 4.

Antioch, when Menelaus was summoned thither; and the very writer, who, admitting that "it may not be practicable to make out the precise number of days," attempts to bring the calculation to the *year* B.C. 171, observes, with an utter unconsciousness of the inconsistency, that "Antiochus being then absent, Menelaus *took advantage of his absence*, and having by means of Lysimachus, whom he had left at Jerusalem, procured the vessels out of the temple, he sold them at Tyre, and thus raised money to pay the king."

Even in speaking of the early contest between Ptolemy Philometor and Antiochus, arising out of the demand made for the disputed provinces, the writer makes the singular remark, "a demand, which was the origin of the war between Antiochus and the king of Egypt, *and the beginning of all the disturbances.*" By "the disturbances" must be meant either the tumults which took place at Jerusalem, or the animosities which sprang up between Antiochus and the Jews. But of neither of these was the contest for the disputed provinces the "beginning;" it had not the slightest connexion with the former, and only so far influenced the latter, that having been the origin of the war between Syria and Egypt, when this was abruptly terminated some five years afterwards, and Antiochus Epiphanes then went up against Jerusalem in consequence of renewed tumults there—he did so in a more "furious mind," in consequence of his designs upon Egypt having been thwarted, and he himself personally insulted by the imperious conduct of the Roman consul \*. At this time he was no doubt greatly incensed; but although his anger was thus aggravated by the treatment he had received at the hands of the Romans, the originally exciting

\* 2 Macc. v. 11.

cause was the aggression of the Jews against himself, and not the aggression of Antiochus against the Jews.

When, therefore, it is affirmed of the *year* B.C. 171, thus put in place of *a day*, that "it is doubtless to this time that the prophet refers," and that "this is the natural period in describing the series of events, which were so disastrous to the Jewish people;" and moreover that "this is the period at which one, who should describe them as *history*, would begin," it is impossible not to see that the grounds for such a conclusion utterly fail.

The *second* of the two theories advanced so prominently, viz.,—that which assumes the date of the command to set up heathen altars in the temple as the *terminus à quo*; and then proceeds downwards in search of a concluding period, may be more summarily disposed of.

It was originally suggested by Cappellus, who reckoned the period of 2300 days as commencing with the profanation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes\*, and as terminating on the day when Judas Maccabeus overcame and slew Nicanor, the general of Demetrius†, which is alleged to have comprehended the precise number of days‡.

This suggestion has been adopted and followed up by Bertholdt, Lengerke, and others of the sceptical school in Germany, who have vainly endeavoured to make out the exact number of days by historic records. They attempt to do this in the following manner. "The command to set up idol altars was issued in the year 145, on the 15th of the month Kisleu.

\* A.U. 586, Nov. 17, Chisleo 15, B.C. 168.

† An. U.C. 593, Adar or Dystus 13, Mart. 6 (B.C. 161).

‡ See Wintle's Dan. Notes, 124.

There remained of that year, after the command was given:—

	days
" Half of the month Kisleu . . . . .	15
The month Thebet . . . . .	30
" " Shebath . . . . .	29
" " Adar . . . . .	30
The year 146 . . . . .	354
" " 147 . . . . .	354
" " 148 . . . . .	354
" " 149 . . . . .	354
" " 150 . . . . .	354
" " 151, to the 13th day of the month Adar, when the victory over Nicanor was achieved . . . . .	337
Two intercalary months during this time, ac- cording to the Jewish reckoning . . . . .	60
	<hr/> 2271

" This would leave but twenty-nine days of the 2300 \* to be accounted for; and this would be required to go from the place of the battle, between Beth-Horon and Adasa †, to Jerusalem, to make arrangements to celebrate the victory ‡. The reckoning here is from the time of the founding the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, or the æra of the Seleucidæ §."

Of all the solutions which have been offered this is the weakest. The object, be it remembered, is to connect the "little horn" in Daniel's vision with Antiochus Epiphanes. For this purpose the event referred to as the commencement of the period in question, viz. the profanation of the temple, may be appropriate enough. Not so the event selected for

\* It will be noticed that in this calculation, 354 days only are allowed to the year.

† 1 Macc. vii. 39, 40.

‡ See Bertholdt, pp. 501—3.

§ Barnes' Notes on Dan. viii. 14.

its termination ; since this occurred in the reign neither of himself nor of his immediate successor, but in that of Demetrius, whose throne he had usurped, and by whom it was recovered from his son Antiochus Eupator, who after a brief reign of two years was slain by the orders, or at the instigation of Demetrius. In addition to which, this alleged termination of the prophetic period was altogether severed from its assumed beginning by the marked and undoubted fact, that as the temple had been openly profaned by command of Antiochus Epiphanes, so had it been publicly and solemnly purified during his reign, nearly three years before the event here sought to be substituted as a suitable termination, and to be linked to the commencement of a state of things which had long previously been put an end to.

According to this theory the "little horn" is made to denote an individual monarch, springing from one of the four horns or kingdoms which arose out of Alexander's empire. The period of 2300 days is then represented to have begun in the reign of this individual by his profanation of "the sanctuary," and to have ended in the reign of another king, who was the complete antagonist of the former and his house, by an act having no immediate relation to the temple, which in the meanwhile, and during the former king's lifetime, had been solemnly "cleansed" and re-dedicated to Jehovah\*.

Unless we except Alexander Balas, who however claimed to be the son, and may have been the illegitimate offspring of Antiochus Epiphanes, all the Syro-Macedonian sovereigns were of the family of the Seleucidæ. Of these, however, Antiochus Epiphanes

\* Dan. viii. 14. 1 Macc. iv. 41. 47—59. 2 Macc. x. 2—5; xiv. 36.

and his son Antiochus Eupator stood out from the rest, as usurpers. Although, therefore, the "little horn" should (contrary to all analogy) have been designed to denote an individual king, there might have been some plausible ground for joining together, and considering as one, the acts of himself and his son; but to take the opposing reigns of Antiochus Epiphanes and Demetrius the destroyer of his house, in whom the rightful succession was restored, and connect them together, more particularly when there had during the life of Antiochus occurred so marked and overt an act as the purification and re-dedication of the temple, is of all schemes of interpretation the most capricious and unwarrantable.

Should the threat of Nicanor, to raze the temple to the ground and erect one to Bacchus in its place, unless Judas the Jewish champion, with whom he had lived on terms of intimacy, but whom through the machinations of Alcimus he had been commanded by his sovereign to arrest, should be delivered up to him\*, be urged as the circumstance which is adverted to, the answer is, that this was only a means to an end. It was not aimed directly at the sanctuary itself, and carried with it no positive hostility to the temple worship. The occurrences had indeed thus much of connexion, that they both arose out of or were the sequences to different contests for the high priesthood among the Jews. This "Alcimus, who had been high priest, and had defiled himself wilfully in the times of their mingling *with the Gentiles*, seeing that by no means he could save himself, nor have any more access to the holy altar," made representations to king Demetrius with the object of having Judas, who was the great obstacle to his restoration

\* 2 Macc. xiv. 31—38.



to office and emolument, put to death \*. This, however, only serves the more decidedly to disconnect the vision with Antiochus Epiphanes, since it shows that all the calamities of the Jews sprang from their own divisions, no matter who was the occupier of the Syrian throne.

§ IV. THE LITTLE HORN SHOWN NOT TO BE ANTIOCHUS  
EPIPHANES.

This brings us to a review of the entire subject; and the question which suggests itself is this,—Was the general bearing of Antiochus Epiphanes towards the Jews and their religion such as to give him the prominent place, which it is necessary he should occupy in order to identify him with the “little horn” of Daniel?

Those who advocate the application of the vision to this monarch depict him in the blackest colors. They represent his acts of impiety as distinguished from all others by the intensity of their character; and as being directed, not so much against the people, as against the God of the Jews. He is described, like another Pharaoh, as deliberately arraying himself against the majesty of Jehovah. Is this, then, a correct interpretation of his history?

Before his reign the Jews had suffered bitter persecutions from Antigonos, from the first Ptolemy, and still more from Ptolemy Philopator. The hostility of the latter was of a much more spontaneous and personal kind than that of Antiochus, and was certainly not less an attack upon the Jewish religion. The sanctity of the temple was attempted to be violated, the persons of the Jews were branded with the mark of a heathen god, and they were commanded on pain of death to sacrifice on idol altars. For these out-

\* 2 Macc. xiv. 3—10.

rages on their persons and religion, there was no excuse in the conduct of the Jews.

It was otherwise with Antiochus Epiphanes. The Jews were his subjects; the tribute due from them was neglected to be paid; they were repeatedly breaking out into open and dangerous tumults, and their city presented one continuous scene of disorder and almost of anarchy. These commotions, so prejudicial to his own authority, were of a religious character. Large numbers of the Jews were eager for a change; they desired a conformity with the religion of their rulers. Theirs was the "liberal policy" of the day; and they instigated Antiochus in every step which he took for the attainment of this object. According to their views, those who still adhered to the law delivered by Moses were in bondage to "an *external* law;" they had "stiffened into the fixedness of maturity;" and were behind and wholly opposed to "the spirit of the age \*."

The profanation of the temple which ensued was no doubt very great, and the persecution of the religious portion of the Jews marked by extreme severity. So far, however, as Antiochus was concerned, his acts appear to have been political rather than religious; designed to put a stop to the risings of the Jews, and establish his authority on a firmer basis. He had mourned the death of the good Onias, and inflicted capital punishment upon his own vicegerent for allowing himself to be drawn into a participation with it.

Up to the latest disturbances among the Jews Antiochus Epiphanes appears to have conducted him-

\* See Essays and Reviews, 25. 36. 362—369. The writers of these papers are acting over again, though in a modified and more subtle way, the parts of Jason, Menelaus, and Lysimachus. The aim of their writings appears to be so to insinuate doubts and generalize doctrines, as to deprive Christianity of all distinctiveness and practical value.

self with moderation and a desire to do justice, although impeded in his efforts by bribery and intrigue. He had previously contented himself with summoning the principal offenders before him, and investigating the causes of the disorders.

But this last commotion was reported to him to have assumed the form of an open revolt,—a revolt which he probably felt more keenly as it arose upon a rumor of his own death, and must have appeared to him therefore as an attempt to oppose the succession, and subvert the dominion of his son.

He was at the head of an army when the intelligence reached him, having just received a public affront from the Roman consul, and been thwarted in his long-projected designs upon Egypt. The rumor of his death, and the revolt which ensued, must have been associated in his mind with this most humiliating passage in his life. No wonder then that he felt exasperated with a nation with whose disorders he had borne so long, and that, compelled to abandon his favorite project, he should have “removed out of Egypt in a furious mind\*.” Even then the command issued to his captains was only to slay such as showed a disposition to oppose his authority (v. 12). But a feeling of hostility once engendered commonly goes on increasing in intensity. He was instigated to a course of aggression and bitter persecution by Menelaus and his adherents. His cupidity, already excited by the spoils of Egypt, was further stimulated by the reported wealth laid up in the temple. Its riches were first plundered, and its altars then profaned; but these sacrilegious acts were promoted by an abandoned and nefarious party among the Jews themselves†. Josephus, indeed, says that “Antiochus had no just cause for that ravage of our temple that he

\* 2 Macc. v. 11.

† See Bp. Newton's *Proph.* i. 320.

made; he only came to it when he wanted money, without declaring himself an enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and friends. This is attested by many worthy writers," naming them, "who all say that it was out of Antiochus' want of money, that he broke his league with the Jews, and despoiled their temple when it was full of gold and silver \*."

Although, however, the king's necessities or avarice may have been the immediate cause of his plundering the temple; Josephus in writing thus must have forgotten what he elsewhere alludes to, the frequent tumults which took place at Jerusalem, and the reported revolt of the Jews at a critical period of Antiochus' history †. His later acts are, no doubt, atrocious in the highest degree; but yet even these do not appear to have been of that purely wanton and malignant character, commonly ascribed to them by those who seek to connect him with the little horn of Daniel.

If this be so with the broader features of the picture, is it less the case with its minuter incidents? Can it be truly affirmed of Antiochus Epiphanes, that he "waxed exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land?" When he invaded Egypt, he did so ostensibly as the protector of his youthful nephew Ptolemy Philometor, then a minor; and although he defeated the Egyptian army at Pelusium, gained possession of Memphis without further struggle, and seized upon some of the treasures of Egypt, yet was he foiled in his attempts upon Alexandria, and had to lead back his army into Syria. In his last attempt upon the country he was compelled ignominiously to abandon his enterprise on a threat from the Romans. It can scarcely, therefore,

\* Contr. Apion. ii. 7.

† Bell. Jud. I. i. 1. Procem. 2. Antiq. XII. v. 1.

be said that "he waxed *exceeding great* toward the *south*."

Still less did he aggrandize himself towards the *east*. On the contrary, there his authority was contemned and set at nought. Artaxias king of Armenia, one of his vassals, having revolted, the Armenians in the north, and the Parthians in the *east* rose up in arms against him. An expedition which he took to put down this revolt ended in signal disaster. Having gained some successes over the Armenians, he passed into Persia, where hearing of the riches of Elymais or Persepolis and its temple of Diana, he marched thither with the intention of seizing upon them. The inhabitants, however, opposed him and routed his army, so that he fled away in disgrace towards Babylon. "About this time came Antiochus *with dishonor* out of Persia. For he had entered the city called Persepolis, and went about to rob the temple and to hold the city; whereupon the multitude running to defend themselves with their weapons put them to flight; and so it happened that Antiochus, being put to flight of the inhabitants, returned with shame\*." Arriving at Ecbatana, intelligence reached him of the defeat of his forces in Judea, and of the overthrow of his idol altar at Jerusalem by Judas and his brethren. Hastening back that he might wreak his vengeance upon the Jews, he was seized with a grievous distemper, in which state having a fall from his chariot, his body became loathsome with disease, and he perished miserably; although, as it would seem, affected by a sense of his crimes and repenting of his conduct towards the Jewish nation †. It is certain, therefore, he did not wax "*exceeding great toward the east*."

\* 2 Macc. ix. 1, 2. 1 Macc. vi. 1—4.

† 1 Macc. vi. 4—16. 2 Macc. ix. 1—28.

How, then, did it fare with him in Judea? When he ascended the throne he found this and the adjacent provinces under the actual dominion of Syria; nor was his sovereignty over them ever seriously disputed. When the Jews by their tumultuous disorders had rendered his direct interference necessary, he exerted force to repress their internal commotions, and at the instigation of a large section of the Jews themselves, proceeded to attack their religion. But although his troops occupied Jerusalem, and overran a great part of the country, they were opposed by an army of the Jews, and after a war of three years' duration, his forces were discomfited, Jerusalem was retaken, and the temple worship was restored. Neither therefore can it be asserted with any degree of accuracy, that "he waxed *exceeding great* toward the *pleasant land*."

Indeed, the personal character of Antiochus Epiphanes was such, that his public career must have been eminently successful to draw to it the expression that "he waxed exceeding great" in any quarter. In a passage of doubtful application, but which has been supposed to refer to him, Livy says, that he was distinguished for his public munificence, and for his veneration of the gods \*. There is abundant evidence, however, to show that he was low and dissipated in his habits, ate voraciously, was fond of childish diversions, and exposed himself with the greatest indecency, not merely in the public baths and games, but even on the stage †.

The subsequent parts of Daniel's description are equally inapplicable to this monarch. How with any regard to history can it be said of him that he "practised and *prospered*," a circumstance twice repeated;

\* Liv. xliii.

† Polyb. Justin, 34. c. 3.

that he was "a king of *fierce countenance*, and *understanding dark sentences*;" that "his *power was mighty*;" that he should "*destroy wonderfully*," i. e. in a superlative degree in contrast with other potentates; that he was "*broken without hand*;"—that he "*stood up in the latter time of their kingdom*," i. e. of the Macedonians;—that the Jewish transgressions were then "*come to the full* \*;" or finally, that his conduct towards the Jews, who were his contemporaries, or that the general tenor of his reign in its influence upon their posterity, were so strongly marked as to attract the extraordinary degree of notice, and have that prominent place assigned to them, which the "little horn" assumes in the Book of Daniel?

In a subsequent part of this same book the character and actions of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the history of the times before and after him, are given in greater detail than any other events shadowed out or recorded in Holy Writ, rendering it still more improbable that he should be depicted here. He did not flourish in the latter time of the Macedonian empire; since, notwithstanding the defeat of Perseus in Macedonia proper, the Syro-Macedonian and Egypto-Macedonian kingdoms continued to subsist for at least a century afterwards, during which period the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ continued to occupy the thrones of Syria and of Egypt.

It could not be the success of his early usurpation that was referred to under the expression "he practised and prospered," since these expressions occur twice, and evidently point to a lengthened period, and to a continued line of action. Moreover, from the detention of his youthful nephew Demetrius, as a

\* Dan. viii. 12. 23—25.

captive at Rome, this usurpation required no great amount of art or talent to accomplish: while, from the detention of Demetrius by the Romans, and the attempt of Heliodorus to seize upon the kingdom, it might be considered as excusable.

Then if we take his whole life, this, notwithstanding his temporary and partial successes in Egypt, was characterized by defeat and disgrace, and not by a course of prosperity. Although he ultimately, and after long provocation, exercised great barbarity towards the Jews, yet he was not distinguished for any of those qualities, which would be expected in "a king of fierce countenance." Nor was his intelligence or policy of that order which would satisfy the expression "understanding dark sentences." His power "was not mighty" in comparison with that of others, or even with that which he himself possessed at the outset of his career. He did not "destroy" to a greater extent than had been done by several of his predecessors. The expressions, "casting the truth to the ground," and "giving the sanctuary and *the host* to be trodden under foot," indicate a more entire overthrow than any which Antiochus was able to effect. His end was not such as is here described. It was one common enough in active warfare, and was produced by over-exertion of body, acting upon a wounded spirit. He had just suffered a disgraceful defeat in Persia, when news reached him of the discomfiture of his forces in Judea. He was hastening thither when fatigue of body, following upon anxiety of mind, brought on the disease under which he sank. His illness may have been aggravated by a fall which he had from his chariot, although this does not appear to have been of so serious a character as itself to occasion death. This must be attributed to the combined effects of vexation and fatigue, and



is to be traced to the opposition, which both in Persia and Judea he met with at the hand of man. The disasters which he thus sustained within the limits of his empire, and from the hands of his oppressed subjects were the immediate causes of the distress which preyed upon him, of the journey which he was taking, and of the bodily exhaustion which ensued. In such an end there is nothing to justify an application of that remarkable expression, "he shall be *broken without hand*."

Unless, therefore, I have wholly miscarried in the view to be taken of these events, the conclusion appears to be inevitable that the "little horn" of Daniel cannot possibly refer to Antiochus Epiphanes. There is not, in fact, a single feature of the *little horn*, which finds a corresponding development in the character or actions of the Syrian king.

The subject is much more summarily treated by the able writer of the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*, who observes:—"But with regard to *Antiochus*,—while it consists with the prophetic description that he was a prince of the Syro-Macedonian line, and that he desolated the sanctuary, the following insurmountable objections occur:—1. that he was but an *individual king* of the dynasty, and therefore not a *horn* in the sense in which the word horn is used both in this and other prophecies of Daniel;—2. that his kingdom, instead of being exceeding great on the scale of Alexander's given in the prophecy, was at the greatest scarce a third of that of the first Syro-Macedonian king, Seleucus; the Romans having previously reduced it within Mount Taurus westward, the Parthians within the limits of Media and Persia proper eastward, and it being in fact little better than a Roman dependency;—3. that the *Jewish transgressors* could not be said to have then *come to the full*; there being many at that

time zealous for the law, some of whom constituted, soon after, the noble army of the Maccabees : and Christ Himself having fixed the epoch of the maturity of Jewish transgression much later;—4. that whereas the fall of the little horn, the terminating act of the vision, was (on the *year-day* system) to be 2300 *years* distant from that which marked its commencement, viz. the successful pushing of the Persian ram, —Antiochus' death happened only between 300 and 400 *years* after it; and that even on the *day-day* system, no satisfactory explanation is to be offered, by reference to his profanation of the temple and its cleansing, of the period of the 2300 *days* \*."

§ V. THE LITTLE HORN SHOWN NOT TO BE THE  
TURKISH POWER.

There remain, then, but two other versions of this vision, viz. that the "little horn" in the eighth chapter of Daniel must be understood either of the *Romans*, or of the *Seljukian* and *Othman Turks*.

Its application to the former of these has the high authority of Sir Isaac and Bishop Newton, Dr. Zouch, and others. This, however, has been strenuously combated by Mr. J. E. Clarke †, and by my friend the Rev. E. B. Elliott, who have worked up in detail, that which originally appears to have been an intimation of Bishop Horsley ‡.

The following are the objections urged by the author of the *Horæ*:—"Yet (not to speak of other lesser objections) there meet us on the very face of the question two objections most palpable, and which no ingenuity can ever overcome. The first is, that the old Roman power can never be considered as a

\* Ell. Hor. Apoc. 401, 402.

† Tr. on the Dragon and the Beast.

‡ Hor. Apoc. iii. 411, n. 2, 4th edit.

little horn of the Greek he-goat. For the local origin of its horn was *Latium in Italy*, not any spot in Greece or Persia; and before it ever moved eastward, to intermeddle with the territories of the Greek he-goat, it was (on the scale in Daniel's vision) a *great horn*, not a *little one*; Sicily and Spain and Carthaginian North Africa, besides all Italy, being comprehended in its dominions. Moreover, it never rooted itself in the Grecian soil, under a separate and independent though associated government, until the division of the empire by Diocletian: i.e. above two centuries after the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish nation, by its armies under Vespasian.

2. Even if the symbol of the Macedonian he-goat's little horn might by any possibility be allowed to represent the *old Roman Pagan power*, the idea of its representing also, while all unmodified and the same, the extremely different power of *Rome Papal*,—an idea forced on the expositors spoken of by the fact of the little horn's having an assigned duration to the end of 2300 years,—I say this idea is one utterly contrary both to the reason of the thing, and to the analogy of the three other admitted and notable prefigurations of Rome Pagan and Papal in Daniel and the Apocalypse\*."

As a lesser objection he puts forward the inquiry, "If the little horn were the Roman power, how could its increase of greatness *westward*, where Spain and Gaul became permanently and peculiarly Roman provinces, be omitted in the notice of its waxing great†?" And then, in allusion to Mr. Cunningham's defence of this application‡, he subjoins,— "The attempted defence has only exposed in clearer light, what Mr. J. E. Clarke, in somewhat uncour-

\* Ell. Hor. Apoc. iii. 403, 404.

† Id. 403, n. 2.

‡ Treat. on Apoc. 256, &c. Investigation, iii. 277.

teous, though not untrue phrase, calls the high absurdity of the solution \*."

This is a serious stigma upon an interpretation, which has such weighty authority for its support; but let us first see what grounds are advanced for the third application of the emblem. These seem to be three in number,—1. That the Greek or Macedonian kingdom was revived in the eastern division of the Roman empire; the expression, "the *latter time of their kingdom*," in the singular, instead of denoting the latter period of the Macedonian empire, as established in Alexander's successors, rather marking out some *Greek empire* of the latter day; . . . a state of things in which, at *some latter time*, a *single kingdom* or empire would be the representative, in a manner, of the several earlier post-Alexandrine dynasties. 2. That "*the transgressors*, spoken of as those against whom the little horn would rise," were not to be Jewish transgressors; but "are pretty clearly identified with the people of this latter-day Greek empire. For it is said, 'In the latter time of *their kingdom*, when the transgressors [in it?] are come to the full,' that then the little horn, having had power given him *by reason of the transgression*, would destroy 'both the *mighty* and the *holy* people:' implying that these *mighty ones* of the latter-day Greek empire would be *by profession* holy ones, but *in effect* transgressors; and so the object of God's punishment by the little horn." To show the identity of *the transgressors* and *the members of the latter-day Greek kingdom*, the Septuagint translation is quoted for the double use of the word *αὐτῶν*—'Επ' *ισχάτων τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, πληρουμένων τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν*

\* Ell. Hor. Apoc. iii. 404, 405, n. 2.

αὐτῶν. 3. That the Turkish power "originated in Chorassan (the ancient Parthia), south of the Oxus; and thus out of the territory of the *Seleucian* or *Syro-Macedonian* horn." That moreover it had "early a political connexion with BAGDAD (*Bagh-Dad* or *Dads Garden*) . . . whence the Seljukian Turk first issued on his mission against Christendom," and which occupied the site of ancient SELEUCIA, "the *Eastern Capital* of the greatest of Alexander's four successors, Seleucus Nicator \*."

The obvious answer to these views appears to be:—

1. That the eastern division of the Roman empire did *not* properly constitute a *Greek* kingdom. 2. That even if it did, it was wholly unconnected with the Syro-Macedonian empire of Alexander and his successors. 3. That once separated from that, there can be no reason for fixing upon the Eastern empire, rather than upon any other phase or revival of Greek dominion, as for instance the modern kingdom of Greece, or the colossal empire of Russia, the greatest within the pale of the Greek Church. 4. That it is scarcely conceivable that Daniel should pass over in silence the mighty Roman empire, and address himself, per saltum, to a Christian state and people, in no way, except in point of language, connected with the prior Macedonian powers. 5. That the interpretation given to the words, "in the latter time of their kingdom," is inconsistent with the grammatical construction of the entire passage, and is opposed to the general bearing of this and other prophecies. 6. That the attempt to convert the *transgressors* and the *mighty and holy people* from Jews into Greeks, or rather subjects of the Eastern emperor, is still more

\* Ell. Hor. Apoc. iii. 405—410, 4th edit.

manifestly at variance with the whole tenor and mode of expression, both of the Old and New Testament, and of this passage in particular. 7. That the structure of the Greek language, in common on this point with most others, does not justify the inference, attempted to be drawn from the double use of the word *αυτων*, in the Septuagint version. 8. That of all countries Parthia was that which had the most slender and short-lived connexion with Syria, and was consequently the least likely to be selected as the birth-place of a "post-Alexandrine Greek empire of the latter day." 9. That there is nothing in the language of Daniel, which can give color to the notion, that the "little horn" was to rise up against the *larger horn*, out of which (in the common acceptation of the terms used) it was to spring. 10. That the expression, the "pleasant land," so distinctly pointing to the land of Israel, is wholly put aside and ignored. And lastly, that the period of 2300 years is not assigned as the duration of the *little horn*; but as the limit of the entire vision, when the sanctuary should be cleansed, an act which might be wholly independent of the power, by which *the place of the sanctuary* had been cast down.

When the administration of the West and East became divided between the sons of Theodosius the Great, the two governments were still looked upon as branches only of the one great Roman empire. "An ideal unity was scrupulously preserved: and in their titles, laws, and statutes, the successors of Arcadius and Honorius announced themselves as the inseparable colleagues of the same office, as the joint sovereigns of the Roman world and city, which were bounded by the same limits \*."

\* Gibb. D. and F. liii.

The subjects of the two empires were separated more by language, than either by race or institutions, until the Western monarchy fell; and when this was revived by Charlemagne, the separation arose less from territorial distinctions than from dissensions in religion. The division then became one of churches rather than of nations; yet even regarded from this point of view they were the members of one common family, and owned a universal allegiance to the same spiritual head.

From an early period the literature of Greece had received encouragement from the Romans. The Macedonians had impressed their language upon a great part of Asia, "which had been trampled under the feet of the victorious Greeks\*." The Romans also, from dictates of policy, had imposed their language on the subjects of their extended dominions; but this was chiefly confined to state and public purposes. Of the Emperor Claudius it is related, that he disfranchised an eminent Grecian for not understanding Latin †, he being, as Gibbon remarks, "probably in some public office ‡." "Whilst they acknowledged the charms of the Greek, they asserted the dignity of the Latin tongue; and the exclusive use of the latter was inflexibly maintained in the administration of civil, as well as military government §." So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend with the progress of their arms, the use of the Latin tongue. The ancient dialects of Italy, the Sabine, the Etruscan, and the Venetian, sunk into oblivion; but in the provinces the East was less docile than the West to the voice of

\* Gibb. D. and F. xlviii.

† Suet. in Claud. xvi.

‡ D. and F. ii. n. y.

§ Ibid. ii.

its victorious preceptors. This obvious difference marked the two portions of the empire with a distinction of colors, which though it was in some degree concealed during the meridian splendor of prosperity, became gradually more visible as the shades of night descended upon the Roman world \*.

The two languages exercised at the same time their separate jurisdiction throughout the empire: the former as the natural idiom of science, the latter as the legal dialect of public transactions. Those who united letters with business were equally conversant with both; and it was almost impossible in any province to find a Roman citizen of a liberal education, who was at once a stranger to the Greek and to the Latin language †. With the subjection of Rome the Latin gradually declined even in the West, although it required a Gothic reign of sixty years, and other political changes, ere this decline became perceptible ‡.

In the East, "we may date the gradual oblivion of the Latin tongue from the reign of Justinian. That legislator had composed his Pandects in a language, which he celebrated as the proper and public style of the Roman government, the consecrated idiom of the palace and senate of Constantinople, of the camps and tribunals of the East. But this foreign dialect was unknown to the people and soldiers of the Asiatic provinces; it was imperfectly understood by the greater part of the interpreters of the laws, and ministers of state. After a short conflict nature and habit prevailed over the obsolete institutions of human power: for the general benefit of his subjects, Justinian promulgated his Novels in the two languages:

\* Gibb. D. and F. ii.                      † Ibid.

‡ Ibid. xliii. A.D. 554 - 568.



the several parts of his voluminous jurisprudence were successively translated : the original was forgotten, the version was studied, and the Greek, whose intrinsic merit deserved indeed the preference, obtained a legal as well as popular establishment in the Byzantine monarchy. The birth and residence of succeeding princes estranged them from the Roman idiom . . . and the ruins of the Latin speech were darkly preserved in the terms of jurisprudence, and the acclamations of the palace\*." While thus the government of the East was transacted in Latin, the Greek was the language of literature and philosophy, and was gradually taking its place in the jurisprudence of the country †.

But although Greek was the common language of the people throughout a large portion of the East, this was the case as well before as after the age of Theodosius ; and those by whom it was employed were not on that account the less a part of the great Roman empire ‡. Their language was the same when the East and West were united, as when these were divided between two sceptres. At least, if there were any change, it affected the Western empire itself ; since even at Rome, both in the forum and in the senate, trials and harangues were permitted to take place in Greek. Πολλὰς μὲν δίκας ἐν τῇ διαλέκτῳ ταύτῃ καὶ ἐκεῖ (in senatu) λεγομένας ἀκούων, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπερωτῶν §.

It was, however, owing to this difference of language, and the subsequent far wider divisions on points of theology, more than to the separation of government, or a distinctive regard to local or national origin, that as a name of opprobrium, and not as

\* Gibb. D. and F. liii. Valer. Max. ii. 2, 3. † Ibid.

‡ Gibb. li. A.D. 633.

§ *Dion Cass.* lvii. 15 ; lx. 8. 16, 17. *Suet. Tib.* 71. *Nero* 7.

one designed to mark any peculiarity or distinction of race or people, the subjects of the Western empire derived the appellation of Greeks. We must not therefore be misled, when (as is frequently the case) we meet with descriptions of the Greeks and Latins, meaning not Romans, but Franks and other nations within the precincts of the Western empire; and even accounts of battles and sieges carried on between them for the possession of or supremacy at Constantinople.

The Emperors of the East, equally with those of the West, sprang from various countries; and scarcely one of them could really claim the title of Greek. Even Basil, styled the Macedonian, if (as Gibbon remarks) "it be not the spurious offspring of pride and flattery," traced his genealogy on the father's side, not from the Greeks, but from the illustrious families of the Arsacides, the Parthian antagonists, both of the Syro-Macedonians and of the Romans. On the mother's side he claimed descent from Constantine the Great, "the place of whose birth has been the subject, not only of literary, but of national disputes." "Notwithstanding the recent tradition, which assigns for his maternal grandfather a British king . . . the great Constantine was most probably born at Naissus in Dacia \*."

The family of the Comneni, who "upheld for a time the fate of the sinking empire, assumed the honor of a Roman origin;" although they had been transported to the neighbourhood of the Euxine †. The noble race of the Palæologi, the last of the dynasties reigning in Constantinople, partook more of a Greek character than any of its predecessors. In the beginning of the eleventh century we find them "high

\* Gibb. D. and F. xiv. A.D. 274.

† Ibid. xlviii. A.D. 1057.

and conspicuous in the Byzantine history\*," and their descendants in each succeeding generation "continued to lead the armies and councils of the state†." For a space of nearly three centuries they occupied the throne of Constantinople, and sank only with the fall of the city, and the extinction of the empire.

But a Byzantine origin cannot be considered as synonymous with a Macedonian. Byzantium had been the capital of the whole Roman world; and when this was divided into East and West, the rulers of both equally asserted their claims to the title of Roman emperors. "After the fall of the Western monarchy, the majesty of the purple resided solely in the princes of Constantinople;" and in later times the specific title of Emperor of the Romans was adopted by the Byzantine monarchs‡.

Those who attribute a change from Roman to Grecian in the character of the Eastern empire, fix not upon this, but upon a later period for the transition. "Tiberius by the Arabs, and Maurice by the Italians, are distinguished as the first of the Greek Cæsars, as the founders of a new dynasty and empire§." But these monarchs were both Latins, not Greeks; and the latter especially derived his origin from ancient Rome||.

A juster view of these times and events has been taken by the great historian, from whom so many citations have been drawn, in order the more forcibly to show the fallacy of Mr. Elliott's theory. "After

\* See Ducange, *Famil. Byzant.* p. 230, &c.

† *Gibb.* lxii. A.D. 1259.

‡ *Ibid.* liii. and 5th note b.

§ See the quotations from Abulpharagius, p. 90, vers. Pocock, and Paulus Diaconus *II.* xv. 443, in *Gibb.* D. and F. liii. 5th notes g and h.

|| *Gibb.* xlv. A.D. 582—602.

the restoration of the Western empire by Charlemagne and the Othos, the names of Franks and Latins acquired an equal signification and extent; and these haughty barbarians asserted, with some justice, their superior claim to the language and dominion of Rome. They insulted the aliens of the East, who had renounced the dress and idiom of the Romans; and their reasonable practice will justify the frequent appellation of Greeks. But this contemptuous appellation was indignantly rejected by the prince and people to whom it was applied. Whatsoever changes had been introduced by the lapse of ages, they alleged a lineal and unbroken succession from Augustus and Constantine; and, in the lowest period of degeneracy and decay, the name of ROMANS adhered to the last fragments of the empire of Constantinople\*." Even in Gibbon's masterly sketch of the later periods of his history, where, in his enumeration of the ten nations which he designed to pass in review †, the Greeks occur as one of them, and are spoken of "during the period of their captivity and exile . . . as a foreign nation, the enemies and again the sovereigns of Constantinople,"—this is by way of contrast to the French and Venetians, who assaulted and captured the Eastern capital, and there established

\* Gibb. D. and F. liii. and 5th notes i and k.

† The *decuple* division of the Roman territories is here again illustrated by the historian of the Decline and Fall. He thus introduces his notice of these ten kingdoms:—"After this foundation of Byzantine history, the following nations will pass before our eyes, and each will occupy the space to which it may be entitled by greatness or merit, or the *degree of connexion with the Roman world* and the present age." He then enumerates them in the following order:—I. The FRANKS. II. The ARABS or SARACENS. III. The BULGARIANS. IV. The HUNGARIANS. V. The RUSSIANS. VI. The NORMANS. VII. The LATINS. VIII. The GREEKS. IX. The MOGULS and TARTARS. X. The TURKS.

a Latin dynasty. In allusion to its final fall under the attack of the Ottomans, he thus reverts to its still Roman character: "Constantinople was besieged and taken by Mahomet II., and his triumph annihilates *the remnant, the image, the title, of the ROMAN EMPIRE in the East* \*." This description is full of force and beauty. The Byzantine in the East was the counterpart of its sister empire in the West, having the same laws, being impressed with the same institutions, and presenting the same "image."

It is therefore highly improbable that a prophetic writer, who on all other points evinces such extreme accuracy, and such a delicate discrimination of the great changes and events of which history was afterwards to be the mirror, should mark out the eastern division of the Roman world as being a "Greek empire of the latter day." Strange indeed would it be that by the phrase "the latter time of their kingdom," (observe the looseness of the language,) "*a state of things* should be contemplated, *in which* at some latter time a single kingdom or empire would be the representative in a manner of the several earlier post-Alexandrine Macedonian dynasties," such latter time being some sixteen or seventeen centuries later; and yet that, notwithstanding this fusion or shadowed representation of all these dynastic kingdoms, the "little horn" should be specially pointed at as having regard to the former fourfold division, and as "coming forth out of *one* of them" only. According to this view the vision would thus, after passing over so many centuries and referring to a totally different history, again leap backwards by as many centuries as it had just passed over, in order to associate the new state of things with the old, with

\* Opening of c. xlviii.

which it had really no connexion. Still more strange would it be that there should be no reference to that mightier empire from which this representative Greek kingdom, if not forming an essential part of it, beyond all question immediately sprang.

Here, then, at the very threshold of the inquiry, is an objection most difficult to be overcome. But were it removed, how is it possible to make out the Byzantine kingdom to be the "Greek empire of the *latter day*;" latter in relation to what? Not to the heathen systems anterior to Christianity; not to Christianity itself; not to any marked epoch in connexion with the religion of Christ. The Byzantine empire was Christian at its fall; so was in great part the Western; yet beyond the restriction which followed in the geographical limits of Christendom, no such marked change occurred on the extinction of the former empire, as ensued upon the destruction of the latter by the rise of Rome Papal out of the ashes of Rome Pagan. Notwithstanding the Turkish desolation, the Greek empire still survives; its language and religion have not been subverted; and the Greeks themselves are at the present day sending forth settlers and merchants into all parts of the world.

Equally difficult is it to maintain that the designation of "transgressors come to the full" has any application to the prince and people of the Byzantine empire. The expression "the *transgressors*" is emphatic, and can only refer to the transgression of an entire body either of Jews or Christians. In Holy Scripture it has especial reference to the former, more particularly in this place, where the allusion to "the daily sacrifice" clearly indicates that the Jews were the people intended. But even allowing the possibility of a different construction, then the Byzantine empire would only be a *part* of Christendom, the remainder

of which was not overrun by the Ottomans; nor did their successes have any influence upon Christianity at large.

The subsequent expression, "he shall destroy the mighty and holy people," seems to place the subject beyond dispute. This surely is said of some people as a body; and must apply to the Jews in their integrity, or to the Christians in their integrity. If the Christians are meant, then we must understand the expression as referring to the whole body of Christians, and not confine it to those Christians only who may have been subjects of the Eastern emperor. Such a limitation of the phrase would be wholly unjustifiable; and since it cannot thus be restricted, there is no escape from the conclusion that the Israelites were intended.

Of all the arguments, however, adduced by Mr. Elliott, the weakest perhaps is that the Turkish power is to be identified with the little horn because it "originated in Chorassan, the ancient Parthia, and thus out of (i. e. in) the territory of the *Seleucian* or *Syro-Macedonian* horn \*."

Mr. J. E. Clarke differs from Mr. Elliott on this point, and explaining "the *goat's* little horn of the *Ottoman Turks* distinctively," represents them "as having risen up in Bithynia, a part of the territory of *Lysimachus*." Mr. Elliott, however, maintains the superior fitness of his own view, on the ground that "it traces the *primary* origin of the Turkish nation out of both the territory and the capital of one of the Greek he-goat's four horns; and this by reference to the precise local origin assigned to the Turkman desolator by the Apocalypse †."

From none, however, of the localities specified did

\* Hor. Apoc. iii. 407.

† Ibid. iii. 411, n. 1.

the Turks derive their primary origin. This is to be traced to the lofty and extensive range of mountains generally known as the Altaic chain. The country of the Turks, now of the Calmucks, is well described in the *Genealogical History*, pp. 521—562. "At the equal distance of 2000 miles from the Caspian, the Icy, the Chinese, and the Bengal seas, a ridge of mountains is conspicuous, the centre and perhaps the summit of Asia, which in the language of different nations has been styled Imaus, and Caf, and Altai, and the Golden Mountains, and the Girdle of the Earth." The Turks "reigned over the north," but "the royal encampment seldom lost sight of Mount Altai, from whence the river Irtish descends to water the rich pastures of the Calmucks \*."

From these heights they poured over Hindostan and China; and spread themselves west and south, until they arrived at the river Oxus or Gihon, vanquishing in their course the White Huns, within whose territory lay the wealthy cities of Bokhara and Samarcand. For upwards of a century this river continued to be the boundary of the rival kingdoms of Touran and Iran, more generally known under the names of Turkestan and Persia.

After the exhausting wars of Chosroes I. with the Emperor Honorius, the weakness of Persia betrayed itself in the successive battles of Cardesia, Jalula, and of Nehavend, the most decisive of all, styled by the Arabs the "victory of victories," when the illustrious house of Sassan, which had ruled over Iran for 400 years, fell before the victorious Saracens. Chorassan was next subdued by this warlike people, who "neither halted nor reposed till their foaming cavalry had

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, xlii. and note c, A.D. 545.



tasted the waters of the Oxus." It was thus that the Saracens from the south-west, and the Turks from the north-east, met on the banks of this river, which for a while divided their respective territories. "This narrow boundary," however, "was soon overleaped by the Arabs," who carried with them not merely the sword but the Koran, under the combined influences of which the two races there melted into one, as they did at a later period in the countries bordering on Europe. An interval of between two and three centuries brings them under the government of the Samanides, which continued until about the year A.D. 999\*.

To this dynasty succeeded the family of the Gaznevide in the person of Mahmoud, "one of the greatest of the Turkish princes . . . who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia 1000 years after the birth of Christ," and was the first who assumed the title of SULTAN. From Persia his dominions extended eastward to the Jaxartes or Sihon, the twin river of the Oxus, flowing as it does into the sea of Aral on the north, as the latter does on the south. Beyond the Jaxartes lay Turkestan, which had been thrown back from the Oxus to this river. Here the onward march of the Saracens was stayed. Kindred habits and pursuits, and an ample range of territory on either side, for a while preserved this more northern boundary. But after the Saracenic invasion had spent itself, the Turkmen again looked wistfully to the west and south: and "in the decline of the caliphs, and the weakness of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated; in each invasion, after the victory or retreat of their countrymen, some wan-

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, li. A.D. 637. 710; lii. A.D. 874. 999.

dering tribe, embracing the Mahometan faith, obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxiana and Carizme\*."

It was not always however as marauders, or in the spirit of conquest, that they bathed their horses' flanks in the waters of the Jaxartes. They often did so upon the invitation of those who strove to strengthen their authority or who aspired to the throne. Both the one and the other "encouraged these emigrations, which recruited their armies, awed their subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wilder natives of Turkestan." Mingling easily with those among whom they were thus invited to sojourn, and readily adopting their religious creed and practices, the danger of this policy was not perceived. Indeed the succours thus afforded were disguised under a species of allegiance which they appear to have owed to the Sultan as head of the entire nation. When Mahmoud the Gaznevide, who had carried this policy to a greater extent than the Samanides, inquired of Ismael, "a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara, . . . what supply of men he could furnish for military service," this was the reply which he received,—“If you send one of these arrows into our camp, 50,000 of your servants will mount or horseback.” “And if that number,” continued Mahmoud, “should not be sufficient?” “Send this second arrow to the horde of Balik, and you will find 50,000 more.” “But,” said the Gaznevide, dissembling his anxiety, “if I should stand in need of the whole force of your kindred tribes?” “Despatch my bow,” was the last reply of Ismael, “and as it circulates around, the summons will be obeyed by

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, lvii. A.D. 980. 997. 1028.

200,000 horse." After relating this anecdote the historian adds, "The apprehension of such formidable friendship induced Mahmoud to transport the most obnoxious tribes into the heart of Chorassan, where they would be separated from their brethren by the river Oxus, and enclosed on all sides by the walls of obedient cities \*."

The precaution was however vain. The Turkman tribes, who had freely ranged over the steppes and plains of Turkestan and the countries bordering on India, were restless in their new abode. The intervening space was traversed by kindred hordes, and their united forces pushed on their fortunes to the Tigris, and penetrated the finest provinces of Persia. Sometimes mingling their blood with the Saracens, they universally adopted the religion of Mahomet. Their prowess was displayed in continual conflicts; and when at length they measured their strength with the armies of their nominal lord, the house of Gaznevide was overthrown.

On the fall of Massoud, the worthy son and successor of the illustrious Mahmoud, the Turkish sceptre passed to the still more celebrated branch of the Seljukian Turks. The first of the line was Togral Beg, the grandson of Seljuk, "whose surname was immortalized in his posterity." This monarch extended his sway over the whole of Persia, where he overturned the dynasty of the Bowides. He was succeeded by his nephew, the renowned Alp Arslan, who invaded the eastern division of the Roman empire, and obtained a signal victory over the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes. This monarch falling a captive into his hands, and being compelled to sign

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, lvii. A.D. 980—1028.

an ignominious treaty, was on his return to Constantinople rejected, and put to death by his subjects.

Malek-Shah, the son and successor of Alp Arslan, pushed his conquests eastwards; but during the greater part of his reign devoted himself more to pleasure than to war. On his death the Turkish empire became divided between four members of his family, the kingdom of Roum falling to the share of his son Malek-Shah, who made himself master of Jerusalem A.D. 1076.

This conquest was achieved not from the Latins or the Greeks, but from the Saracens, under the mild government of whose caliphs Jerusalem had remained from the year A.D. 637 in the enjoyment of those privileges, which had been secured to its inhabitants by the terms of its capitulation with Omar.

To Malek-Shah, the second of that name, succeeded his brother, the Sultan Toucush, who asserted his claim to the dominion of Palestine and Syria. The reign of the house of Seljuk in Jerusalem was but brief. At the expiration of about twenty years the voice of Peter the Hermit evoked the spirit of the Crusades, and the holy city became once more, A.D. 1099, the prize of the Christians\*. It continued under their rule for very nearly a century, when it submitted to the arms of the renowned Saladin, A.D. 1187.

After the lapse of another century, when the Seljukian dynasty had disappeared, the Ottoman Turks, another branch of those who upon the invitation of Mahmoud are supposed to have pitched their tents near the southern bank of the Oxus, assume a prominent place in history. Under the leadership of Othman, their first prince, they commenced a series of

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, lviii.

conquests, which was continued by his son Orchan, by whom Bithynia was overrun and subdued \*.

From this country Mr. J. E. Clarke, without adverting to their earlier history, represents them as *rising up*. Mr. Elliott traces them back to the banks of the Oxus; where, however, it is impossible to fix them with certainty, the Turkman hordes having been diffused over an enormous tract of territory, extending to India and even to China. But allowing them to have been so located, it may be questioned whether Parthia ever paid any real allegiance to the Syro-Macedonian dynasty. Seleucus Nicator its founder was too much engrossed by his contests with Antigonus, and afterwards with Lysimachus, to attend to the affairs of this distant country, which seems also to have been left very much to itself during the reign of his successor Antiochus Soter. At all events it was at a very early period in the history of the Seleucidæ that Parthia became dismembered from their dominions. This occurred during the reign of Antiochus Theos, the third of his race, when Arsaces, to avenge a gross personal outrage on his brother, raised the standard of revolt.

From this time the Arsacidæ became the rivals and great opponents of the Syrian monarchs. Seleucus Callinicus, the son of Antiochus Theos, having attempted to reduce Arsaces to obedience, was himself defeated and taken prisoner, and during the remaining four years of his life remained a captive in Parthia. Demetrius Nicator, the twelfth in succession of the Syrian kings, in his efforts to recover some of the provinces which had been wrested from him by Mithridates, was also defeated and captured by the Parthians.

\* See Gibb. Dec. and Fall, li. A.D. 638, lvii. *passim*, lviii. A.D. 1090, lxiv. A.D. 1240—1299—1326. 1341—1347.

During the reigns of their respective successors the Syro-Macedonians were still more unfortunate. Antiochus Sidetes, on the plea of releasing his brother Demetrius, who was still a captive, led an army of no less than 400,000 men against Phraates II., the son of Mithridates, over whom he was three times victorious; but having incautiously dispersed his troops, he was in one day cut off with nearly the whole of his forces, scarcely a single man escaping to carry the disastrous intelligence to Syria. Mr. Elliott himself observes, "The Parthians had effected their independence of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom about 250 or 245 B.C.\*; and from that date began the famous dynasty of the *Arsacidæ*, which before the times of Pompey and Crassus had absorbed the whole eastern territory of the Syro-Macedonian kingdom, and extended over all Persia to the Euphrates†."

How under these circumstances, taking Daniel's words in their ordinary acceptation, can Parthia be referred to as *a link* to connect the "little horn" with the Syro-Macedonian portion of Alexander's dominions, in order to satisfy the words, "and out of *one of them* came forth a little horn?"

Turning to the interpretation of the vision vouchsafed by the angel, it appears still more clearly that the description was intended to be a new and independent one. This interpretation runs thus,—“And in the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full, a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up.” It is not said, “shall stand up or arise *out of one of the four preceding kingdoms*,” but simply (the term king in prophetic phraseology denoting a sove-

\* See Clinton ad ann. 250.

† Hor. Apoc. iii. 402, n. 2.

reign state or power) *that a kingdom shall stand up*. This kingdom is not connected with the Macedonian empire, further than by the latter being referred to for the purpose of marking the time when the new power was to appear or take a prominent place on the prophetic scene; and if we are to understand, which Mr. Elliott can scarcely be serious in disputing, that by "the transgressors" were intended the Jewish people, then the independence of the description as respects this new power will become more distinctly apparent. The passage would then read thus,—“And towards the terminating period of the empire of the Macedonians, when also the transgressions of the Jews are accomplished or come to the full, there shall out of one of the four quarters of the globe arise another kingdom, which shall be distinguished by the fierceness of its people, and their ready apprehension of dark sentences or oracles.” The particular point of the compass from which this warlike nation was to come, is pretty clearly indicated by the opposite points, to which their greatness was to increase. They were to “wax exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.”

Mr. Elliott, speaking of the Romans, inquires why their increase of greatness *westward* is passed over in silence; an inquiry, one would have thought, which should alone have opened his eyes to the fallacy of the theory he was contending for, and induced him to pause ere he indorsed Mr. Clarke's strong and uncourteous condemnation of the Newtonian theory.

If the people intended to be referred to when they made their appearance on the prophetic tableau, were to come from the west, then their progress would be correctly described as extending *eastward*. But if the Turks were designed to be pointed out, how is it possible that their increase of greatness *westward*

should not have been noticed; while their earlier growth of power towards the east would have been wholly irrelevant to the subject? It was *from* the east, or rather north-east, that the Turkmen issued forth on their career of conquest over the countries coming within the prophet's range. If they, therefore, had been the people foretold by Daniel, their progress *westward*, the point to which they were tending, and not their extension eastward, the point from which they were moving, would surely have been mentioned. To indicate *them*, the "little horn" of Daniel should indeed have been described as "waxing great toward the *west*."

But the prophet's delineation is the very reverse of this; and thus there lies at the root of the interpretation suggested by Mr. Clarke and Mr. Elliott, a geographical blunder, or error in longitude, which seems fatal alike to the one and the other. This is more remarkable, because both these writers take up the Turks, when they had migrated from places further east, and were stretching their dominion towards the west. To an objection of so serious and damaging a character, it will probably be urged in reply, that "the pleasant land" lying in this direction, there was no occasion to specify the west in distinct terms. But the course of the Turks was westward before they reached this narrow boundary: and in their resistless career they swept far to the north, and even somewhat to the south of it.

With Asia Minor, and the countries bordering the Black Sea, under their feet, it must be sufficient for the refutation of so groundless a defence to point to Byzantium, which, though the seat of what in relation to Italy was designated the *Eastern* empire, might, with regard to the Turkman hordes, well be termed the mistress of the West. Such a defence could only



prevail by disparaging in point of accuracy the very book which it is the object to elucidate.

A further objection to this scheme of interpretation is, that it sets up the *little horn* as peculiarly the antagonist of the larger horn, out of which it is alleged to spring. This is perfectly gratuitous, there being nothing in the vision itself, or the explanation of it to justify this assumption. That there would have been, if such were the meaning, may be inferred from ch. vii. 8. 20. 24, and from the expression, "I will make the horn of Israel to bud \*," where this growth and sprouting of the horn is evidently designed to denote its prosperity and power, not its subversion. A still more serious objection arises from the expression "the pleasant land." That surely does not mean Constantinople, which was captured in A.D. 1453. From first to last, indeed, the entire scheme which represents the Seljukian or Othman Turks to have been denoted under the emblem of the "little horn," appears to be as wild and fanciful as can well be imagined.

#### OBJECTIONS TO THE SECOND APPLICATION OF THE VISION CONSIDERED.

There remains then but one other view of this remarkable vision, viz. that which interprets the "little horn" of the Romans. Let us see whether this solution of it is justly chargeable with "the high absurdity," which has been imputed to it by Mr. J. E. Clarke, and echoed by the talented author of the *Horæ Apocalypticæ*.

The first and principal of Mr. Elliott's objections, which he alleges no ingenuity can overcome, is that the old Roman power, whereof the local origin was *Latium*, cannot be considered as a Greek horn or

\* Ps. cxxxii. 17; Ezek. xxix. 21.

kingdom. Even taking the ordinary acceptation of the passage, this objection cannot be sustained; such acceptation being, that the "little horn" is depicted as *originating* out of *one of the four Macedonian kingdoms*. Is this, however, a correct interpretation of the prophet's language, "out of one of *them* came forth a little horn \*?" Has the word "*them*" been rightly understood? In order to judge whether this is the case let us go back a verse, where Alexander's kingdom, or the "great horn" is said to be broken, to which is added, "and for (i. e. *instead* or *in the place of*) it, came up four notable (conspicuous) ones towards the four winds of heaven." Here there can be no misconception. The word *it* (Heb. *הָיָה*) in the singular, clearly refers to the *great horn* or kingdom just spoken of, and the word *for* (Heb. *בַּמָּוֶלֶת*) equally connects the four succeeding kingdoms with that in place of which they came up or were substituted.

Next succeeds the verse in which the words in question occur—"And out of one of them came forth a little horn." Let us now join the two verses together, noting the grammatical construction and the gender of the words employed, and then see how the passage, literally translated, will run,—“And there arose *וַתֵּצֵא* (*fem.*) conspicuous *רְחוֹת* (*sing. fem.*) four *אַרְבַּע* (*undeclined*) instead of it *בַּמָּוֶלֶת* towards the four winds or quarters *רְחוֹת* (*fem.*) of heaven. And from one of them *מֵהֶם* (*masc.*) went forth *יָצָא* (*masc.*) one horn *קַרְנָאֶחַת* (*fem.*).” The word rendered “winds” (Heb. *רְחוֹת* *ruchoth*) is here the plural of the feminine form: but it is found in the singular number *רֵיחַ* (*fem.*), with the masculine adjective agreeing with it †. This is not uncommon in the Hebrew:

\* Dan. viii. 9.

† As in Exod. x. 19. And with both genders in the same verse, as in 1 Kings xix. 11.

indeed in several words the substantive masculine has a feminine plural \*.

There are other significations to the word *ruchoth* besides that of "winds," as the *quarters* of the heavens, the *sides* of an altar, or of any other *lateral object*. The word "them" (Heb. **הֵם**) is met with in one instance in the feminine, but is generally masculine †. One reading of this passage has the usual feminine form **הֵנָּה**, thus completely agreeing with the feminine substantive ‡. In the majority of editions the word here translated "went forth" (Heb. **יָצָא**) is in the masculine. Two or three MSS., however, read **יָצְאוּ** to agree with the noun **קֶרֶן** *keren*, "horn," which is most commonly feminine §, and is followed by the feminine adjective **אֶחָדָה**, "a small one," in this place ||; but this reading is not called for by the genius of the Hebrew or other Semitic languages. Thus, so far as gender is concerned, there is nothing to interfere with the ordinary grammatical construction of the sentence, to which, therefore, our attention must be directed.

Now, although pronouns are usually divided into personal and relative, yet in truth personal pronouns of the third person are all relative, inasmuch as they relate back to some antecedent, which is either expressed or understood. To which then of the words preceding it does the word "*them*" here refer? "And there arose four conspicuous (*scil.* horns) instead of it (the great horn) towards the four quarters of the heavens. And from one of *them* went forth one horn." There can be no question that the immediate antecedent of "them" is the word "winds," or "quarters."

\* See Bagster's Dict. § xlv. Irregular Nouns, p. 76.

† The proper feminine is **הֵנָּה**.

‡ Boothroyd's Bibl. Hebr. (Pontefract) in loco.

§ The plural **קֶרְנוֹת** is also in the feminine form.

|| See Wintle's notes on Dan. in loco.

In Daniel's previous description of the he-goat he says, "behold, a he-goat came *from the west*," of which distinct mention is thus made, because no general geographical term had previously occurred; and the writer accordingly specifies that particular quarter of the globe, from which the Macedonians were to come with regard to the Persians.

Relatively to the Macedonians the Romans also came from the *West*; but this having been previously mentioned in connexion with the Macedonian empire, Daniel might well hesitate to employ the same expression over again to point out the Romans. He may rather be understood as alluding (indefinitely, as it might seem, though not so in reality) to one out of the four quarters of the globe, which having just mentioned, furnished him with a convenient reference. He says that Alexander's empire was broken up into four kingdoms, which sprang up towards the four quarters of the heavens. This is precisely in accordance with a later description in the same book, where it is said of this very kingdom that it shall be "broken, and shall be divided toward *the four winds of heaven* \*."

Having thus, as it were, spread them over or lost them in these, the more natural inference would be, that in taking up another empire, the writer should make it emerge from one of such quarters, rather than from one of the four Macedonian kingdoms, unless there were a clear reference to the latter.

The interpretation, which has hitherto been accepted in default of another having been pointed out, proceeds on the opposite supposition, and when examined appears to be a most unlikely one. Can it be supposed that Daniel, having delineated a he-goat first with one great horn, and when that was broken,

\* Dan. xi. 4.

with four lesser though still notable horns, severally proceeding from the goat, should now drop all allusion to the animal itself, and describe a horn as coming forth out of one of these four horns; and that after depicting the earlier figures and scenes in clear and vivid coloring, he should all at once (the figure of the goat in the present assumption still continuing to form the body of the prophetic tableau) alter his style; and should throw into *the very same picture*, before so remarkable for its lights, a haze and indistinctness of touch wholly out of keeping with its previous breadth and force? The received interpretation therefore is not consistent with the general style of Daniel in his earlier description. It is still more opposed to the general tenor, as well as the particular phraseology of this portion of the vision. As rendered by Wintle it runs, "In the latter end of their kingdom" [i. e. of the Macedonians] "there shall arise a king of fierce or obdurate countenance" [i. e. a kingdom or power exhibiting the utmost strength, and exercising extreme severity]. Here, at least, this appears in terms to be a *distinct* empire, it being in no way connected with that which is referred to as noting the time of its appearance on the prophetic scene.

Reverting to Mr. Elliott's allusion to the increase of this power *westward* being passed over in silence, the applicability of the *little horn* to the Roman empire becomes strikingly apparent. Indeed, the objectional queries of this writer are admirably calculated to bring this out in the strongest point of view. His language is this, "If the little horn were the Roman power, how could its increase of greatness *westward*, where Spain and Gaul became permanently and peculiarly Roman provinces, be omitted in the notice of its waxing great? 'The little horn waxed

great,' it is said, 'toward the east, and toward the south, and toward the glory' (or Holy Land) \*."

I have repeatedly had occasion to point out the extreme accuracy, and the extraordinary delicacy of Daniel's historical sketches, historical in the sense of foreshadowing what history was afterwards to reveal or put on record. No where is this nicety of touch evinced more than in the present instance, on the assumption that by the *little horn* was indicated the Roman empire.

Although Daniel takes a wide and comprehensive view, and depicts various empires, he never does so except in connexion with his own nation. All his delineations encircle, and all his views centre in the Jewish people. What possible connexion then had the increase of Rome's greatness westward with the nation or people of Israel and of Judah? That Spain and Gaul should have become permanently and peculiarly Roman provinces was a circumstance with which Daniel had nothing whatever to do, and with which it would have been folly to have concerned himself. These countries lay beyond the sphere or scope of his prophecy, as much as Germany or Britain.

Still more, if we are to understand the vision as descriptive of a kingdom, or power, that was to come *out of one of the four quarters of the heavens*, and this quarter were the *west*, would it have been idle for the prophet, in glancing at the growth and expansion of this power, thus emerging from the west towards opposite quarters and other lands, viz. the south, the east, and the land of Palestine, where lay the scene of action, first by way of exordium, preface, or introduction, to refer to what had been previously transacted in the quarter from whence it was to go forth on its prescribed career on the prophetic scene, when this previous history had not the remotest bear-

\* Hor. Apoc. iii. 408, n. 2.

ing upon the subject. That he should have done so would have been a piece of pedantry, which is the last display one should have expected in a prophetic writer. Had Daniel been writing a Universal History, or even a History of Rome itself, the criticism might have been justified; but he was doing neither the one nor the other.

His description of the Roman empire under the symbol of the fourth beast or kingdom may indeed be said to be fuller; because he is there describing, not the onward progress of the Romans in some particular direction, but the *general character* of their power, still however as bearing upon the Jewish people. Even in the present vision this general character is touched upon; but what the prophet has uppermost in his mind is manifestly the progressive course of this power towards, and with reference to the countries encircling Judea, until it closed upon the Holy Land itself.

Look at Mr. Elliott's objection as we find it expanded in the sentence, "The little horn waxed great, it is said, 'toward the east, and toward the south, and toward the glory' (or Holy Land), *which is in fact the east again.*" Here it is insinuated that this cannot apply to the Roman empire; because Palestine lying eastward from Rome, it would be tautology to say that this empire waxed great toward the east, and also toward Palestine, which as regards Rome was in the east.

Now of all circumstances, this is *the one* which above any other seems to mark out Italy as the seat of the kingdom thus prefigured as the little horn. This country projects far into the Mediterranean in a direction sloping to the south-east, its most southern point, however, lying considerably above, or to the north of Judea, the utmost length of which is less

than the breadth of the Mediterranean at its extremity. This sea along the shore of Asia Minor on the north, and of Egypt on the south, runs in nearly parallel lines; and these lines if continued would not enter, or even approach the land of Israel, which would as it were be cut off by them. An easterly course from Italy would have conducted the Roman forces to Asia Minor, and then into Armenia, Media, and Parthia. A southerly course would have landed them at Carthage, or within the territories of Egypt; and if thence continued east would have led to Arabia, and beyond this into Persia. In neither case could Palestine have been reached, except by diverting the line of march by at least one right angle. Otherwise to have entered the Holy Land the Roman armies must have disembarked directly upon the Syrian coast, which constitutes the eastern border of the Mediterranean, and which, running north and south at nearly right angles with the two parallel lines just mentioned, here forms a square termination to this inland sea. With reference then to the Roman power, there would be a peculiar propriety in specifying its increase of greatness "toward the pleasant land," as well as "toward the south and toward the east."

But on the side of the Turks, had theirs been the kingdom intended, there were no similar lines of demarcation, separating Palestine from the adjacent territories, so as to call for any particular notice of this country. All that would have been required would have been a general allusion to their increase of greatness *westward*, or to the south-west, as this would have comprehended within it the pleasant land.

There is an error, too, of citation into which Mr. Elliott has fallen, which it is not unimportant to notice. In his quotation of this passage he places the east *before* the south, making it run thus, "The



little horn waxed great toward the *east* and toward the *south*." This reverses the true reading, in which the order is—1, the south; 2, the east; and 3, the pleasant land. This order precisely coincides with the actual progress of the Romans. Their first aggrandizements were to the south, where they humbled and finally subverted the power of the Carthaginians. Their supremacy dates from the defeat and flight from Carthage of Hannibal, the most formidable of their foes, in the year 194 B.C.; although it was not until nearly fifty years later that this city was completely destroyed.

About the same period, viz. in the year 195 B.C., they delivered the Greeks from the yoke of Philip, king of Macedonia, and proclaimed the freedom of Greece, which although it is to the south-east of Italy, yet looking to the corresponding slope of the two countries, may rather be said to lie in a southerly direction. Their superiority was thus asserted and manifested in the south, ere they made any decisive movement "toward the east."

Shortly afterwards they engaged in a war with Antiochus the Great; but this was connected with their struggles with the Carthaginians, as was their subsequent war with Philip of Macedon, at whose courts Hannibal had successively taken refuge. But now, having no longer any thing to fear from the south, they began to turn their arms *eastward*.

In the year B.C. 167 they defeated Perses, the son of Philip, and made themselves masters of Macedonia. They were at the same time the recognized protectors of Egypt, and the arbiters between those who there contended for supremacy. From this time we find them making rapid progress "toward the east." Their destruction of the kingdom of Pergamus and conquest of Asia Minor, their first actual step in

Asia, occurred in the year B.C. 128. Passing by the land of Palestine, which lay to the right, *out of an eastern course*, their armies continued to press onwards, and in the year B.C. 87 entered upon the first Mithridatic war. It was not until the third of these wars had been well nigh concluded, and Syria had been annexed by Pompey to the Roman empire (B.C. 65 or 64), and Aretas, the king of Arabia, had, after invading Syria during Pompey's absence in Parthia, been attacked in his own capital and taken prisoner, and then submitted to the conditions imposed upon him (B.C. 63), that is, not until the "little horn" had every where triumphed, or "waxed exceeding great," in the East, *except in the land of Palestine*, that the Romans interfered in the affairs of Judea\*.

Before adverting, however, to the origin and result of this interference, the political constitution of Judea at this period is specially deserving of notice. It is singularly enough observed by Mr. Elliott, that "from the time of the Babylonish captivity to the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans, the *Jews* were never a *mighty* people; being thenceforth a mere dependency on the Persians, Macedonians, Ptolemies, Seleucidæ, and Romans in succession: and consequently from that time never really *mighty ones*, or so represented in Scripture, but the contrary. . . . After returning from the Babylonish captivity their day was but 'the day of small things †,' as the prophets of that time express it; and in Christ's time their cry, 'We have no king but Cæsar,' was a public confession that they were no more *mighty ones*, but a *subject* people ‡." Let us see whether this is not written in complete oblivion of this portion of their history.

\* See Mithridates' Letter to Arsaces, quoted afterwards.

† Zech. iv. 10.

‡ Hor. Apoc. iii. 405 and n. 3.

From the time of the first Ptolemy, reckoning from the death of Alexander the Great (B.C. 323) to the middle of the reign of Antiochus the Great (circa 204 B.C.), and thence down to the death of Antiochus Sidetes (B.C. 130), that is, for about two centuries, the Jews had been under the dominion, first of the Egyptians and then of the Syrians.

When, however, the vast army of Sidetes had been annihilated, and himself slain in his campaign against the Parthians, a memorable change occurred. During a great part of the Syrian rule the high priesthood had been in the family of Matthias. On the death of Judas Maccabeus this, together with the leadership of the national party among the Israelites, was assumed by his brother Jonathan; on whose subsequent murder by Trypho, the general of the Syrian forces, another brother, Simon, succeeded to the office. This Simon some years afterwards, when attending a feast, also met with a violent death at the hands of his son-in-law Ptolemy, when his son John Hyrcanus became the high priest.

Simon stands out prominently in the history of his people, as having taken the first step towards the delivery of his nation from the Macedonian yoke, by withholding from the Syrians the accustomed tribute\*. This was shortly afterwards formally remitted by Demetrius in a letter to Simon. From this period the Jews *ceased to date their public instruments and contracts by the years of the Syrian kings*, and thenceforth dated them by the year of Simon and his successors†. But after the fall of Antiochus Sidetes, such was the weakness of Syria, arising out of the jealousies of Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyze-

\* B.C. 143.

† See Eckhel, Doctr. N. N. Vet. t. 3, p. 465. Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 6, § 7. 1 Macc. xiii. 39; xiv. 7. 33.

cenus, and their struggles for the throne, that Hyrcanus was enabled to render his countrymen wholly independent of the Syrians. In the words of Josephus, "He revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them any regard, either as a subject or a friend\*." This is supported by heathen writers, one of whom observes that "the power of the Jews was now so great, that they would not bear a Macedonian king over them †."

Hyrcanus, however, though he had now become the temporal as well as spiritual head of the nation, and had displayed his power in overrunning Samaria and taking Shechem, contented himself with the titles of prince and high priest alone ‡. Not so the eldest of his sons, Aristobulus. He succeeding his father (B.C. 107) both in the office of high priest and also in that of supreme governor of the country, "put a diadem on his head, and assumed the title of king; *and he was the first that did so in that land since the Babylonish captivity §*;" the first, in fact, who wore a crown since the days of Daniel, one of the children of this very captivity. While, therefore, a prophetic writer like Daniel, piercing with eagle gaze through the mists of futurity, would be likely to speak of his countrymen under the exalted designation of "the mighty people," this language would be out of place in the mouth of a Maccabean writer.

For about two centuries, as we have seen, had the Israelites been in subjection either to Egypt or to Syria; but they had been without a king for 300 years previously; thus making a total of no less than five centuries during which they were without the

\* Antiq. xiii. 10, § 1.

† Justin. xxxvi. 1. See Prid. Conn. ii. 261.

‡ Antiq. xiii. 10. 2. Prid. Conn. 245.

§ Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 11, § 1. Bell. Jud. i. 3. Prid. Conn. ii. c. vi.

form of a kingly government. Now, however, when the empire of the Macedonians had become enfeebled and was drawing on to a close, "in the latter times of their kingdom," just at this particular epoch Judah again reared his royal head, and the Israelites were once more *reckoned among the nations*. "Then the Jews, owing to the weakness of the Macedonians, the Parthians not having yet attained the height of their power, and the Romans not having extended their territory so far, chose kings for themselves\*." In the beautiful language of Scripture, being in fact that which is here adopted by Daniel, the country was now able to resume her expressive title of "*the pleasant land*," a term importing in Holy Writ *prosperity* and *independence* †.

This position was not only maintained, but improved; for the Asmonean princes, not content with simply governing the land of Palestine, extended their dominion over parts of Phœnicia, as well as over Ituræa, a portion of Cœlo-Syria, and other places on the same side of the river Jordan ‡. During a considerable portion, however, of the Asmonean dynasty, the country was weakened by religious discord and by civil commotions, which combined to bring it ultimately into great troubles.

To Aristobulus I. succeeded his brother Alexander, surnamed Jannæus, after whose death his queen Alexandra, a princess of great wisdom, held the reins

\* "Tum Judæi, Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis, (et Romani procul erant) sibi ipsi Reges imposuere."—Tac. Hist. v. 8.

† See Isa. v. 7; xxxii. 12; liv. 12; lxiv. 11. Jer. iii. 19. Lament. i. 7. 10. Ezek. xxvi. 12. Hos. ix. 8. Zech. vii. 14, and which was peculiarly applied to Judea. Ps. cvi. 24. Jer. iii. 19. Dan. xi. 16. 41.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 15, § 3, 4.

of government until her death at the advanced age of seventy-three years. She left by her husband two sons, Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II.; the former of whom first assumed the sovereignty, but was after a brief period defeated and deposed by his brother. The latter at first resigned himself to the loss of power, but was subsequently induced to seek the restoration of his crown\*.

The interference of the Romans arose out of an appeal to Pompey, then engaged in prosecuting the Mithridatic war, to decide between the contending claims of these sons of Queen Alexandra, while they were thus, in the year B.C. 63, disputing for the mastery at Jerusalem. The appeal ended in one of them, Aristobulus, resorting to arms. Being overcome by the superior force of the Romans, the country was made tributary. The kingly power, which had so lately been won by the Jewish nation, again passed from them, Hyrcanus, though restored to the office of high priest, not being allowed to wear a diadem, while he was deprived of all the cities and territory, which had been recently conquered by the Jews†.

Fully, however, to appreciate the exactness and beauty of the prophetic sketch, we must follow in the footsteps of the Roman general, and track the course of the army under his command. When called upon to arbitrate between the claims of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, Pompey was at Damascus. From thence he proceeded or despatched a portion of his army under Scaurus into Arabia, and there laid siege to and took Petra, the metropolis of Aretas' kingdom (by some supposed to be the same as Kir, or Sela, or

\* Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 16; xiv. 1. Bell. Jud. i. 3, 4.

† Joseph. Antiq. xx. 10.

Characoma in the land of Moab), when he received the submission of that monarch. It was from Damascus also that Pompey shortly afterwards set out on his expedition against Judea, entering Samaria at its north-west corner by the river Jordan. Quitting this river for Coreæ and its mountain fortress of Alexandrium, where Aristobulus then was, he obtained possession of these places. Aristobulus found himself under the necessity of delivering them up, and retired in displeasure to Jerusalem.

Instead of marching directly for this city, the Roman army turned once more towards the Jordan, and entering Judea, as they had done Samaria, at its north-west angle, encamped in the plains of Jericho. Here, just as they had pitched their tents, intelligence was brought to Pompey of the death of Mithridates, of the elevation of his son Pharnaces to the throne, and of the adherence of the new monarch to the Romans. It was known to the army that important tidings had reached their general, for the messengers who arrived had their spears wreathed with laurel, as a token of some victory or other signal success gained by the state.

In their eagerness to learn what had occurred, the soldiers would not wait until a tribunal of turf could be erected as usual, but heaping together their pack-saddles, made a temporary eminence for their chief to ascend. From thence Pompey announced the death of their formidable enemy, the submission of his successor, and the termination of the war in which they had undergone so much fatigue; thus bringing to a successful issue their struggle with this great eastern potentate\*.

His present enterprise, however, being unconnected

\* Appian. in Mithrid. Plut. in Pomp.

with this war, was not affected by the intelligence he had received, further than leaving him more free for its prosecution, from the more complete aggrandizement of Roman power in the *East*. Accordingly, after a day devoted to rejoicing, the army resumed its march upon Jerusalem, and being favored by the party of Hyrcanus, entered the city with little or no opposition. It was otherwise with the temple; this was defended with the greatest obstinacy, and withstood a siege of three months, when it was taken by assault. A dreadful carnage of the Jews ensued, no less than 12,000 of them perishing by the sword\*.

Thus for the first time fell the temple before the victorious Romans. This was in the year B.C. 63, or one or two years after that in which the Macedonian empire of Syria, whereof Palestine had so recently formed a part, was annexed to the Roman territories.

What, then, are the facts and circumstances most deserving of attention, as they appear upon this narrative?—1. That it was “in the *latter time*” of the Macedonian kingdom, that the Romans issued forth on their career of aggrandizement to which this portion of their history relates. 2. That it was not until *after* they had “waxed exceeding great toward the *south* and toward the *east*” that they turned their steps “toward the *pleasant land*.” 3. That Palestine owing to the intervention of the Mediterranean was geographically not within the line, but was, on the contrary, beyond the limits of any direct eastern route which the Romans could have taken by land. 4. That still the country might have been reached in an *easterly* direction by transporting troops from Italy

\* Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 4, § 3, 4. Bell. Jud. i. 5. Strabo xvi. 762, 763. Dion. Cass. xxxvii.



by *sea*, and disembarking them on the coast somewhere in a line with Jerusalem. 5. That such, however, was not the course taken by the Romans, whose army proceeded entirely by land, and whose march in arriving at the holy city, instead of being "toward the east," was south and west. 6. That this war with Judea was wholly independent of Roman aggression in the East, and arose from a distinct cause, and had a purely local and national origin. 7. That it was while Pompey the Roman general was at Damascus, still engaged in prosecuting the Mithridatic war, that at the solicitation of the Jews themselves, he was induced to turn aside in order to settle their affairs, when he was led on by circumstances to make a hostile attack upon the land. 8. That at a then recent period Palestine had re-assumed a regal position among the nations of the earth,—a position which it had not occupied since the days of "that Daniel which was of the children of the captivity of Judah\*" whose writings we are considering, and which of all things was most likely to attract the notice of one who was of the royal *house and lineage* of Judah. 9. That relatively to Italy, and having regard to its recent severance from Syria, and their independent government, there was a peculiar propriety in mentioning "the pleasant land" in connexion with the Romans, *separately from* as well as *after* "the east." 10. That at this particular period of Jewish history a conjunction of circumstances occurred which placed Judea in the prominent position assigned to it in this vision, and fully satisfied the expression of "*the pleasant land.*" 11. That while on these various points the prophet's description thus closely and perfectly adapts itself to the progressive expansion of the

\* Dan. vi. 13.

Roman power in these directions, it is inapplicable either to Antiochus Epiphanes or to the Othman or Seljukian Turks.

The weight of these several circumstances would be in no way diminished, even though the rendering which I have suggested of the words "out of one of *them*," could not be supported. From the time that the independence of Greece was nominally proclaimed by the Romans (B.C. 195) they obtained a substantial hold upon that country; and when afterwards they defeated Perses and subdued Macedonia (B.C. 167) they established themselves in the chief of the four Macedonian kingdoms, the birth-place of them all. The "little horn" thus rooted itself in Grecian, or rather Macedonian soil; and the terms of the prophecy do not (as Mr. Elliott intimates) require that this should have been "under a separate and independent, though associated government."

It was after this period (another of the Macedonian kingdoms having long previously been swallowed up), and when the two remaining empires were hastening to decay, that Roman aggrandizement was made conspicuous in the *south* by the destruction of Carthage (B.C. 149), and first exhibited itself in the *east* by their subversion of the kingdom of Pergamus (B.C. 128), and the conquest of the whole of Asia Minor which followed. "As the Achæan league was dissolved on having incurred the resentment of the Romans, so the unhappy remnant of the Spartan republic perished in having accepted their protection. The enmity or friendship of the Romans being equally fatal, these and every other state of Greece from that time forward ceased to be numbered among nations; having fallen the prey to a power whose force nothing could equal, but the ability and cunning by which it was exerted. Such is the comment we are tempted

to make on the policy with which, about fifty years earlier, Flaminius, to detach the Grecian states from Philip, proclaimed with so much ostentation at the Isthmus at Corinth their independence, and the free exercise of their own laws. That people, when they meant to ingratiate themselves, surpassed every state in generosity to their allies. They thus gained entire confidence, and taught nations, otherwise able to maintain their own independence, to rely upon that very power from which they had most to fear for their liberty; and in the end, under some pretence of ingratitude or affront, stripped of every right those very nations which had most plentifully shared in their bounty\*." The difficulty, therefore, suggested by Mr. Elliott has no existence in fact, but is purely one of his own creation.

These remarks have hitherto been limited to the Macedonian æra, although the vision extends into other epochs. It forcibly points at the destruction of God's ancient people during and subsequent to the siege of Jerusalem by the Roman army under Titus. But before adverting to these later times, let us see whether the designation of "the little horn" is as applicable to the Romans, as we have seen the details of the vision to have been up to this point. Mr. Elliott (though with several historical errors, as a reference to dates and transactions will show) urges his objection—"that the old Roman power can never be considered as a little horn of the Greek he-goat; for the local origin of its horn was *Latium* in Italy, not any spot in Greece or Persia; and before it ever moved eastward to intermeddle with the territories of the Greek he-goat, it was (on the scale in Daniel's vision) a *great horn*, not a *little one*; Sicily and Spain, and

\* Ferg. B. Rep. ii. 1, p. 273.

Carthaginian North Africa, besides all Italy, being comprehended in its dominions\*." Here, as before, Mr. Elliott unconsciously furnishes the key to his own refutation, which consists in a single word, *Latium*.

The prophet's description is, that "out of one of them [i.e. as I read the passage, *from the west*] came forth a little horn, which waxed *exceeding great*." Littleness and greatness are here combined, or follow close the one upon the other. There is no ground for saying that the empire thus referred to was really insignificant in *power*, when it first appeared upon the prophetic scene. It is far more consistent with the language used, that it should be a state small *in extent*; but which should rapidly increase in dominion and influence by extensive accessions or adhesions, partly by conquest and partly by treaty, of other people and of other territories. "And his power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and he shall prosper and practise †."

What, then, was the Roman state, and what its political condition and aspect *at this very time*, viz. during the decline of the Macedonian dynasty? The inquiry is met by the single word *civitas*, or even by that of *Latium*. Rome in the first instance, and afterwards *Latium*, was the narrow territory which constituted the seat of the "little horn," the privileges of which, long an object of earnest solicitude, ultimately became so extended as to swallow up the country whence they were derived. Even regarded from this point of view, the state which gave them birth was in a sense "broken without hand." The superstructure became too huge and cumbrous for its

\* Hor. Apoc. iii.

† Dan. viii. 24.

base, which crumbled into dust under the oppressive weight.

To show the wonderful fidelity and surpassing delicacy of the prophetic description, it is only requisite to call to mind the jealousy which so long guarded the Roman name and lineage. Romans could only legally intermarry with each other\*. From motives of policy, too, intermarriages between those who inhabited neighbouring districts of the same country were sometimes prohibited; and what (as Adam observes) is still more surprising, the states of Italy were not allowed to speak the Latin language in public, nor their criers to use it in auctions without permission†.

How strictly the rights of citizenship were guarded we learn from the pages of Tully. There we read that L. Licinius Crassus and Q. Mucius Scævola, two of the most distinguished men of the day, the one as an orator, the other as an advocate, on being chosen consuls in the year B.C. 94, procured a law to be enacted, that none but such as could adduce a perfect title to *Roman* citizenship should be admitted to its rights; and that even those who were born *in Rome*, if they had no other claim to citizenship, should not be recognized as Romans, but should be dismissed into the districts of their respective families‡. This law so offended the Italian states in alliance with Rome, that it proved one of the principal causes of the Social war which broke out some three years afterwards§.

\* "Non erat cum externo connubium." Sen. Ben. iv. 35. Liv. xxxviii. 86.

† Liv. viii. 14; ix. 43; xl. 42; xlv. Adam's Rom. Antiq. 402.

‡ Cic. pro Corn. i. and De Offic. iii. 2. Ascon. in loc.

§ Hooke's Rom. Hist. iii. 98.

At this period then the Roman state, as such, was at no small risk making strenuous efforts to restrict its numbers and extent; and exhibiting itself to the world as indeed a *little horn*, though mighty by means of other powers than its own intrinsic force.

The Social war continued to rage for about six years, terminating in the same year (B.C. 87) as that in which the first Mithridatic war was entered upon. This was, however, long after the Romans had begun to move eastward, they having conquered Macedonia sixty-two years, and Asia Minor forty-one years previously. There perished in this internal struggle no less than 300,000 men, Romans and Italians; and peace was only concluded upon the terms of the Italian states being successively admitted to the privileges either of Rome or Latium.

Still it was not the territory itself, but only the rights conferred by it that became extended. The bounds of this remained the same, although those born in other states of Italy were invested with the privileges attached to it. The city itself continued to be the seat of dominion, and the proud birth-place of the Roman name \*. Thus, in the most exact accordance with the prophetic delineation, did this "little horn," occupying a country of insignificant extent, which even in geographical configuration bears a strong resemblance to the figure under which the nation is portrayed, "wax exceeding great toward the south and toward the east," at the identical period foretold by Daniel as that, which should witness the decay of the Macedonian kingdom. It subdued Carthage in the *south*, Macedonia and Asia Minor in the *east*, and thence rolled onwards until it encountered and shook the throne of the formidable king of Pontus. All

\* Vell. Pat. ii. Strab. v. 241, &c.

this was accomplished ere Palestine, now again become a "pleasant land," was pressed by the foot of a single Roman warrior.

In the capture of the temple, however, at this period, the prophecy concerning the Holy Land received but a slight and partial fulfilment. When the Romans had gained access to the city, they did so with the aid of a considerable party among the Jews themselves. The war, indeed, which they waged was not against the nation itself, but against Aristobulus, who after referring the dispute between himself and his brother Hyrcanus to the arbitrement of Pompey, assumed an attitude of hostility so soon as an adverse decision was anticipated. The Romans did not at this time "stand up against the Prince of Princes," for they took the part of Hyrcanus, who was the rightful high priest, and reinstated him in his sacred office. The temple sustained no injury after the siege; its vessels and treasures were left unmolested by Pompey; although what was done to the city is not so clear.

To reach the temple the city was attacked on the north side, where there were great towers and a ditch. During the siege one of the largest of these towers and a portion of the fortifications were thrown down by the battering rams. Josephus says that Hyrcanus afterwards attempted "to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem which Pompey had overthrown;" and in another place that Cæsar "gave Hyrcanus leave to raise up the walls of his own city . . . for they had been demolished by Pompey \*."

But this leaves it in doubt whether the entire wall was thrown down or lowered, or whether what was done was merely the result of the siege. But to

\* Antiq. xiv. 5, § 2; xiv. 8, § 5.

whatever extent these ravages may have extended, there is no warrant for the assertion of Mr. Sharpe, "that the fortifications of the *temple* were destroyed" at this time. This is alleged in support of the extravagant notion apparently entertained by him, that Messiah the Prince spoken of in the ninth chapter of Daniel was no other than Pompey! The writer does not, indeed, venture to put forth such a proposition broadly, but leaves it to be inferred from these words—"The fortifications of the temple were destroyed 483 years, or, *as it is stated in Daniel*, at the end of sixty-nine weeks from the going forth of the command to rebuild them in the first year of King Cyrus. The Roman ensigns, or the 'abomination of the destroyer,' were *then* fixed upon the sacred battlements\*." This very original idea of my excellent friend would be amusing enough, were it not for the sad reflection that this is an indirect attempt to turn aside from the Saviour of mankind one of the most pointed and remarkable prophecies in the Old Testament. The sixty-nine weeks of years is a portion of the celebrated seventy weeks of Daniel, this being the period predetermined in the counsels of the Almighty "to finish [or restrain] the transgression, and to [seal up] or make an end of sin, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision of prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy†."

The entire period of seventy weeks is divided into three portions of time,—seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week. The two first of these are assigned for the manifestation of Messiah the Prince, who after the second period of sixty-two weeks was "to be cut off, but not for himself" [or without leaving any

\* Hist. of Egypt, ii. 26, 27.

† Dan. ix. 24.



posterity], and during the last or one week was to "confirm the covenant with many," while "in the midst [or the half, or during the course] of the week" He was to "cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease \*."

Now the person here referred to by the prophet under the titles of *Messiah the Prince* and *The Most Holy*, (unless the latter  $\text{מָלְאִךְ} \text{שֶׁן}$  should mean *the holy of holies*,) must be one and the same, and consequently these titles must find a common concentric object. So, too, whatever difficulties may arise from the defective chronology of the ancients in establishing with exact precision conjoint prophetical epochs or divisions of time, it must be manifest that no scheme of interpretation can have the slightest claim to attention, which does not attempt to account for and connect them all.

But with Egypt's modern historian these elementary, though essential requisites are wholly set aside. He intimates that Pompey, of all men, must here be indicated, since it is affirmed that the sixty-nine weeks terminated with his capture of Jerusalem. Yet how the Roman general could answer and combine in himself the characters of MESSIAH or *Anointed Prince*, and THE MOST HOLY; how *he* was to work out the grand spiritual designs here adumbrated, and how all prophecy was to meet and find its end and substance in *him*, is what this ingenious writer does not venture to touch upon.

In making the notable discovery that this splendid prophecy is to find a fulfilment in the time, and as a necessary sequence, in the person of Pompey, it was at least to be expected that some ground, however slight, some coincidence, however remote or casual,

\* Dan. ix. 25—27.

should appear to exist for the application; and that the one single point, on which alone the proof of it is said to rest, should be distinguished for its accuracy, seeing that this can only be advanced in refutation of the grand doctrine of the atonement, through the sufferings and death of *THE Messiah, Christ, the ANOINTED KING of Israel, the Holy Child Jesus.*

What, then, must be the surprise of the reader to find that the alleged interval of 483 years, or sixty-nine weeks of years, from the going forth of the command to rebuild the temple in the first year of Cyrus, to its capture by Pompey, when its fortifications are by the same writer erroneously said to have been destroyed, has no existence in fact? There never was any such interval.

All chronologists (and Mr. Sharpe does not appear to differ from them) concur in representing the sole reign of Cyrus over Persia, after the conquest of Babylonia, Lydia, and other parts of Asia, to have occurred in the year B.C. 536. It was in the first year of this reign that the edict for rebuilding the temple was issued. This is exactly *ten years short* of the 483 years.

Thus, Cyrus' edict to rebuild the temple B.C.	536
Capture of Jerusalem by Pompey „	63

Actual interval therefore . . .	473
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In order to make up the additional ten years, it would be necessary that Cyrus' edict should have been issued in the year B.C. 546; but there is no event in the life of Cyrus which is recorded as having taken place in this year, much less the publication of the above edict; and if we take the date of his first accession to the throne of Persia before its aggrandizement, this is supposed to have occurred in the year B.C. 559, just thirteen years over the sixty-nine weeks

or 483 years, and twenty-three years anterior to the actual date of Cyrus' decree. I can arrive, therefore, at no other conclusion than that the writer referred to must, in deducting sixty-three from 536, have produced 483 in place of 473, through a mere error of subtraction.

§ VI. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LITTLE HORN  
DEVELOPED IN THE ROMANS.

Having thus, I trust, not merely removed out of the way opposing interpretations, but shown the peculiar fitness of Daniel's appellation of the "*little horn*," and his wonderful accuracy in describing the progress of this power toward the land of Palestine, as applied to the Romans, let us see whether the rest of the delineation is equally appropriate.

In doing so it will be desirable to take a view of the vision as a whole; although in dealing with the objections which have been urged against this solution of it, two out of the many points of resemblance have had to be separately investigated.

The power or empire, then, here depicted was to be distinguished by the following marks or characteristics:—

1. It was, as I render the words, to come out of *one* of the four quarters of the globe.
2. The particular quarter, viz. the *west*, is denoted by its progress in opposite directions.
3. The time of its appearance on the prophetic scene, in relation to the Macedonians, was to be "*in the latter time of their kingdom.*"
4. And in relation to the Israelites it was to be, "*when the transgressors were come to the full.*"
5. It was to be a state of small extent as regarded its proper territory; such as could be aptly designated "*a little horn.*"

6. Although of small extent in itself, it was to "*was exceeding great.*"
7. Its power, however, was not to be purely intrinsic, but it was to have large and external accessions of strength, and was to derive material aid from foreign sources.
8. It was to put forth its utmost energies, and to be distinguished by its exertions, its undertakings, and its arts; it was "*to practise.*"
9. The result of these efforts was to be, that it was emphatically and in a peculiar manner "*to prosper.*"
10. Its people were to be remarkable for their courage and ferocity; it was to be "*a king of fierce countenance.*"
11. They were to be haughty, arrogant, and puffed up; he was to "*magnify himself in his heart.*"
12. The leading feature of its government was to be its deep-laid and insidious policy; "*through his policy he was to cause craft to prosper in his hand.*"
13. It was skilfully to interpret and adapt oracles and auguries; it was to "*understand dark sentences.*"
14. Its greatness in the prophet's view, with reference to Judea, was chiefly "*toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.*"
15. The increase of its greatness, however, was to be general and astonishing; "*his power was to be mighty,*" and it was to "*was great even to the host of heaven.*"
16. It was to conquer and overthrow kings and states; it was to "*cast down some of the host, and of the stars to the ground.*"

17. Not contented with their simple overthrow, it was to carry its enmity still further, "*and to stamp upon them.*"
18. It was to attack and destroy the Jewish high priest and nation; he was to "*magnify himself even to the prince of the host,*" and was to "*destroy the mighty and holy people.*"
19. It was to put an end to the Jewish worship at Jerusalem, overturn its altars, and destroy its temple; it was "*to take away the daily sacrifice, and to cast down the place of his sanctuary.*"
20. This was to be expressly by Divine permission, and as a judgment upon the Jews for their iniquity; an host was "*given*" him against the daily sacrifice "*by reason of transgression.*"
21. It was to subvert the true religion, and establish a false one; it was to "*cast down the truth to the ground.*"
22. Its destruction of the human race was to surpass that of all other powers; he was to "*destroy wonderfully.*"
23. Even in times of peace the destruction of mankind was to constitute the diversion of its people; "*by or in peace it was to destroy many.*"
24. It was to withstand the Lord from heaven, and to become the great persecutor of Christianity; it was to "*stand up against the Prince of princes.*"
25. Its efforts to accomplish this object were to be defeated, and itself as a persecuting heathen power, if not as an earthly state, to be destroyed, other than by human means; "*he was to be broken without hand.*"

What are these but so many points in the character and annals of the Roman people,—an epitome, in fact, of Rome's history? I. Relatively to the former empires depicted by the prophet, this "horn" came out of one of the four quarters of the world, into which the Macedonian kingdom had become dispersed. II. That quarter was the west. III. As a dominating power she broke upon the astonished world just as this kingdom was tending to its decay. IV. The transgressions of the Jewish people were accumulating thick and fast, and the time of Divine retribution was at hand. V. In comparison with other nations, the power that was now issuing forth to desolate and subjugate the earth occupied but a narrow strip of territory, and formed a state of insignificant extent; and so regarded was essentially a "*little horn*." But small as was its own proper territory, this state became one of surpassing greatness.

VI. At a particular epoch of her history the growth of her power was marked and rapid. The barrier which had so long existed to her eastern progress was broken down. In the decline of the Macedonian empire there arose from the narrow territory of the "little horn" the cry, "*Delenda est Carthago*." Before it her ranks swelled in numbers, her warrior chiefs became fiercer and more impetuous, and Carthage *was* destroyed. "This enemy once removed, the Roman arms spread like a torrent over the earth\*." Thenceforward the "little horn" began sensibly to "*wax exceeding great*." Her power became more mighty, and her dominion over the richest and most important portions of the globe more extensive, than that of any kingdom which had preceded or has even followed.

"The empire was above 2000 miles in breadth,

\* Wilb. Five Emp. 156.

from the wall of Antoninus and the northern limits of Dacia, to Mount Atlas and the tropic of Cancer; it extended in length more than 3000 miles from the Western Ocean to the Euphrates; it was situated in the finest part of the temperate zone, between the twenty-fourth and twenty-sixth degrees of northern latitude; and it was supposed to contain above 1,600,000 square miles, for the most part of fertile and well-cultivated land\*."

If its territories were thus vast, the numbers of its population were no less enormous. "When the Emperor Claudius exercised the office of censor, he took an account of 6,945,000 Roman citizens, who, with the proportion of women and children, must have amounted to about 20,000,000 of souls. The multitude of subjects of an inferior rank was uncertain and fluctuating. But after weighing with attention every circumstance which could influence the balance, it seems probable that there existed in the time of Claudius about twice as many provincials as there were citizens of either sex and of every age; and that the slaves were at least equal in number to the free inhabitants of the Roman world. The total amount of this imperfect calculation would rise to about 120,000,000 of persons; a degree of population which possibly exceeds that of modern Europe, and forms the most numerous society that has ever been united under the same system of government†."

So also with respect to its language. This, as we have seen, was an object of earnest solicitude. "So sensible were the Romans of the influence of language over national manners, that it was their most serious care to extend with the progress of their arms the use of the Latin tongue‡."

\* Gibbon, Decl. and Fall, i.

† Ibid. ii.

‡ Ibid. But see Mer. Rom. Emp. iv. 392.

What a striking contrast does this picture, under its threefold aspect, present to the same state at a former period of its history; putting forth, as it then did, its utmost energies to limit its territory, restrict its numbers, and confine its language; engaging for the accomplishment of these objects in a sanguinary war with its own immediate allies, inhabiting the same country, in which the sacrifice of human life amounted to no less than 300,000 men. Any thing more completely answering to the predicted kingdom of a *little horn*, "which should *wax exceeding great*," it is impossible to conceive.

VII. But enormous as was her power, this was in a great measure acquired with the assistance of subject or auxiliary forces. "The Romans," observes Montesquieu, "made soldiers of every people they conquered, and considered the vanquished only as so many instruments of future triumph." Every alliance which they formed but served to extend their dominion, not so much from the withdrawal of an enemy, as from the subjection of a friend, and the material accession thence resulting to their own power in their aggressions upon countries as yet unsubdued. "The title of ally was for the most part no more than a specious name, under which they disguised their dominion, and availed themselves of the strength and resources of other nations, with the least possible alarm to their jealousy \*."

VIII. The vital energy of this people was exhibited in their personal prowess, their indomitable will, the success of their enterprises, their rapid strides towards universal dominion, the vastness of their public undertakings, and the grandeur and solidity of their works of art. In all these respects this *horn* or empire

\* Wilb. Five Emp. p. 156.



stands out as one which "practised" to an extent beyond all former example.

Defeat served but to stimulate them to fresh exertions, and they rose superior to every disaster. Witness the public thanks decreed by the senate to the consul Varro for not despairing of the republic, when he returned almost alone after the terrible defeat at Cannæ\*. Also the sale of the ground occupied by Hannibal and his army before the walls of Rome, at an auction held at this very time within the city. The self-devotion of M. Curtius, of M. Attilius Regulus and others, attests the spirit by which they were actuated, and the sacrifices they were prepared to make for the good of their country. Amidst all their vices and excesses, such actions have commanded the admiration of after ages.

Their own interests were kept constantly and steadily in view. Every pulsation was directed, every nerve was strained to work out their own aggrandizement. "Vast roads, uniform and unbending, were the tracks which she made for herself through the world, that so the most inaccessible countries might be laid open to her armies; and in making them she hewed through mountains, and filled up valleys, as though the earth was as subject to her as its inhabitants †."

But it was not in war alone that the Romans thus perseveringly *practised*. Their public works in times of peace were no less stupendous and magnificent. "All the quarters of the capital and all the provinces of the empire were embellished by the same liberal spirit of public magnificence, and were filled with amphitheatres, theatres, temples, porticos, triumphal arches, baths, and aqueducts, all variously conducive

\* Liv. xxii. 61.

† Wilb. Five Emp. p. 158.

to the health, the devotion, and the pleasures of the meanest citizen. Among the innumerable monuments of architecture constructed by the Romans, how many have escaped the notice of history ! how few have resisted the ravages of time ! And yet even the majestic ruins, that are still scattered over Italy and the provinces, would be sufficient to prove that those countries were once the seat of a polite and powerful empire. Their greatness alone, or their beauty might deserve our attention ; but they are rendered more interesting by two important circumstances, which connect the agreeable history of the arts with the more useful history of human manners. Many of those works were erected at private expense, and almost all were intended for public benefit \*."

IX. As the Romans were thus distinguished by the greatness of their actions, and the surpassing grandeur and magnificence of their works and undertakings, so their *prosperity* rose to a pitch which had no parallel in the history of the world. The riches of this mighty empire were unbounded. After enumerating or noticing the cities of Britain, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Greece, the historian of her decline thus refers to the still greater opulence of Asia under the Romans.

"The provinces of the East present the contrast of Roman magnificence with Turkish barbarism. The ruins of antiquity scattered over uncultivated fields, and ascribed by ignorance to the power of magic, scarcely afford a shelter to the oppressed peasant or wandering Arab. Under the reign of the Cæsars the proper Asia alone contained 500 populous cities, enriched with all the refinements of art. Eleven cities had once disputed the honor of dedicating a temple to

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, ii.

Tiberius, and their respective merits were examined by the senate. Four of them were immediately rejected as unequal to the burden; and among these was Laodicea, whose splendor is still displayed in its ruins. Laodicea collected a very considerable revenue from its flocks of sheep, celebrated for the fineness of their wool; and had received, a little before the contest, a legacy of above 400,000*l.* by the testament of a generous citizen. If such was the poverty of Laodicea, what must have been the wealth of those cities whose claim appeared preferable, and particularly of Pergamos, of Smyrna, and of Ephesus, who so long disputed with each other the titular primacy of Asia? The capitals of Syria and Egypt held a still superior rank in the empire. Antioch and Alexandria looked down with disdain on a crowd of dependent cities, and yielded with reluctance to the majesty of Rome itself\*."

This national prosperity was prominently noticed by the Romans themselves, and as usual with the ancients, was personified by them under the form of a divinity.

The treaties which the Romans made were introduced with the words,—*Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit populo Romano*. And what nation was ever so successful? Even temporary defeats inspired them with fresh vigour. Like the fabulous hydra, they recovered their strength after the most violent attacks upon it; and though for a short time *sunk in calamity*, exerted their prowess with redoubled efforts. They seem to have been thoroughly sensible of their own good fortune. Hence we meet with the following inscriptions on their coins,—*Felicitas Imperii; Felicitas Orbis; Felicitas Populi Romani; Felicitas*

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, ii.

*Publica; Felicitas Perpetua; Roma Felix; Roma Victrix; Roma Æterna; Æternitati Imperii.* Plutarch has written an entire treatise on the fortune of the Romans. Here Virtue and Fortune are said to have contended to which of them the power of the Romans should be ascribed, and the dispute is decided in favor of the latter. According to his allegory, Fortune, having abandoned the Persians and Assyrians, flew swiftly into Macedonia; she then changed her course, traversed Syria and Egypt, and thence visited Carthage; when, quitting Africa, she came into Italy, crossed the Tiber, and advanced to the Palatine hill. There she laid aside her wings, put off her sandals, and threw away her globe, as if resolved to fix her habitation in that place. The kings of Rome admired and revered her, ὡς πρωτόπολιν, καὶ τιθήνην, καὶ φερέπολιν τῆς Ῥώμης,—“as the chief guard, the nurse, and the protectress of Rome\*.” Roman coins still extant have on the reverse the figure of Fortune seated, with the inscription “Fortunæ Manenti.”

After Rome had been saved from the threatened attack of Coriolanus through the entreaties of his wife and mother, and these had by a decree of the senate been allowed to name their own reward, they desired nothing more than to erect at their own expense a temple to the Fortune of women. The senate applauding so disinterested a proposal, would not allow them to defray the cost either of the temple or of the statue which was to be worshipped in it. These were erected at the public charge; and Valeria, the sister of Valerius Poplicola, who had suggested and counselled the deputation to Coriolanus, was the first priestess of this new sanctuary †.

\* Zouch.

† Dion. Hal. viii. 525. Plut. 231.

Upon the proneness of the lower orders of his countrymen to pay homage to the fortunate, and to persecute those on whom fortune had frowned, the poet has this bitter satire, "Sed quid turba Remi? Sequitur Fortuna, ut semper, et odit damnatos \*."

X. In their character the Romans were stern, fierce, intolerant, and cruel. In this character, and by the same identical figure as that employed by Daniel, were they marked out nearly 1000 years before by the great lawgiver and prophet of Israel. In that wonderful prediction, where the siege of Jerusalem is described with the minuteness of an eye-witness, the Romans, indicated as well from their standards as their rapid marches, under the figure and by the flight of an eagle, are styled "a nation of fierce countenance †."

The people thus delineated were neither the Babylonians nor the Macedonians, for they were to be "*a nation from far, from the end of the earth;*" a description applicable to no other nation but the Romans; who, when they invaded Judea and besieged Jerusalem, had subdued Spain, Gaul, Germany, and Britain, and whose armies under Titus were in great part composed of natives of these countries.

Another remarkable characteristic of this people, with reference to the Israelites, was that they were to be "a nation whose tongue thou shalt not understand" [Heb. hear]. Of whom could this be more appropriately said? Besides the Philistines and other immediately bordering tribes, the people by whom the Israelites were successively attacked or brought into subjection were—1, the Assyrians; 2, the Chaldeans or Babylonians; 3, the Persians; 4, the Macedonians; and 5, the Romans. Now the languages of the three

\* Juv. x. 72—74.

† Deut. xxviii. 50.

first bore a close affinity to the Hebrew; and with the people by whom they were spoken, the Israelites from an early period came more or less into contact. The Greek was also a branch of the Indo-Phœnician stock, and, though greatly changed, still bore a relation to the Shemitish languages in general\*. It was a language often heard by, and which early became familiar to the Jews at Tyre, Alexandria, Cyrene, and elsewhere. It gradually spread from Ionia and Æolia over Asia Minor, and thence into Syria; while the Macedonians deeply impressed their language upon a great part of Asia †.

But the Latin tongue, although derived originally from the Grecian, and therefore also traceable to an Oriental source, became essentially a distinct language. It differed far more widely in character and construction from the Hebrew than any other. It was a language, too, which even after the extension of the Roman power in the East, the Israelites were but little, if at all, acquainted with. The Romans were thus a nation whose tongue the Israelites did not hear or understand.

The prediction of the cruelties which should be practised in their multiplied sieges "throughout all the land of Israel," and the indiscriminate massacres which should be perpetrated after the capture of towns and cities, still further identify the Romans as the "nation of fierce countenance, which should not regard the person of the old, nor show favor to the young ‡."

Then follow the wonderful details of some of the

\* Herod. i. 148. Bry. Mythol. v. 24, 25. Horne's Introd. iv. 212, n. 2. Mitf. Hist. Gr. i. 24.

† See Joseph. Bell. Jud. vii. 3, § 3.

‡ Deut. xxviii. 50. See, among other instances, Joseph. Bell. Jud. iii. 7, § 31. 36; iv. 2, § 5.

horrors, by which the siege of Jerusalem under Titus was to be rendered memorable in all ages\*; leaving no room for doubt that the people, whom Moses portrayed as “a nation of fierce countenance,” were and could be none other than the Romans. Thus admirably does one portion of Scripture elucidate another; and, in the present instance, point its unerring index to the nation shadowed forth by Daniel under the same figure.

History has written its faithful commentary on these prophetic delineations, and stamped the character of the Romans with the same impress. This severity of character may be seen in one of their earliest laws. A father had absolute power over his children, whom of his own mere will he could imprison, or put to death, or sell thrice over into slavery, whatever age or dignity they might have attained †.

Their very city, either in fact or popular belief, was founded in a brother's blood ‡. The savageness of their nature is strongly marked in numerous instances. After the Alban brothers had fallen before the survivor of the Horatii, their own near kinsman, the infuriated warrior returned the reproaches of a sister for the loss of her lover by plunging his sword into her bosom. Incredible as it may seem, the father not only approved of this savage deed, but refused his murdered child even a place in the family sepulchre §.

Their very visages expressed the fierceness of their characters. The renowned Horatius Cocles, when defending the bridge Sublicius against the attack of Porsenna, is depicted “as rolling round his fierce eyes

\* Deut. xxviii. 53—57.

† Laws of Romulus, Dion. Hal. b. ii. 96, 97.

‡ Liv. i.

§ Ibid. 26.

with menacing looks upon the Etruscan chiefs, now to defy them singly, now to daunt them all \*." So Mucius Scævola, after his attempted assassination of the same monarch, when brought before the king, appeared "with a haughty look, that struck more terror than it expressed fear" (*metuendus magis quam metuens*); and then, as fearless in act as bold in speech and look, thrust his right hand into the fire that was burning for the sacrifice †. Of Coriolanus it is related that "he was dreadful to meet, not merely for the strokes of his arm, but for the tones of his voice, and the look of his countenance ‡."

Appius Claudius, when impeached by the tribunes before the commons, retained the same resolute, haughty, and disdainful look he was wont to have. Such was his intrepidity, that he was feared no less when publicly arraigned than when invested with consular power §. Catiline in his last death-struggle, as described by his historian, "was found far in advance of his own troops among the dead bodies of his enemies, still slightly breathing, and retaining in his countenance that ferocity of spirit, which he had when alive ||."

When Marius, sinking under the weight of age and toil, walked slowly into the camp of Cinna like a man oppressed with misfortune, something under the

\* "Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum; nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes."—Liv. ii. 10.

† Liv. ii. 12.

‡ Plut. Vit. Coriol.

§ "Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in vultu, idem in oratione spiritus erat; adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus reum timeret, quam consulem timuerat."—Liv. ii. 61.

|| "Catilina vero longe a suis inter hostium cadavera repertus est, paululum etiam spirans, ferociam animi quam habuerat vivus in vultu retinens."—Sall. in Catil. Conjur. in fin.



guise of that doleful visage was discerned which excited terror rather than moved to compassion\*.

These and other instances, it may be said, relate to individuals only, and cannot be adduced as characteristic of the nation. But it is observable that even in the highly wrought descriptions of Homer, but one illustration occurs at all approaching these, where Hector is described as Γοργούης ὄμματ' ἔχων †. This is manifestly a mere poetic allusion, employed to heighten the picture of the Trojan hero's kindling excitement in a moment of successful conflict with the Grecian foe, and bears no relation to that habitual fierceness which is indicated in the examples referred to. In another passage in the same author Achilles, in his passionate altercation with Agamemnon, describes the latter as κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων ‡; an expression not indeed parallel, but taken in connexion with the former, tending to sever more widely the Grecian and Roman types of countenance in moments of resentment and passion. Looking therefore at individual instances, the Romans would stand forth conspicuous above all others as a people of fierce countenance. The descriptions, however, are not thus confined, but extend to whole hosts of combatants. Thus Florus describes the Romans who fell in an engagement as dying with their swords still grasped in their hands, threatening looks remaining stamped upon their countenances, and fierceness surviving in death itself§.

In one of their wars with the Romans the Samnites attributed their defeat to the fierce looks of their enemies more than to any other cause. On being asked

\* Plut. in Mar.

† Il. viii. 349.

‡ Ibid. i. 225.

§ "Quidam hostibus suis immortui: omnium in manibus enses: et relictæ in vultibus minæ: et in ipsâ morte ira vivebat."—Flor. l. xviii.

what could have impelled them to flight, they returned for answer, "That the eyes of the Romans seemed to them to burn with fire, their looks to be maddened, and their whole aspect to be raging with fury; and that from thence sprung up more terror in their breasts than from any other cause\*."

"Can," asks Dr. Zouch, "a people of fierce countenance be more graphically delineated than in these words? This great nation could not have been more happily described. Their fortitude, or rather ferocity of temper, seems to have distinguished them from every other people. . . . Sprung originally from a wild rabble of robbers and assassins, they commenced their empire with acts of rapine and violence. The success of their arms was enforced by the severity of discipline; and their internal safety confirmed by the authority of the censors, which Valerius called 'the censorial brow' (*ensorium supercilium*). A Roman consul, preceded by twelve lictors with rods and axes, the instruments of severe justice, may well be termed a king of a fierce countenance."

XI. In their conduct towards other nations they arrogated to themselves the utmost superiority, treating with scorn and insolence the representatives of the most ancient dynasties, and disregarded and even outraged the feelings of other nations. "The Roman virtue has ever been exhibited to our view as rigid and intractable, and graced with no alluring charms. A Roman hero is scarce ever susceptible of tenderness and compassion." Dr. Zouch. So another writer, speaking of an earlier vision of Daniel and not of that under review, observes, "Every thing was swallowed up by the desire of pre-eminence; they were neither kindly

\* "*Oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos, vesanosque vultus, et furentia ora; inde plusquam ex aliâ ullâ re terroris ortum.*"—Liv. vii. 33.

nor generous; toward strangers they were proud, overbearing, and intolerant; among themselves fierce, cruel, and relentless. Their meanest officers behaved with arrogance and insolence to the greatest princes of the earth, and took pleasure in showing their contempt for the manners and feelings of other nations\*." "Her citizens held themselves equal to kings and princes. They confounded their dominion with the extent of the earth. Cicero terms her—the home of virtue, of empire, of dignity, the abode of glory, the light of the whole world. By one of the historians she is called the city destined for the habitation of gods and men." So Eumenes, king of Pergamus, when he addressed the Romans, artfully soothed them by placing them on a level with the divinities, 'That one cause of his coming to Rome was the desire of visiting those gods and men to whose kindness he owed his fortune.' . . . Her poets, orators, and historians seldom lose an opportunity of exulting in her universal empire. Thus Martial speaks of her as

‘Terrarum dea, gentiumque, Roma,  
Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum.’

Juvenal has severely censured the vain ostentation of the Roman hero, enthroned in his triumphal car, gorgeously robed, crowned with laurel, and thus literally magnifying himself in his heart †.

“The most arrogant titles were conferred on her emperors: To the Divine Julius; To the Eternal Prince always, every where to be revered, Augustus; To the Prosperous, Unconquered, Unconquerable and Perpetual ever-August; The Restorer of the World; To the Triumphal Lord of the whole World; The Salvation of the Human Race ‡.”

\* Wilb. Five Emp. 158. † Juvenal x. 36—43. 133—140.

‡ Dr. Zouch, i. 128 and elsewhere.

Epithets of pride and exaltation were thus accumulated, in order that this king or power might "*magnify himself in his heart*," and thereby fulfil what on this point, also, had been "spoken of by Daniel the prophet."

XII. In the government of the Romans its leading feature was its deep-laid and insidious policy. Among a host of writers Mr. Elliott stands alone in his artless inquiry, "How did the Roman power in its progress cause *craft to prosper* \*?" By all other authors who have touched upon their history their subtle policy is prominently noticed. It is so by the writer of the first book of the Maccabees †. He describes them to be "such as would lovingly accept all that joined themselves unto them, and make a league of amity with all that came unto them. . . . And that by their policy and patience they *had conquered all the place*," i.e. Spain ‡. So history records their conduct in this country to have been marked by perfidy and barbarity. Another instance referred to by the Maccabean writer is that arising out of the revolt of the Jews from Demetrius, when they sought the friendship of the Romans. In the epistles of the Senate to the Jews and to Demetrius § there appears that scheme of subjugation so systematically practised by the Romans, in assuming to grant liberty to those under foreign dominion, in order that being detached from their rulers, they might afterwards be enslaved by themselves when the opportunity offered: a policy so frequently remarked upon by Justin, Dr. Hales, Rollin ||, and other writers.

\* Hor. Apoc. iii. 403, n. e.

† 1 Macc. viii. 1. 4; xxii.—xxiv.

‡ Ibid. viii. 1. 4.

§ Ibid. xxii. 32.

|| Rollin, Anc. Hist. lxviii. s. 7. Also Gibb. Dec. and Fall, xlii. A.D. 569—582.

Thus Justin says that the Romans "*easily gave to others of that which was not their own.*" "This," observes Dr. Hales, "*was according to the systematic scheme of subjugation practised by the Romans, who readily granted liberty to those who were under foreign dominion, that they might detach them from their rulers, and afterwards enslave them when a fit opportunity offered.*"

Their character in this respect has been forcibly drawn by one of their great opponents, the sagacious king of Pontus: "The people of Rome have constantly had one and the same motive for their enmity to all the nations, all the states, and sovereignties of the earth; it is the insatiable passion for riches and universal empire that rouses them to acts of hostility. It was this that prompted them to take up arms against King Philip; and when Antiochus came to his relief, they, seeming to affect an alliance with that prince, artfully diverted him from succouring the Macedonian by the concession of the Asiatic territories; a concession they were the more willing to make as the Carthaginian power then threatened their security. Yet no sooner had they subdued Philip, but they turned their arms against that very Antiochus, robbed him of ten thousand talents, and tore from him all the country on this side Taurus.

"Their next attack was upon Perses, the son of Philip; and after various battles, fought with various success, they entered into treaty with him; and though upon the altars of Samothracia they pledged the Roman faith for the security of his person, yet did these fraudulent deceivers, these original inventors of base subterfuges, put an end to the life of that prince, by depriving him of the necessary refreshment of sleep.

"As for Eumenes, whose friendship they now so ostentatiously glory in, him they infamously betrayed,

and made that treachery the price of a peace concluded between them and Antiochus. After this, when they had appointed Attalus protector of the conquered territory, they loaded him with such heavy impositions, and treated him with such indignity, that from the grandeur of sovereignty they debased him to the lowest state of servility. And when they had, in defiance of truth and equity, forged an impious will in their own favor, his son Aristonicus falling into their hands, they dragged him ignominiously along the streets of Rome in public triumph for having dared to attempt the recovery of his paternal possessions. No less than all Asia then became the object of their desires. In short, Nicomedes was no sooner dead but they instantly seized all Bithynia, though it was universally allowed that a son of Nusa, whom they had recognized as queen, was actually then living. And, amongst all their hostilities, what need have I to mention their designs against me? Separated, as I am on all sides, from their empire by wide dominions and extensive provinces, yet hearing that I had a full treasury and a spirit that would not tamely yield to lordly oppressors, they stirred up Nicomedes to draw the sword against me; fully apprised at the same time of their base intentions, and having before publicly declared, what is since found to be true, that Crete and Egypt, the only countries then free from their oppressions, would not long escape them. Against these injurious attempts I raised my vindictive arms. . . .

“What! Dost thou not know these Romans? Hast thou not been informed that these base oppressors pursued their conquests to the West till the ocean put a stop to their wanton ravages, and then they turned their arms to this quarter of the world?

Dost thou not know, that from their original, all their possessions, their lands, their habitations, their wives and dominions, were all the spoils of injured nations? Fugitives and vagabonds as they were, the refuse of divers nations, having no country they could lay a just claim to, no subjects they had any right to control, they have now erected to themselves a mighty empire upon the ruins of mankind. Such is their unbridled ambition that nothing human, nothing divine, can check their impetuous outrage. All their friends and allies, all people and countries, whether weak or powerful, whether situated near them or in distant climes, they distress, they exhaust, they plunder, and destroy; even treating in an hostile manner such as do not tamely yield to their tyranny, and especially those who sway the royal sceptre. For as the general practice of nations shows that the bias of mankind is strongest towards a monarchical government, very few countries giving the preference to a popular one, hence it is that they look upon us as rivals of their glory, and are ever jealous that we shall omit no opportunity of vindicating the kingdoms of the world. From such robbers what canst thou expect, thou, O Arsaces, who art master of great Babylon and lord of the mighty Persian empire, a country so celebrated for its riches and affluence? What, but well-disguised fraud for the present, and open hostilities hereafter? Their enmity is indeed universal, and against every nation of the world is the Roman sword sharpened. But against such they point their keenest rage, from the conquest of which they can promise themselves the greatest spoil and plunder. It is by such daring, such outrageous oppression, it is by successive wars and streams of blood, that they have made their way to empire and great-

ness. Pushed on by this spirit, they are determined absolutely to finish the destruction of the world, or perish in the attempt\*."

Writers on Roman history have enlarged upon this feature in the policy of the Romans. "Certain it is," says Dr. Hooke, "that from the time of the elder Scipio's conquest—(B.C. 145, *mark the time with reference to the prophecy*)—they ran precipitately into shameless dishonesty, perfidiousness, and cruelty; I speak of their senate, their generals, and their ambassadors. If the reader recalls to mind their faithless treatment of King Philip, the Bœotians, and the Spartan Nabis; Flaminius' errand to Prusias; the knavery and hypocrisy of Marcius in his transactions with Perses; the perfidy and cruelty of Æmilius Paullus; the tyranny exercised over the Achæans and other Greeks by the senate, after pretending to set Greece at liberty; their cruel usage of the Rhodians for only desiring to mediate a peace between Rome and Macedon; their anger against Attalus because he would not ask of them a part of his brother's dominions; the series of their injustices to the African Republic on occasion of her disputes with Masinissa; and, lastly, their fraudulent methods the more easily to effect that iniquitous and inhuman resolution of utterly destroying Carthage: if the reader, I say, recalls to mind these facts, he will think that what (Livy tells us) was the sentiment of the oldest senators concerning the artifices of Marcius, would have been equally just with regard to the public proceedings in general; and that in the whole conduct of the Romans, from their victory at Zama to the end of the third Punic war, there was

\* Letter of Mithridates to Arsaces, in Sallust. If, as some have supposed, this was Sallust's own composition put into the mouth of Mithridates, it only makes the case the stronger.



scarce any thing worthy of ancient Rome\*." "The oldest senators, and those who were mindful of the ancient character, refuse to sanction by their avowal the artifices which had been practised by the Romans in the embassy of Marcius †."

The execrable conduct of the Romans towards the Numantines in the year B.C. 132 (*mark again the time with reference to the prophecy*) elicits this indignant comment from the English historian: "Scipio having divided the territory of Numantia among the neighbouring Spaniards, and punished some cities which had befriended her during the war, returned to Rome, where he was honored with a triumph, and the surname of Numantinus; a most glorious appellation! A name which imported that the bearer of it had, with the help of 60,000 soldiers, cooped up and starved 4000 brave men for only refusing to be slaves; and that he had performed this exploit in execrable violation of a peace, which those generous Spaniards had purchased with the grant of life and liberty to 20,000 Romans ‡."

The subtle intrigues and perfidious policy of the Romans are dwelt upon at length by Mr. Fergusson. "It was their maxim to spare the obsequious and to crush the proud; an artful profession, by which, under the pretence of generosity or magnanimity, they stated themselves to be the sovereign nation. Under this presumptuous maxim their friendship was to be obtained by submission alone; and was fatal, no less than their enmity, to those who embraced it. . . . The Romans were in general the umpires in the differences

\* Hooke's Rom. Hist. ii. 485.

† "Veteres et moris antiqui memores [senatores] negabant se in eâ legatione [Marcii] Romanas agnoscere artes."—Liv. xlii. 47.

‡ Hooke's Rom. Hist. ii. 519.

of nations, gave audience in all their complaints, and interposed with their forces as well as their authority. . . . This numerous assembly (the senate) appear to have maintained for a long period one series of uniform and consistent designs, and kept their intentions so secret, that they were known for the most part only by their execution. The king of Pergamus made a journey to Rome to excite the Romans to a war with his rival the king of Macedon. He preferred his complaints to the senate, and prevailed on that body to resolve on war; but no part of the transaction was made public until after the king of Macedon was a prisoner at Rome. During the respite from war the Romans balanced the kingdoms of Pergamus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia against each other, in such manner as to be able at pleasure to oppress any of these powers that should be formidable to their interest. They made the kingdom of Syria devolve on a minor, the son of Antiochus, and under pretence of this minority sent a legate to take charge of the kingdom. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, who ought to have succeeded his father in the monarchy of Syria, being then an hostage at Rome, had been supplanted by his younger brother, the father of the minor, who was now acknowledged by the Romans. Upon an insult being offered to their commissioner at Antioch, Demetrius urged his claim on the senate; but these crafty usurpers, notwithstanding the offence they had received, preferred their advantage with a minor king to the precarious interest or gratitude of an active and spirited prince, and accordingly denied his request. As patrons of the kingdom of Egypt, they promoted the division of that country between the two brothers, who shared its sovereignty, and were rivals for the sole possession of the throne. As the Achæan League was dissolved on having incurred the resentment of

the Romans, so the unhappy remnant of the Spartan republic perished in having accepted their protection. The enmity or friendship of the Romans being equally fatal, these and every other state of Greece, from this time forward, ceased to be numbered among nations; having fallen the prey to a power whose force nothing could equal, but *the ability and cunning by which it was exerted*. Such is the comment we are tempted to make on the *policy* with which about fifty years earlier Flaminius, to detach the Grecian cities from Philip, proclaimed with so much ostentation, at the Isthmus at Corinth, their independence, and the free exercise of their own laws \*."

These passages from various authors are little more than an echo of the sentiments of Mithridates as expressed in his letter to Arsaces. So notorious, indeed, were these practices of the Romans, that the charge of perfidy was even hurled against them by their very allies, whom they desired to draw into their snares.

When the ambassadors of the Emperor Tiberius proposed an invasion of Persia to the successor of Disabul, while engaged in celebrating his father's obsequies, the haughty Khan of the Turks gave vent to this indignant reproach,—“You see my ten fingers. You Romans speak with as many tongues of deceit and perjury. To me you hold one language, to my subjects another; and the nations are successively deluded by your perfidious eloquence. You precipitate your allies into war and danger; you enjoy their labors; you neglect your benefactors. Hasten your return; inform your master that a Turk is incapable of uttering or forgiving falsehood, and that he shall speedily meet the punishment he deserves. While

\* Ferg. Rep. ii. 1, p. 273.

he solicits my friendship with flattering and hollow words, he is sunk to a confederate of my fugitive Varchonites \*."

XIII. No people ever paid so much attention as did the Romans to oracles and auguries, or turned them to such account in promoting success, averting disaster, and, above all, in stimulating the spirit of their armies. Nor can any thing more accurately define the ambiguous expressions, and obscure intimations of the augurs than the phrase "dark sentences." The arts and cunning of these pretenders were exalted into a science; one of the principal institutions at Rome was a college of augurs. Nothing of moment which concerned the state, whether in peace or war, in Italy or abroad, was undertaken or transacted without consulting them; and the ancient Romans were equally scrupulous in private affairs of importance †.

"No election of officers, no military enterprise was undertaken without a strict and rigid observance of various rites, derived from Etruria. In vain were wise men chosen to fill the departments of government; in vain did the general form in his tent a noble plan, unless the haruspex or augur pronounced a happy concurrence of favorable omens. Well might they be said to *understand dark sentences*, who could translate the growl of thunder or the croaking of the raven into intelligible language, and interpret the meaning of a chicken when he pecked his corn in this or that manner, or refused to eat at all. . . . When the very being of a nation seems to depend upon such a science, as was the case at Rome, the people pretending to consummate skill in this science may be

\* Menauder, as given by Gibb. Dec. and Fall, xlii. A.D. 569—582.

† Cic. Div. i. 16. Adam's Rom. Antiq. 239.

declared to *understand dark sentences*. It was among the Romans chiefly that matters of the greatest importance depended on them. Cicero has remarked that the Romans surpassed all other nations in piety and religion. But what was this religion? Chiefly their attention to the occult science of divination, to omens, prodigies, spectres, dreams, visions, auguries, and oracles. Sometimes this was childishly ridiculous, as when a dictator was named for the sole purpose of driving a nail into a post; sometimes madly expensive, as when they decreed a *ver sacrum*, or devoted to the altar the entire produce of their flocks for a whole season. At others it was inhumanly cruel. Thus on the report of a prophecy that the Greeks and Gauls were to possess the city, they buried alive a man and woman of each of these nations in the *Forum Boarium*, as if by this barbarous act they could accomplish or elude the prediction. No less singular was the reverence paid to the Sibylline oracles. These enigmatical books, if we may believe Cicero, were composed with such dextrous artifice that, however the event terminated, the prediction might seem to be accomplished. The magistrate to whose care they were consigned affected an extraordinary degree of wisdom in their explication. These dark oracles were often accommodated to serve political designs. They were preserved with religious solicitude, and carefully consulted in times of danger; nor did their authority cease before the end of the fourth century \*."

When falling on his face to the ground in landing at Adrumetum in Africa Julius Cæsar kissed the earth, and grasping it with his right hand, exclaimed, "Teneo te Africa," as though he had thrown himself

\* Zouch i. 100 – 119.

down by design, we admire his ready presence of mind in converting what would otherwise have been looked upon as a portentous omen into a presage of unbounded success. But this only shows that the prestige of a commander, however illustrious, was of little avail against an adverse augury, and was liable to be overborne by the superstition of his followers\*.

XIV. The growth of the Roman power with reference to Judea was chiefly "*toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land.*"

The wonderful fulfilment of the prophecy in this respect has been already pointed out. After a fierce and protracted struggle Carthage lay in ruins at her feet. She next swept over Asia; then entered the land of Palestine, took the city of Jerusalem, and some years later destroyed both the one and the other. See Mithridates' letter to Arsaces already cited, in which a sketch is given of the progressive conquests of the Romans first in the West, and then in various parts of the East.

XV. XVI. So great became the ascendant, and so irresistible the power of Rome, that wheresoever her armies turned they overthrew kings and potentates. War after war was entered upon, nation after nation fell before an empire thus "*mighty, which waxed great even to the host of heaven, and cast some of the host, and some of the stars to the ground.*"

Her career of conquest was of longer duration, her subjugation of other states more complete, her dominion more vast, and her empire more firmly rooted, than any which the world had ever known.

XVII. In the insolence and wantonness of their pride and power they not only "*cast down their enemies to the ground, but stamped upon them.*" Bitter

\* Dio. xlii. ad fin. Suet. Vit. Jul. 59.

and cruel was the fate of their fallen adversaries. "Flushed with victory, her commanders saw their ambitious hopes terminated in the magnificence of a triumph. Their insolence upon these occasions was so much dreaded, that the wretched captive frequently preferred voluntary death to the humiliation of being led in chains to adorn the procession. Of this we have instances in Hannibal, Mithridates, and Cleopatra."

Of her triumphal processions, "Rome had nothing more magnificent and majestic than this pompous ceremony. But the sight of the captives, the mournful objects of compassion, if these victors had been capable of any, effaced all its lustre\*." The intense desire for fame and for a triumphal procession, which existed in the breasts of the Romans, is well satirized by their own poet †.

It was not merely, however, in the hour of triumph that the vanquished nations were made to feel the crushing weight of their conquerors. They were no less *cast down to the ground and stamped upon* by the cruel fate reserved for those who were taken captive, and by the exactions and rapacity to which those who escaped this fate were exposed.

XVIII. Rome having thus exhibited herself to the world as the dominant power of the earth,—distinguished for her energy, eminent for her policy, remarkable for her violence and cruelty, notorious for her arrogance and rapacity, reckless of kings and people, and subversive of thrones and ancient empires,—her destructive force was next turned against the Jewish high priest and nation in their final overthrow. Then did the "little horn," which had now "*waxed exceeding great,*" "*magnify himself even to*

\* Rollin.

† See Juv. x. 103—140.

*the prince of the host, and destroy the mighty and holy people."*

"For years a tremendous tempest had been slowly gathering towards Jerusalem. At first the skirts of the coming storm discharged ruin and destruction upon the more remote settlements. The Jews in Egypt on one side, and in Babylon on the other, were victims in turns. At Alexandria in Egypt a violent persecution broke out against the Jews in the reign of the Emperor Caligula. Their places for prayer were cut down and profaned. Their shops and warehouses were broken open, and the contents publicly divided among the rabble. Whole families were burnt alive in their houses, and others were slain in the streets, trampled and murdered by infuriated mobs, or scourged to death before public tribunals. . . . Shortly afterwards the Jews in Babylon,—the descendants of those who had refused to return from captivity five centuries before,—met with similar treatment. It is unnecessary to notice the immediate origin of the persecution. It ended with the slaughter of 50,000 men. The Emperor Caligula died A.D. 41; Claudius succeeded him, and was followed in his turn by Nero in A.D. 54. Nero reigned until A.D. 68, two years before the destruction of Jerusalem. Throughout all this period the Jews in Palestine began to display increased hatred to the Roman soldiery. The sullen murmurs which announced the approaching eruption became more and more distinct\*."

It was the oppression of the Romans which led to the final catastrophe. The Jews had long suffered from the exactions of their Roman governors; but Gessius Florus, having been made procurator of Judea, surpassed all his predecessors in rapine and

\* Prid. Conn. ii. 557. Wheeler's edition.



violence\*. Cities and communities were despoiled by him. He even participated in the booty of public robbers, to whom a licence was thus given to plunder. So excessive was his extortion, that whole districts were reduced to desolation; the miserable inhabitants being driven to seek refuge in other lands. Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, coming to Jerusalem just before the feast of the Passover, A.D. 65, upwards of 3,000,000 of people, there assembled, laid their complaints before him; but although redress was promised, it was evaded by the arts and false representations of Florus, who but redoubled his exactions. Every method of plunder or of tyranny was resorted to. These were carried to such an excess, that on one occasion alone he caused 3600 men, women, and children to be massacred, most of whom were first scourged, and then crucified †.

Disorders of all kinds, and a general licence prevailed. "At this time," says Josephus, "were sown those seeds which brought the city to destruction ‡." Henceforward mutual provocations took place on either side, and throughout Judea and all Syria tumults of a most serious nature arose, as well between the Jews themselves, as between them and the Syrians.

King Agrippa exerted his utmost endeavours to appease the Jews, and reconcile them to the Romans; but the people were now maddened by the tyranny of Florus, who purposely sought to drive them into insurrection, in order to conceal his enormities from the knowledge of the emperor.

The disturbances at length arose to such a pitch, that Cestius (A.D. 66) advanced from Antioch with

\* Tac. Hist. v. 10. Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 14.

† Joseph. ut sup. ‡ Bell. Jud. ii. 14, § 1, 2, 3.

the twelfth legion and other troops against Jerusalem. After a siege of six days he was on the point of capturing the city, when most unaccountably, and to the surprise of all, he gave orders for a precipitate retreat, in which the Romans suffered serious reverses. Cestius shortly afterwards died, from dread, as was imagined, of Nero's displeasure, and grief at the disgrace which had attended his expedition. Josephus accounts for this conduct of the Roman general, by supposing that in the providence of God the Jews were reserved for still greater calamities. These unquestionably overtook them.

It is equally plain that the opportunity of escape from the devoted city was afforded them, which had been predicted by our Lord, and of which He exhorted His followers to avail themselves. "When ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh. Then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains; and let them which are in the midst of it depart out; and let not them which are in the countries enter therinto \*."

But, notwithstanding this temporary repulse of the Roman arms, "the days of vengeance" were at hand †. In the year following, A.D. 67, Vespasian advanced with an army of 60,000 men, and laid siege to the cities of Galilee. Apart from the Divine displeasure for warnings despised, mercies abused, and sins accumulated, these were *days of vengeance* even with the Romans. Their fierce anger first fell upon the city of Gadara, which, in revenge for the defeat of Cestius, they destroyed and burnt to the ground, putting all the inhabitants to the sword.

The strongly fortified city of Jotapata, where Josephus commanded, was next taken by assault after a

\* Luke xxi. 20, 21.

† Ibid. 22.

siege of forty-seven days. Here also the Jews experienced the *vengeance* of the Romans, who, exasperated by the resistance they had met with, commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, 40,000 men perishing during and after the siege, and 1200 women and children being reduced to the condition of slavery.

Josephus almost miraculously escaped. Being conducted to the Roman general, he tells us that he revealed to Vespasian a Divine communication which he had received, that Vespasian and Titus his son were both destined to be raised to the empire. This intimation was at first regarded by Vespasian as a mere artifice to gain favor; and one of this general's friends tauntingly inquired, how it was that Josephus had been unable to foretell the fall of Jotapata and his own captivity. Being answered by Josephus that he had done so to the very day, and this proving upon inquiry of other prisoners to be correct, Vespasian altered his view, and gave credence to the prediction concerning himself\*.

City after city fell before the victorious Romans; multitudes of men, women, and children being massacred as each place was in turn assailed. Wretched indeed was now the condition of "the mighty and holy people." To the calamities of an invasion from a people "of fierce countenance" were added the horrors of intestine divisions and civil war. Bands of robbers and assassins, approaching in numbers to an army, ravaged the whole country, attacking even cities, and sparing neither sex nor age. The strong fortress of Masada, not far from Jerusalem, and other places were in the possession of these miscreants. From thence they sallied forth against the surrounding

\* Jos. Bell. Jud. iii. 8, § 9. Suet. in Vesp. viii. 5. Dion. lxi.

towns and villages, committing the greatest depredations and enormities.

But who shall describe the state of anarchy and misery which prevailed within the city of Zion? During the most solemn rites of their religion, in the midst of their very sacrifices, one faction or another broke in upon those engaged in their celebration; and blood flowed like water within, and on every side of Jerusalem.

A yet further respite from foreign attack was mercifully accorded them by the deaths—first of the Emperor Nero, and then in rapid succession of Galba, of Otho, and of Vitellius, which for a time withdrew the attention of Vespasian from the affairs of Judea. But far from availing themselves of this interval to strengthen their position and improve their means of defence, the unhappy Israelites only seized upon the occasion to turn their arms more wildly against each other, and daily “weakened themselves by the havoc of intestine warfare.” Simon with a band of robbers held the city. The zealots, or war party, were split into two factions. Eleazar, at the head of one, occupied the inner court and highest battlements of the temple. The second, ranging themselves under a robber chief, John of Gascala, seized upon its outer courts and declivities. These three parties engaged in deadly conflict. Eleazar was besieged by John; while in his turn John was besieged by Simon.

Both city and temple were the scenes of continual carnage, and the innermost recesses of the latter became polluted with the dead bodies of the slain. In their blind animosity they destroyed immense stores of provisions, which, when they came to be besieged, would for a while have arrested the horrors of famine. These “were consumed by them with as much wanton fury as if they had been fighting

against their own country, and intended to assist the designs of their invaders \*."

Ere long, however, the predicted intimation of Josephus was fulfilled; and when in accomplishment of this Vespasian was invested with the imperial dignity, he despatched his son Titus into Judea to prosecute the war. Then was the cry of *vengeance* renewed; for in addition to his other forces the Roman general had with him the twelfth legion, which, having been defeated under Cestius, was inflamed with an ardent desire to wipe out the memory of its former disgrace. Under such circumstances was it that Jerusalem was once more "encompassed with armies." The days had "come upon her, that her enemies should cast a trench about her, and compass her round, and keep her in on every side †."

In exact accordance with the terms of this prediction, mounds composed of earth and enormous beams of wood were raised against the castle of Antonia and the walls of the city; and when these mounds were destroyed by the Jews, a solid wall of thirty-nine furlongs in circumference, and having thirteen forts as garrisons for the troops, was by the orders of Titus carried round all those parts of the city which had not been taken by the Romans.

Some idea may be formed of the magnitude and extent of this work from Josephus' description of the city and the tower of Antonia, which the Romans now girt with one continuous wall. "The city of Jerusalem was fortified with three walls on such parts as were not encompassed with impassable valleys; for in such places it has but one wall. The city was built upon two hills, opposite to one another, and divided

\* Lynam's Rom. Emp. ii. 212. Joseph. Bell. Jud. v. 1.

† Luke xix. 43. Isa. xxix. 8. Jer. vi. 4—6. Deut. xxviii. 52.

asunder by a valley, in which the houses on both hills terminate. Of these hills, that which contains the upper city is much higher than the other, and in length more direct. On this account it was by King David designated 'The Citadel.' . . . The other hill, which is called 'Acra,' and sustains the lower city, has the shape of the moon when it is horned. Over against this was a third hill, but naturally lower than Acra, and formerly parted from it by a broad valley. But during the reign of the Asmoneans they filled up this valley with earth, intending to join the city to the temple. They then took off part of the height of Acra, reducing its elevation in order that the temple might be superior to it. . . . Externally these hills are surrounded by deep valleys which, having precipices on both sides, are every where impassable. Now of these three walls, the old one was hard to be taken on account of the valleys and of the hill above them, on which it was built. But besides this great natural advantage in point of position, the old wall was also very strongly constructed. Being built on a high hill, it presented an elevation that was still thirty cubits taller; over which were situated the towers, and thereby was made much higher to appearance. The dimensions also of the stones were extraordinary; for they were not common small stones, nor merely of such large size as men could carry; but they were of white marble, cut out of the rock, each stone being twenty cubits in length, ten in breadth, and five in depth. They were joined with such exactness one to another, that each tower looked like one entire rock of stone, so growing naturally, and afterwards cut by the hands of the artificers into their present shape and corners; so little, or not at all, did their joints or connexion appear." Here the king had a palace, of

the magnificence and extent of which Josephus gives a faint outline.

He next depicts the celebrated temple of Jerusalem—the amazing depth of its foundations, the lofty elevation of its walls and cloisters, the beauty and harmony of its structure, the magnificence of its courts, the number and elegance of its pillars, the adornment of its roofs, the costliness of its gates of gold, of silver, and of Corinthian brass, the richness of its decorations, the height and magnitude of its steps and buildings, the gorgeous splendor of its appearance, and the extraordinary strength of its defences. Then after referring again to the first as well as to the second wall of the city, and describing their immense extent, Josephus proceeds, “As the city grew more populous it gradually crept beyond its old limits, and those parts of it that stood northward of the temple, and joined the hill there to the city, making it considerably larger, and occasioning that hill, which is in number the fourth and is called ‘Bezetha,’ to be inhabited also.” This formed “the new city,” and was likewise protected with a strong wall with numerous turrets. “Now the towers that were upon it were twenty cubits in breadth and twenty cubits in height; they were square and solid, as was the wall itself, wherein the niceness of the joints and the beauty of the stones were no way inferior to the holy house itself. Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms, and cisterns to receive rain-water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended up to them were every one broad; of these towers, then, the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each 200 cubits; but in the middle wall were

forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty, while the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs [i.e. upwards of six miles]. Now the third wall was all of it wonderful; yet was the tower Psephinus elevated above it at the north-west corner, and there Titus pitched his own tent\*."

The Jewish historian next proceeds to describe the three celebrated towers built by Herod, and severally denominated by him,—after his brother, his friend, and his wife,—Hippicus, Phasaelus, and Mariamne. "Now as these towers were so very lofty, they appeared much higher from the eminence on which they stood. The tower of Antonia was situated at the corner of two cloisters of the court of the temple, that on the west and that on the north. It was erected upon a rock of fifty cubits in height, which here formed a precipice. It was the work of King Herod, wherein he demonstrated his natural munificence and grandeur of conception.

"In the first place, the rock itself was covered over with smooth pieces of stone from its foundation, as well for ornament as that any one attempting to scale or descend it might not have a foothold upon it. Next to this, and before reaching the edifice itself, was a wall three cubits high; but within that wall all the space of the tower of Antonia itself was built up to the height of forty cubits. The interior had the extent and form of a palace, being divided into all kinds of rooms and other conveniencies, such as courts, places of bathing, and broad spaces for camps; insomuch that by having all the conveniencies which cities required, it might seem to be composed of several cities, although by its magnificence it seemed a palace: and as the entire structure resembled a tower, so it had

\* Joseph. Bell. Jud. V. iv.



also four other distinct towers at its four corners, which were but fifty cubits high, with the exception of that which lay at the south-east corner, the height of which was seventy cubits, that from thence the whole temple might be viewed. . . . As the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, so was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple. . . . There was also a peculiar fortress belonging to the upper city, which was Herod's palace; but for the hill Bezetha [or the New City], it was divided from the tower of Antonia: . . . and as that hill on which the tower of Antonia stood was the highest of the three, so did it adjoin the new city, and was the only place that interfered with the sight of the temple on the north\*."

Such were some of the massive and extensive fortifications, exceeding six miles in extent, around which the Roman general carried a solid wall of still larger circumference, it being upwards of seven miles in length. So great was the ardor of the Romans, according to the Jewish historian, that this gigantic work is said to have been completed in the short space of three days; but, allowing for some exaggeration, the rapidity with which the work was carried on shows how completely this unhappy people were hemmed in by their fierce and eager assailants.

And now there came to pass that wonderful prophecy, which had been delivered by Moses upwards of fifteen centuries previously: "He shall besiege thee in all thy gates, until thy high and fenced walls come down, wherein thou trustest, throughout all thy land: and he shall besiege thee in all thy gates throughout all thy land, which the Lord thy God hath given thee. And thou shalt eat of the fruit of thine own body, the flesh of thy sons and of thy

\* Joseph. Bell. Jud. v. 5.

daughters, which the Lord thy God hath given thee, in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee: so that the man that is tender among you, and very delicate, his eye shall be evil toward his brother, and toward the wife of his bosom, and toward the remnant of his children which he shall leave: so that he will not give to any of them of the flesh of his children whom he shall eat; because he hath nothing left him in the siege, and in the straitness, wherewith thine enemies shall distress thee in all thy gates. The tender and delicate woman among you, which would not adventure to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness, her eye shall be evil toward the husband of her bosom, and toward her son, and toward her daughter, and toward her young one that cometh out from between her feet, and toward her children that she shall bear: for she shall eat them for want of all things secretly in the siege and straitness, wherewith thine enemy shall distress thee in thy gates\*."

*Fearful warnings.*—"There were signs in heaven; wild and awful prodigies. A comet shaped like a sword hung over Jerusalem for a whole year. Chariots and armed squadrons were seen in the sky, and seemed to encircle the whole city in their rapid and terrific career. A wild prophet continued to walk through the streets, crying, 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem! woe to the city, and the temple!' At length during the subsequent siege he suddenly cried out, 'Woe to myself!' and was struck dead by a stone from a balista†."

*Horrors of the siege, and fulfilment of prophecy.*—Dreadful was now the condition of the imprisoned

\* Deut. xxviii. 52—57.

† Frid. Connect. ii. 557. Wheeler's edit.

Hebrews. Every social affection was destroyed, every tie of nature and of blood was rent asunder and overborne by the absorbing pangs of famine. Children tore the very morsels which their fathers were eating out of their mouths; even mothers did the same to their infants; and when those most dear to them were perishing before their eyes, they snatched from them their last drops or crumbs to prolong a brief and miserable existence.

Bands of furious men broke into the houses of the people in search of food, seizing with brutal violence out of their very throats the pieces they were devouring, having pity neither for the aged nor for the most tender infants, and lifting up children as they hung upon the morsels they had got, dashed them to the ground. They invented terrible methods of torture to compel a discovery of any hidden food or treasure; while upon those who had actually swallowed what they were about to seize upon, they inflicted the most horrid and excruciating torments\*.

Countless were the numbers of those, who slain by the sword, or the missiles of the Romans, or murdered by their fellow-countrymen, infected the city. Thousands of putrid corpses contaminated the atmosphere. They lay in uncovered heaps in the public courts, in the streets, on the roofs, and even in the very houses. It was hopeless to attempt removing them out of sight. "Yet murder did not stop. Death had dropped his black wings over the city, and reaped a harvest such as he had never reaped before†." In the extremity of their hunger the famishing people not only devoured every particle of leather—girdles, shoes, and straps torn from their shields—but ate of

\* Joseph. Bell. Jud. v. 10, § 3; 11, § 1.

† Prid. Connect. add. by Wheeler, ii. 560.

things the most revolting to human nature. One instance is recorded by Josephus of a woman slaying and feeding upon the body of her infant child. How many such horrors were perpetrated in secret, and never came to light, none can tell; but this was one which drew towards it the attention of all men. She who did this thing was born of a distinguished house, had been brought up with the utmost tenderness and delicacy, and had lifelong been nurtured in the lap of luxury. "She was eminent," says Josephus, "for her family and her wealth; and having fled to Jerusalem at the commencement of the siege was now cooped up in the city, exposed to the brutal and insulting visitations of the rapacious zealots, who bore off whatever food she had treasured up. In her exasperation and misery she turned to the child that was suckling at her breast, and having slain him with her own hands, fed upon one half of the corpse, and concealed the rest. Her house was once more broken into by the infuriated seditious soldiery, whom the scent of the roasted flesh had attracted thither, when she uncovered what was left of her son, and frantically invited them to partake of the horrid repast. Wretches as they were, hardened in crime, habituated to daily outrage, to murder, and scenes of horror, even they stood aghast at the sight, while the wretched woman fiercely exclaimed, 'This is mine own son, and what hath been done was mine own doing. Come, eat of this food; for I have eaten of it myself. Do not you pretend to be either more tender than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother; but if ye be so scrupulous, and abominate this my sacrifice, as I have eaten the one half, let the other be reserved for me also.'"

With hands steeped in human gore, yet reeking from the slaughter of their countrymen, when they

burst in upon this tender and delicate woman, who ere the siege began "would not have adventured to set the sole of her foot upon the ground for delicateness and tenderness," these men of violence and blood "went out," says the Jewish chronicler, "trembling, being never so much affrighted at any thing as at this; and with difficulty left the rest of that meat to the most wretched mother \*."

Then it was that there arose above the streets of Jerusalem a cry, not of Rachel weeping for her children, but a shriek of anguish so piercing and so bitter, that the like of it had never ascended from that or any other city. The men of Judah and of Jerusalem felt themselves deserted of Jehovah; not only smitten of God and afflicted, but for their greater punishment given over to that scourge from which David had prayed to be delivered, "the hand of man."

"Wailing, horror, and woe were universal. Their fathers had said, 'His blood be upon us and our children.' Terribly now was the imprecation fulfilled: fulfilled, too, were those awful words of the Saviour, 'The days are coming in which they shall say, Blessed are the barren, and the womb that never bare, and the paps which never gave suck. Then shall they say to the mountains, Fall on us; and to the hills, Cover us.' Even the Romans were filled with amazement; and Titus, lifting up his hands to heaven, called God to witness that he was not answerable for that unutterable distress †." The "day of vengeance" had indeed overtaken them, and its fierce heat was now "destroying the mighty and holy people."

Jerusalem fell: and the Roman soldiers in one

\* Joseph. Bell. Jud. VI. iii. 4.

† Prid. Connect. add. by Wheeler, ii. 560.

wild pursuit poured through the streets and lanes of the city, "slaying all whom they overtook without mercy, setting fire to those houses whither the Jews had fled for refuge, and consuming every soul that was therein. The other parts of the city they mostly laid waste; but when they came to enter the houses for plunder, they found in them entire families lying dead, and the upper rooms filled with the corpses of those who had perished from famine. At the sight of this the Romans stood in speechless horror, and departed without laying their hands on any thing. Yet although they had this commiseration for such as had perished from want, they were not moved with the same pity for those who were alive, but thrust through with the sword all whom they met, choking up the very lanes with the dead bodies; and making the whole city run down with blood to such a degree, that the fire of many houses was quenched with the blood of those that were slain \*."

Darkness alone stayed the carnage; but during the entire night the unwearied fire continued to rage. Tired with slaughter, the Romans on the following day only slew those who continued in arms, together with the aged and infirm, reserving the tallest and most handsome to grace the triumph of their general, and sending immense numbers into the provinces, condemned to labor in the mines, or to be destroyed in the amphitheatres by wild beasts or the gladiatorial shows. Of the young all who were under seventeen years of age were sold into slavery. How sore had been the famine may be judged of by the fact that while this work of separation was going on, notwithstanding a supply of food furnished by the Romans,

\* Joseph. Bell. Jud. vi. 8, § 5.

there died from starvation no less than 11,000 men. The entire number of those who were made prisoners during the war is estimated by Josephus at 97,000, and of those who perished during the siege at 1,100,000. But, if we include the whole period of the war, the computation rises to nearly 1,500,000 \*. This number probably falls far short of the reality. Upon the occasion of Cestius' visit, upwards of 3,000,000 of people were assembled within the city. As then, Jerusalem was besieged by Titus just before the commencement of the Passover, and, besides those who went up for the celebration of this festival, others subsequently fled for refuge to the city of Zion †.

So completely and so terribly was the prophecy fulfilled that this "*king of fierce countenance*" should "*destroy the mighty and holy people;*" and should "*not regard the person of the old, nor show favor to the young.*"

XIX. It was the desire of Titus that the temple should be spared; but in vain did the son of Vespasian issue orders for this purpose. The gates were set on fire during the assault, and, once ignited, the ravages of the fire could not be stayed, and this matchless fabric perished in the flames. Titus entirely demolished the rest of the city, and overthrew its walls, leaving only the towers of Herod as a monument of his good fortune ‡. Thus did the "*little horn,*" after having "*magnified himself even to the prince of the host, take away the daily sacrifice, and cast down the place of his sanctuary.*"

XX. This, however, was expressly by Divine per-

\* Bell. Jud. VI. ix. 3.

† Usher, Lipsius, Univ. Hist. x. 388.

‡ Joseph. Bell. Jud. vi. 9, § 1.

mission, and as a judgment upon the Jews for their iniquities. In the language of Daniel, "*An host was GIVEN him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression.*" To the fulfilment of this portion of the prophecy the Roman general is a striking, though unconscious, witness.

When Titus came into the upper city he admired not only some other places of strength in it, but especially those strong towers which the tyrants in their mad conduct had abandoned: and when he beheld their solid altitude, the immense size of the stones, wherewith they were constructed, the exactness of their joints, as well as their great breadth and extensive depth, he expressed himself in these memorable words: "*We have certainly had God for our ally in this war; and it was no other than God who ejected the Jews out of these fortifications; for what could the hands of men, or any machines whatsoever, do towards overthrowing these towers \*?*" Even their enemies thus became impressed with the conviction that "there was wrath upon this people †."

XXI. Yet notwithstanding this acknowledgment of Titus, which might seem as if for the moment he had been impressed by Josephus with a knowledge of the true God, neither he nor any of the other Romans really turned from their superstitious idolatry. In destroying Jerusalem and massacring the people of Israel, they did but exalt their own false religion, and "*cast down the truth to the ground.*" This they did in a twofold manner. The Jews were every where oppressed and treated with contempt; while the scorn and persecutions experienced by the Christians were aggravated by the fact that what was designated "the new religion" had sprung out of Judea.

\* Bell. Jud. vi. 9, § 1.

† Luke xxi. 23.



The entire country with the exception of Emmaus, which was reserved as a settlement for their conquerors, was by the orders of Vespasian put up for public sale; and the yearly tribute of two drachmæ and half a shekel, which every Israelite used to pay into the temple of Jerusalem, was diverted from its ancient channel, and made to flow into the Capitol of Rome.

But in nothing was the utter subversion of the truth declared by the prediction more displayed, than in the fact that some fifty or sixty years later the Romans became so exasperated by the repeated insurrections of the Jews, that on the site of their beloved Jerusalem a new city was by command of the Emperor Hadrian reared under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*. Into this the Jews were forbidden to enter; and on the spot where the God of Abraham had for so many centuries been worshipped, a temple was erected to the honor and service of Jupiter Capitolinus. Over the gate of this new city was engraved the figure of a swine.

These outrages impelled the Jews to try the hazard of another war. The rebellion proved formidable, and at one particular juncture appeared so discouraging to the Roman emperor, that in writing to the senate Hadrian omitted the usual epistolary preface of the emperors, "If ye and your children are well, I and my troops are well also." The war was protracted for about three years, in the course of which nearly fifty strongly fortified places were reduced, 985 towns were destroyed, 585,000 insurgents fell in various engagements, while numbers of others, of whom no account was taken, were consumed by famine, by fire, or by disease. Judea became almost desolated; and the new city with its temple was laid in ruins; while the most sacred places in the eyes

both of Hebrews and of Christians were polluted with monuments of idolatry\*.

After the destruction of the temple by the arms of Titus, a ploughshare was drawn over the consecrated ground, as a sign of perpetual interdiction. The same process is thought by some to have been repeated under Hadrian†. "Sion was deserted, and the vacant space of the lower city was filled with the public and private edifices of the Ælian colony, which spread themselves over the adjacent hill of Calvary‡." So literally did "*the little horn*," now "*waxed exceeding great*," "*cast down the truth to the ground* §."

This was the last effort made by the now prostrate sons of Israel to rescue their country from the idolatrous tread of the heathen. Henceforward they ceased to *exist* as a nation.

XXII. And now, when his own people had been drawn into the terrible vortex, does the prophet notice the remarkable destruction of the human race by this "king of *fierce countenance*." In the terms of the prophecy the "*little horn*" was to "*destroy wonderfully*;" and how fearfully this was fulfilled is recorded in every page of their history. One of the conditions of a triumph, already noticed, was that a Roman general should have slain in a single battle above 5000 enemies of the state. In their wars they deluged the earth with human blood. In their triumphs they massacred the noblest of their captives. As the victor's chariot turned from the forum, the fatal order was issued for their despatch; and on his

\* Dion. Cass. l. lxix. Euseb. iv. 6. Euseb. Chr. Spartian. Hier. Ep. xiii. Gibb. Dec. and Fall, xv. and n. u. Lynam's Rom. Emp. ii. 442—445.

† Lightfoot's Fall of Jerusalem, § 3.

‡ Gibb. Dec. and Fall, xxiii. and n. p.

§ Dan. viii. 12.

arrival at the Capitol he awaited the announcement that his victims were no more.

XXIII. Their thirst for human blood was not, however, thus to be appeased. In the very midst of peace the destruction of life was carried on in an ever-increasing ratio. It constituted the very diversion of the nation. "*By or in peace it was to destroy many.*" And, oh! how fearfully this prediction, too, was fulfilled. Incredible numbers of men were destroyed in the savage exhibitions of the amphitheatre. On the occasion of Trajan's victory over the Dacians these sanguinary scenes were, as we have seen, prolonged for no less than 123 days, during which period 70,000 human beings were made to fight upon the arena. "Several hundred, perhaps several thousand victims were *annually* slaughtered in the great cities of the empire \*."

For nearly seven centuries did these scenes of human suffering continue to disgrace the Roman name and character. For so long a period did they extinguish all human sympathy in the slaughters of the amphitheatre.

It was not in these inhuman scenes alone that this horn or empire in peace *destroyed many*. The fearful proscriptions of successive factions, and of many of their emperors, are spoken of even by themselves as creating a reign of terror. *Temporibus diris*, are the words of the satirist, speaking of the reign of Nero; and more generally, without reference to any particular period of Roman history,—"*Perituros audio multos. Nil dubium, magna est fornacula †.*"

XXIV. When Christianity appeared, every device which the most barbarous ingenuity could suggest

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, xxx.

† Juv. x. 15. 81, 82.

was put in practice against those, who had the fortitude to embrace it. Nero, Diocletian, and Decius stand out prominently among their most bitter persecutors; while the apostate Julian exerted his utmost to root out the religion itself, and destroy the very name of Christian. In the persons of these emperors and others this power thus "stood up against the Prince of princes."

XXV. But all their efforts were vain. Julian's projected restoration of the Jewish temple, connected as this was with the anticipated destruction of the Christian Church\*, could never be fulfilled. That he entertained such a design, and that it was one long nourished by him, is undisputed. It is equally clear that he was never able to accomplish this cherished object. To any who believe in an overruling Providence these two facts, which are beyond dispute, are as valuable as the more miraculous agencies, which have been the theme of so much controversy.

If Julian had long ardently desired to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem, and had (as he himself tells us was the case) determinately made up his mind to do this, yet just as he was about to commence, or had actually begun upon the work (which of these is immaterial), was prevented from carrying his design into execution, what matters it whether this arose from his own death in the expedition which at this time he undertook against Persia, from the intervention of storms and earthquakes, or from both these causes combined? As a speculative inquiry the investigation may be interesting; but to Christians the simple fact that one of the most warlike and energetic of the Roman Cæsars should for some three years have contemplated and resolved upon the rebuilding

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall, xxiii. sub not. p.

of the Jewish temple, yet with all the power of the empire at his command, should from any cause not have been able to accomplish this in itself no difficult task, is as striking and significant as if Julian himself had personally engaged in the work, and had in the very act been struck down by fire from heaven. The *miraculous* interposition of the Almighty is not needed to establish, and could carry little higher, the incontrovertible facts that the design did exist, had long been meditated, was firmly resolved upon, was publicly avowed, and yet was completely frustrated. It failed; no human efforts were required for the purpose. The mightiest monarch of the earth openly "stood up against the Prince of princes;" but his project was defeated, and he himself "was broken without hand." Thus, regarding the subject as of little real importance, I shall make but few observations upon it.

One of the first to throw discredit upon the narratives which have been handed down to us was Basnage\*. He was answered by Cupar and other learned men, particularly by Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, who if he carried his defence in some respects too far, in others fell short of the mark †.

The subject has since been examined by Dr. Lardner, who arrived at an adverse conclusion, but his criticism is far from a happy one. Thus he reflects upon the account given by Gregory Nazianzen ‡, that "a contemporary representing a matter of so great importance more than once refers to hearsays and common reports §." Nazianzen, however, accompanies

\* Hist. des Juifs, l. vi. c. 4, tom. iv. 257.

† See Cupar's Letters publ. by Bayer, p. 400, and Warburton's Julian.

‡ Or. iv. iii. 8.

§ Lard. Cred. and Heath. Test. vii. 605.

these with guarded expressions, expressly designed to show that he treated them as mere reports not worthy of credit, which had got mixed up with a statement of what every one is stated to have believed. So Dr. Lardner afterwards urges it as an objection that "the history of this event, as related by Christian writers, is loaded with miracles or pretended miracles which appear to be incredible \*."

But it is not easy to find a narrative of historical events, or even of occurrences in common life, if singular or remarkable in their character, which has not some addition or exaggeration engrafted upon it. Exaggeration in itself is no proof that the main circumstances have not occurred; it is rather evidence of the contrary, since expansion is much more common than invention. Take, for instance, the conversion of Constantine, which though it may have received some embellishments, cannot, so far as regards the main fact, be gainsaid.

But where Dr. Lardner chiefly fails in making out his case, is in his allusion to a passage in one of Julian's letters, his translation of which is any thing but correct. The passage is this: *Τί περὶ τοῦ νέω φήσουσι τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς, τρίτον ἀνατραπέντος, ἐγειρομένου δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν. Ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπον, οὐκ ὀνειδίζων ἐκείνοισ' ὅς γε τοσούτοις ὕστερον χρόνοις ἀναστήσασθαι διεννοήθην αὐτόν, εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ κληθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ Θεοῦ †.* The version given by Dr. Lardner is: "What will the Jews say to their own temple, which has been thrice demolished, and is not raised again to this day? I say not this by way of reproach, for I also have designed [or have had a design] to raise that temple, which has been so long in ruins, to the honor of God who is there worshipped." To which he adds, by way of commentary,

\* vii. 615.

† Jul. Ep. ii. 295 D.

"Therefore, when that letter was written, this design was laid aside; as he did not think that to be a proper time and season to set about it \*."

Now here the word διενυθήν, being in the aorist form, cannot possibly express *the having had a design which was then laid aside*. The true reading is, he determinately resolved, or *made up his mind*. So the words τοσούτοις ὑστερον χρόνοις refer, I apprehend, not to the length of time during which the temple had lain in ruins, but to the length of time during which Julian had entertained the design of rebuilding it. The word ἐκείνος standing alone being always emphatic, I should translate the passage thus: "What will they [the Jews] say concerning the temple that is among them, which has for the third time been destroyed, and is not even yet erected? But I say this, not imputing it as a reproach to them, seeing that I myself made up my mind for so long a period to rebuild it to the honor of God, who is there invoked." Some men of learning, as Bletterie † and Dr. Chapman ‡, have thought that Julian is here referring to the defeat of his own attempts to rebuild the temple.

Dr. Warburton, however, strongly as he advocated the occurrence of the alleged phenomena in connexion with the design and orders of Julian, concludes otherwise on these grounds: "1. Defeating an attempt to rebuild cannot, in any known figure of speech, be called the overthrow of a building. 2. 'And is not raised again to this day' cannot be said of a building that had been destroyed but two months before §." This reasoning is cited with approval by Dr. Lardner ||.

\* Lard. Cred. and Heath. Test. vii. 611. 3.

† Vie de Jul. v. 398.

‡ Euseb. adv. Mor. Philos. i. 408, 409.

§ Jul. p. 74 in note. || Cred. and Heath. Test. vii. 613.

But although the fragmental nature of this passage from Julian's letter does not allow of its precise meaning being fixed or aided by the context, there is enough in the passage itself to refute this piece of criticism. The fallacy of it consists in the introduction into the premises of words of ambiguous import, calculated to convey an erroneous impression of the argument on the other side. The words, "an attempt to rebuild," are here evidently used to denote the *intention* rather than the *act*. To defeat an *intention to rebuild* is doubtless very different from the overthrow of the building itself. But should the rebuilding have been really attempted and begun, then the work must have proceeded at least to some extent. Even if the foundations only were commenced, and then destroyed, there would be nothing inappropriate in the use of the verb ἀνατρέπω, or the English verb "subvert," to describe such a state of things. Were it otherwise, how completely erroneous would be the expression immediately preceding, τοῦ νέω, τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς, "the temple *which is among them*." How could this be said of a building of which not a vestige remained, or had existed within living memory? Yet Julian does not hesitate to employ this form of expression; and if his design of rebuilding it had been actually attempted or begun, then the destruction of the work, whatever progress may have been made towards this object, might well have been expressed by the word ἀναρπαγέντος. Moreover it is associated with another word, which is not τρίς, Anglicè *thrice*, as Dr. Lardner would have it in English, but τρίτον, *for the third time*. This may either be applicable to an event comparatively recent, and separated from the other two by a small interval of time, or may be classed with others, which had occurred at a remoter period. Should it refer to the last of three events,



rather than to all three combined, to what event could the Roman emperor be alluding, but to some notorious occurrence well known both to the Jews and the Romans? Dr. Warburton's conjecture, which disregards this arrangement, is a very lame one; his lordship supposing that by the three subversions spoken of by Julian may be meant—1, that by the Assyrians; 2, that by the Romans; and for the third the *profanation* of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes. So that ἀνατρέψαι would have to be turned from its proper meaning, and to be understood in the forced sense of "to profane." This coming from a critic who objects that "an attempt to rebuild cannot be called the overthrow of a building," is, if not a perversion of language, a singular instance of adaptation to suit a preconceived idea.

Is it at all likely that Julian would thus refer to an event which occurred between five or six centuries previously, or that if he had this in his mind, he would introduce the subject with the words, *Τί φήσουσι; what will they say?* words importing an allusion to something as to which there has not yet been time or opportunity for the expression of opinion.

Nor is the Bishop more happy in his commentary on the words "and is not raised again to this day," that these "cannot be said of a building that had been destroyed but two months before." Julian had for three years entertained the idea of rebuilding the temple, and, according to some writers, had towards the end of his reign made great exertions to carry his designs into execution. These would amply satisfy the words οὐδὲ νῦν. Indeed the entire sentence, *τρίτον ἀνατραπήντος ἐγερσόμενον δὲ οὐδὲ νῦν*, is perfectly consistent with the idea that Julian had himself made three different attempts at rebuilding the Jewish temple, and had been foiled in every one of them; and that,

notwithstanding his repeated efforts and long determination on the subject, the temple was not even then rebuilt.

It is observable, too, that Socrates and others actually mention three successive phenomena or miraculous appearances \*. Ammianus Marcellinus, also, in a passage presently given alludes to *repeated* volcanic eruptions, and says that the workmen were several times injured before they finally ceased their operations.

Without therefore affirming that this is actually the meaning to be ascribed to Julian's letter, it is sufficient to say that the language of it is not inconsistent with the interpretation here suggested; and that this interpretation falls in with what is related to have occurred. Allowing, however, that whatever may have been the nature or number of attempts made by Julian, they might be referred to as one; still if the defeated project here spoken of cannot be the profanation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, there is no other to which it can refer, save the destruction of the work begun under Julian's own orders. Cordially admitting, therefore, that any thing coming from so learned and excellent a man as Bishop Warburton is entitled to the greatest respect, especially on a point which is opposed to his main line of argument, it yet appears that in the present instance he has failed in critical acumen, and has given what may be, and to a certain extent unquestionably is, a very erroneous color to, at the most, a doubtful passage of antiquity.

The subject was not one to be passed over by Gibbon; but with all this writer's sagacity and sneers at religious credulity, it is tolerably evident that he was unable to divest his mind of at least a partial

\* Vid. Socr. l. iii. c. 20.

belief in the phenomena or providential occurrences, which are related to have occurred. To the main facts, that orders were actually issued by Julian for the rebuilding of the temple, he gives an unhesitating credence. His narrative is as follows: "The vain and ambitious mind of Julian might aspire to restore the ancient glory of Jerusalem. As the Christians were firmly persuaded that a sentence of everlasting destruction had been pronounced against the whole fabric of the Mosaic law, the imperial sophist would have converted the success of his undertaking into a specious argument against the faith of prophecy and the truth of revelation. . . . The local and national deity of the Jews was sincerely adored by a polytheist who desired only to multiply the number of the gods. . . . These considerations might influence his designs; but the prospect of an immediate and important advantage would not suffer the impatient monarch to expect the remote and uncertain event of the Persian war. He resolved to erect without delay on the commanding eminence of Moriah a stately temple, which might eclipse the splendor of the church of the Resurrection on the adjacent hill of Calvary; to establish an order of priests whose interested zeal would defeat the acts, and resist the ambition of their Christian rivals; and to invite a numerous colony of Jews, whose stern fanaticism would always be prepared to second, and even to anticipate, the hostile measures of the pagan government. Among the friends of the emperor (if the names of emperor and of friend are not incompatible) the first place was assigned, by Julian himself, to the virtuous and learned Alypius. . . . This minister, to whom Julian communicated without reserve his most careless levities and his most serious counsels, received an extraordinary commission to restore in its pristine beauty the temple of Jerusalem;

and the diligence of Alypius required and obtained the support of the governor of Palestine. At the call of their great deliverer the Jews from all the provinces of the empire assembled on the holy mountain of their fathers, and their insolent triumph alarmed and exasperated the Christian inhabitants of Jerusalem. The desire of rebuilding the temple has, in every age, been the ruling passion of the children of Israel. In this propitious moment the men forgot their avarice, the women their delicacy; spades and pickaxes of silver were provided by the vanity of the rich, and the rubbish was transported in mantles of silk and purple. Every purse was opened in liberal contributions, every hand claimed a share in this pious labor; and the demands of a great monarch were executed by the enthusiasm of a whole people. Yet, on this occasion, the joint efforts of power and enthusiasm were unsuccessful; and the ground of the Jewish temple, which is now covered by a Mahometan mosque, still continued to exhibit the same edifying spectacle of ruin and desolation. Perhaps the absence and death of the emperor, and the new maxims of a Christian reign, might explain the interruption of an arduous work, which was attempted only in the last six months of the life of Julian. But the Christians entertained a natural and pious expectation that in this memorable contest the honor of religion would be vindicated by some signal miracle. An earthquake, a whirlwind, and a fiery eruption which overturned and scattered the new foundation of the temple, are attested, with some variations, by contemporary and respectable evidence. This public event is described by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in an epistle to the Emperor Theodosius, which must provoke the severe animadversion of the Jews; by the eloquent Chrysostom, who might appeal to the memory of the elder

part of his congregation at Antioch; and by Gregory Nazianzen, who published his account of the miracle before the expiration of the same year. The last of these writers has boldly declared that this preternatural event was not disputed by the infidels; and his assertion, strange as it may seem, is confirmed by the unexceptionable testimony of Ammianus Marcellinus. The philosophic soldier who loved the virtues, without adopting the prejudices of his master, has recorded, in his judicious and candid history of his own times, the extraordinary obstacles which interrupted the restoration of the temple of Jerusalem. 'Whilst Alypius, assisted by the governor of the province, urged with vigor and diligence the execution of the work, horrible balls of fire breaking out near the foundations with frequent and reiterated attacks rendered the place from time to time inaccessible to the scorched and blasted workmen; and the victorious element continuing in this manner obstinately and resolutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a distance, the undertaking was abandoned.' Such authority should satisfy a believing, and must astonish an incredulous mind. Yet a philosopher may still require the original evidence of impartial and intelligent spectators. At this important crisis any singular accident of nature would assume the appearance, and produce the effects of a real prodigy. The glorious deliverance would be speedily improved and magnified by the pious arts of the clergy of Jerusalem and the active credulity of the Christian world; and at the distance of twenty years a Roman historian, careless of theological disputes, might adorn his work with the specious and splendid miracle \*."

This, so far as the mere statement is concerned, is

\* Gibb. Dec. and Fall.

a fair summary of the various narratives and notices to be found on the subject. For the rest, independently of the admission that the testimony is such as to "satisfy a believing, and astonish an incredulous mind," the whole case is conceded, when the very basis upon which the incredulity or scruple rests, the ground on which without being disputed itself the cavil is built up, is made to consist in a "singular accident of nature." If this accident of nature were so singular, and so opportune as to cause the ministers of Julian to desist from their work, to abandon an undertaking which he was known to have at heart, what more could be desired by the most ardent and enthusiastic believer? Nothing can be more obvious both in physics and theology than this, that neither nature nor nature's God does any thing in vain. The means are ever adapted to the end.

If, then, this "accident of nature" were sufficient for the end or result which actually ensued, if it put a stop to the progress of the undertaking, and frustrated the cherished object of an apostate monarch, thus publicly *standing up against the Prince of princes*, what more could be wanted, or even desired? Call it, if you will, an "accident of nature," and not a "prodigy," a term indeed unknown to Christian phraseology, what is this but trifling with words? *The fact* that something occurred of an unusual nature, *the further fact* that this unusual occurrence terrified the workmen engaged, and the final *fact or result* that the rebuilding of the Jewish temple was by these means effectually prevented,—all these, in the relation here given by the great historian of Rome's decline, are admitted as incontrovertible.

Dr. Lardner endeavors to weaken the force of the relation in Ammianus Marcellinus by observing, "that it has been said by some that he had his account from

the Christians." The narrative contained in his writings, however, is altogether distinct from any which is to be found in the writings of those who professed Christianity. He there also gives names and offices,—e. g. Alypius, the personal friend of Julian, and the governor of the province,—with other particulars which must have been well known, and are ordinarily regarded as a test or evidence of truth.

I may, then, conclude these remarks with the judgment of the laborious and impartial Mosheim, which is conveyed in the following terms: "This signal event is attested in a manner that renders its evidence irresistible, though, as usually happens in cases of that nature, the Christians have embellished it by augmenting rashly the number of miracles that are supposed to have been wrought upon that occasion. The causes of this phenomenon may furnish matter of dispute; and learned men have in effect been divided upon that point. All, however, who consider the matter with attention and impartiality, will perceive the strongest reasons for embracing the opinion of those, who attribute this event to the almighty interposition of the Supreme Being; nor do the arguments offered by some, to prove it the effect of natural causes, or those alleged by others to persuade us that it was the result of artifice and imposture, contain any thing that may not be refuted with the utmost facility\*."

The efforts of the earlier emperors to overwhelm Christianity had swept by like an accumulated torrent, which, carrying destruction in its course, and bearing along masses of rock and uprooted trees, mingled with vestiges of civilization, has by the very violence of its action worked out a passage for wider

\* Eccl. Hist. i. 164.

and more placid streams. In them "*the little horn*" had "stood up against the Prince of princes;" but these potentates, like other rulers, had passed away without affecting the destiny of the empire under their dominion. Nero, Diocletian, Decius, and some more, by whom the Christians had been oppressed, had met with violent deaths, although not distinguished in this respect from other emperors who shared a similar fate.

During all this time the "*little horn*" continued to exhibit the unbroken aspect of a heathen kingdom. The elevation, however, of Constantine to the imperial throne wrought a wonderful change. Any monarch succeeding him who should revert back to heathenism, and place his empire once more in antagonism to Christianity, would in an especial and more emphatic sense "*stand up against the Prince of princes.*" Such a prince was the grandson of Constantine, Julian the Apostate. In his person and government the "*little horn,*" which had long "*waxed exceeding great,*" now in the most marked and decided manner "*stood up against the Prince of princes, and was broken without hand.*"

Julian was the *last heathen emperor* that ever sat upon the throne of the Cæsars! On his death the vast empire of Rome, though without any visible change in its form or constitution, came under permanent subjection to the Prince of princes, as its acknowledged spiritual head. Thenceforth the shattered fragments of the heathen system were found but in obscure villages, under the degraded appellation of paganism.

Casting our eyes back upon the several marks and characteristics thus drawn out at length, can there be a doubt that the Roman people and empire are shadowed forth under this remarkable symbol? Va-



rious and multiplied as these marks and characteristics are, they all converge to one point, and combine in a single object. The resemblance is exact, complete, perfect. It could not be more so, if the Roman character had been modelled from this type, or the prophet had himself cast them in a mould of his own. But though the picture is more elaborate than most others to be found in Scripture, it is produced by a series of mere touches; each mark or feature being hit off with a single stroke.

If, then, the picture be thus exact, complete, perfect, the inevitable consequence must be that the Book of Daniel forecasts events ages before their actual occurrence. It would avail nothing to bring it down to the Maccabean æra, for it would still extend centuries into futurity. Its internal proofs are thus wonderfully sustained, are thus conclusively established by its external evidences. It is then a work of prophecy, predicting in the most remarkable manner events long, long before they came to pass; and therefore the production of no mere human effort; but written, as it professes to be, by the inspiration of God.

*Duration of the vision.* On this subject the following intimation is given: "Then I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain saint which spake, How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days: then shall the sanctuary be cleansed."

The apparent meaning of the question is in accordance with the literal translation, "To how long, or how distant a period will be the vision?" In other

words, what should be the entire duration of the vision, the principal subject of which, or that to which all the events tended, was the termination of the daily sacrifice, and the overthrow of God's people. Mr. Lowth thinks that agreeably to the Greek, Arabic, and Vulgate versions we may render thus, "For how long a time shall the vision last, the daily sacrifice be taken away, and the transgression of desolation continue?" But although the version may seem to favor this reading, there are no words in the Hebrew for "taken away" and "continue." "I rather think," says Dr. Wintle, "the inquiry is only into the duration of the vision; and the other words are added to explain what the vision is \*."

There is little difference, however, between these two writers. They and other commentators substantially agree that it is the entire duration of the vision which has to be sought.

A variation occurs in the different versions as respects the number of days, the Septuagint having 2400, while Jerome says that some read 2200. The common reading however of 2300 days, literally evening and morning, has been generally preferred. There is also a difference of interpretation; some understanding them as actual days, while by far the greater number of commentators consider them, in accordance with ordinary Scripture phraseology, as denoting days of years.

Taking this to be so, the question is whether it is possible to fix upon the *terminus à quo*. This would seem to be some period in the history of Persia. The vision opens with a picture of the ram having two horns, of which one came up last, pushing westward, and northward, and southward. It is at a later

\* Wintle's Notes on Dan. 122.

period of the vision that the he-goat is seen coming from the west.

There are manifold symptoms that this prophecy will ere long be fulfilled. The cleansing of the sanctuary has begun by the erection of a church at Jerusalem; the Israelites are turning their looks Zionwards, and are ceasing to be "the host trodden under foot\*." Still the precise commencement, any more than the exact termination, of this prophetic period cannot yet be determined.

The effect of this remarkable vision on the prophet is thus described by himself: "*And I Daniel fainted, and was sick certain days: afterwards I rose up and did the king's business; and I was astonished at the vision, but none understood it.*"

This deep concern expressed by the writer is another forcible argument that it could not be the short-lived persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, which were referred to as those which the Hebrews should suffer at the hands of the *little horn*. If not a prophetic work, it *must* have been written after these persecutions had ceased, since it professes to describe their termination when the sanctuary should be cleansed. But how utterly absurd would it have been for any one living when the Jews had defeated Antiochus, recovered their freedom, and resumed their public worship, the temple itself never having been injured, to have put into the mouth of Daniel, *above all others*, such language as we find here. "For the calamities under Antiochus Epiphanes were of small extent, and of short duration in comparison with what the nation had suffered, and was then suffering under Nebuchadnezzar and his successors. Antiochus took the city,

\* Dan. viii. 13.

but Nebuchadnezzar burnt it to the ground. Antiochus profaned the temple, but Nebuchadnezzar utterly destroyed it. Antiochus made captives 40,000 of the Jews, but Nebuchadnezzar carried the whole nation into captivity. Antiochus took away the daily sacrifice for three years and a half\*, but Nebuchadnezzar abolished all the temple service for seventy years. Why then should Daniel [or one personating this prophet], who had seen and felt [or on the face of this alleged fiction is, at least, represented to have seen and felt] greater calamities, be so much grieved at these lesser disasters of the nation? . . . Those only which they suffered from the Romans were greater and worse than the evils brought on them by Nebuchadnezzar. The transgression of desolation hath now continued these 1700 [since increased to nearly 1800] years. They expect, and we expect that at length *the sanctuary will be cleansed*, and that in God's determined time His promise will be fully accomplished †: 'I will return, and will build again the tabernacle of David, which is fallen down; and I will build again the ruins thereof, and I will set it up; that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles, upon whom my name is called, saith the Lord, who doeth all these things ‡.' "

\* Only for three years. See p. 155 supra.

† Bp. Newton's Prophecies, i. 338, 334.

‡ Amos ix. 11, 12. Acts xv. 16, 17.

## BOOK III.

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### TESTIMONIES TO THE ANTIQUITY OF DANIEL.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### PRELIMINARY HISTORY.

WHEN an adverse conclusion upon any particular point has been arrived at, especially by one who is friendly in the main, it is desirable to ascertain, if possible, the grounds upon which his conclusion is based, that we may apply any tests, which may happen to be at command, for the discovery of the soundness or unsoundness of the opinion he has formed.

The means of accomplishing this object appear to exist, with reference to the late Dr. Arnold's rejection of the Book of Daniel as a genuine work, to which reference has already been made. He merely reiterates the oft-refuted attacks of Porphyry, Collins, and others, which apparently must have been familiar to his mind at an early period of his life, and left impressions which he could never afterwards wholly eradicate.

His sentiments are expressed in the following passage: "I have long thought that the greater part of the Book of Daniel is most certainly a very late work, of the time of Maccabees; and the pretended prophecy about the kings of Greece and Persia, and of the

north and south \*, is mere history. In fact, you can trace distinctly the date when it was written; because the events up to that date are given with historical minuteness, totally unlike the character of real prophecy, and beyond that date all is imaginary." And, again, " Criticism proves the non-authenticity of great part of Daniel; that there may be genuine fragments in it is very likely †." Dr. Arnold is thus primarily referring to those portions of the Book of Daniel which relate to the overthrow of Persia, and to the contests which, subsequently to the division of Alexander's kingdom, took place between the Ægypto-Macedonian and the Syro-Macedonian dynasties.

What is the precise meaning which he here affixes to the word "imaginary" is not very easy to perceive, unless he intends devoid of truth, and purely fictitious. Excluding however from the mind, as far as may be, all historical recollections, and confining our attention to the mere figures and expressions employed by Daniel in the several parts of this work, these, except where the contrary is intimated by the prophet himself, will be found just as strong and distinct in themselves where they relate to the yet future, as where they refer to events which have already happened. The inherent character of the sketches or representations is the same in the one case as in the other; but

\* But for the eleventh chapter, which relates to the kings of the north and the south, it is probable that this charge would never have been ventured upon. As the prophecy itself has been so fully investigated and explained in Whiston's Script. Proph. 29—48, Newton's Prophecies, and other works, it will not be entered upon here. The writer will only observe, that after Daniel had been so affected by the previous visions, this revelation seems to have been designed to console and support him, just as Balaam's last prophecy was designed for the consolation of Israel, and of all believers in after ages.

† Arnold's Life and Corresp. ii. 188.

of two statements, both equally specific in point of language, one may be perfectly intelligible and the other wholly incomprehensible, simply because the former has been brought out and elucidated by the surrounding circumstances, while the latter is obscured by the want of these or any thing else to furnish a clue.

The obvious comment, therefore, upon the views of Dr. Arnold respecting such portions of the Book of Daniel as relate to distinct events in history, occurring between the age of Daniel and the time of the Maccabees, is that intermixed with these there is a delineation of other events, which professedly were not to take place until near the end of the Jewish dispensation, and others not until long subsequently, even in the latter days\*. Many of these have not yet occurred; but most of them are described in terms no less precise than those, which were to take precedence in point of time. It is most illogical, therefore, to select out of the entire number some few which have taken place, and conclude that the description of them must be past history, and not prophecy, because capable of being identified with historical incidents of such prominence as to have thrown upon them a blaze of light; and to set down others as imaginary, because yet involved in the mists which hang over all future occurrences, until in the silent revolutions of time they have likewise passed into the same clear light,—the annals of a nation's history. Let all the pre-Maccabean events be subtracted, and there will still remain a number of predictions, which from their chronological character are far more specific than most of the Old Testament prophecies or the Apo-

\* Dan. vii. passim; viii. 23; ix. 24. 27; x. 1. 14; xi. 6. &c.; xii. 6. 13.

calyptic visions. To paraphrase the beautiful language of Goethe, already quoted, "And yet though on this account the most experienced observer cannot certainly, or even probably, predict beforehand what direction the fulfilment of *prophecy* will take, it is easy afterwards to mark where and how *prophecy* has pointed to the future \*."

The prophecies of Daniel have been the subject of comment by some of the greatest minds this world has produced; and, even with all his learning, Dr. Arnold's passing allusions to them evince but a superficial acquaintance with a subject of such deep interest.

There is no occasion, however, to delve into the prophetic mine; since on the surface of that very portion of the Book of Daniel to which an historical character has thus been attributed, there are materials which afford a tolerably clear indication that it was not historical, but prophetic; or at all events show that in the Maccabean age it was a work of very ancient date. Nor is the value of this at all diminished, but the contrary, by the fact that trodden as the ground has been by so many commentators and divines, as well as by such a host of subtle adversaries, this one simple mark has hitherto escaped observation.

For its elucidation it is requisite to enter upon a short historical disquisition, in connexion with the intimation that the rough goat, which was to overthrow Media and Persia, was the king of Græcia; while, prior to this, there was to be a king of Persia who should stir up all against the realm of Græcia. Now it seems clear, and has always been so understood, even by those who attribute an historical cha-

\* Goethe's Autobiography.



racter to this portion of Holy Writ, that the Persian king here spoken of was Xerxes, and that by the king of Græcia was intimated, or shadowed forth, the great Macedonian conqueror.

Between the periods, however, of their several histories, how vast the change which had swept over Greece! Its celebrated isthmus, which had so often resounded with the tread of invading armies, had gradually relapsed into repose. No hostile sail was at length to be descried between the promontories of Sunium and Malea, since Athens and Sparta no longer contended for supremacy among the states of Greece; which, not without much opposition, had been transferred by the Greeks themselves to the Macedonian sovereign. This was an event of the greatest importance; though, before adverting to it, it will be desirable to glance at still earlier changes.

Macedonia, as is well known, was peopled, though but in part, by a colony from Argos, which seems to have migrated about the year 800 before the Christian æra, under the leadership of Caranus, their first sovereign; although this honor is by others assigned to Perdiccas, whose reign, according to chronologists, did not begin until about the year B.C. 729\*.

At this time the inhabitants of Greece were divided into the two great branches of the Æolians and the Ionians; while the country at large, though bearing the names of Æolia and Ionia, was more generally known under that of Ionia alone. As the Macedonian colonists were sprung from the Argives, who belonged to the Ionian branch, the term Ionians (though not really thus employed) might at this period without any great impropriety have been stretched so as to include the Macedonians, as well as the inhabitants of

\* Herod. viii. 137. Thucyd. ii. 99.

Asia Minor, which had likewise become in great part inhabited by Grecian colonists.

On the downfall of Cræsus, however, about the year 650 B.C., that is, during the latter portion of Daniel's life, a circumstance occurred which led to a memorable change in the designation of the country. Fearing an invasion, the Milesians, who were the most renowned among the continental inhabitants of Ionia, entered into a treaty with the Persians, which warded off the threatened attack from Asia Minor. As this country lay nearest to Persia, and was therefore the most exposed to invasion from that quarter, the treaty was scarcely calculated to give umbrage to the rest of the Ionians, since, as Herodotus remarks, there was no cause of fear to the islanders; for the Phœnicians were not yet subjected to the Persians, nor were the Persians themselves a maritime people\*; while to reach the further parts of Greece by land a circuitous march of great extent and difficulty had to be undertaken. Its effect however upon the Athenians, who at this time had risen to an eminence which was calculated to create jealousies between them and the Milesians, was to exasperate them to such a degree, that they indignantly cast off the very name of Ionians. In this they were followed by the other inhabitants of what was afterwards known as Hellas, or Græcia Propria; and hence, in conjunction with the ambition of the Athenians to give greater celebrity to their own territory of Attica, the name of Ionia became gradually restricted to Asia Minor and the adjacent islands. This change was complete in the time of Herodotus†.

The name of Æolia, though from a different cause, was also transplanted to Asia Minor. "The Æolic

\* Herod. i. 143.

† Clio 141. 143.

migration was an immediate consequence of the conquest of the Peloponnesus by the Heraclidæ. . . . The whole coast from Cyzicus on the Propontis to the river Hermus, and soon after the island of Lesbos, conquered by Grais, son of Echelatus, became settled by Peloponnesians and Bœotians, and received the name of *Æolis* or *Æolia* \*."

Throughout the works of Herodotus, Isocrates, Plutarch, and other writers, the names of *Ionia* and *Æolia*, and those of *Ionians* and *Æolians*, are used to denote the Asiatic countries bearing these appellations and their inhabitants. Herodotus in particular employs these terms in marked contrast with those of *Hellas* and the *Hellenes* †. In fact, the *Ionians* and *Æolians* became the acknowledged subjects of *Crœsus*; and subsequently (after some resistance on their parts, brought on by his conduct towards them) of *Cyrus the Persian*; and then again, after his death, of *Cambyses*, his successor, by whom they were considered as hereditary slaves ‡.

*Macedonia* itself had never formed part of *Ionia*; but after the change just noticed there was still less ground for so considering it. Whoever reads the account given by Herodotus of the Persian invasion under *Mardonius*, the famous general of *Xerxes*, when he describes the marshalling of the opposing forces before the battle of *Platœa*, must perceive that the *Macedonians* are not included in the term either of *Hellenes* or *Ionians*; and that by the *Hellenes*, who served in the Persian ranks, were exclusively intended

\* *Mitf. Greece* i. 340, citing *Strabo* ix. 402; x. 447; xiii. 582—586.

† See the six last books *passim*; and, as instances only, viii. 22. 132; ix. 106. So *Josephus*, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 2. *Cont. Apion.* ii. 4.

‡ *Herod.* i. 141; ii. 2.

the Bœotians, Locrians, Malians, Thessalians, and such of the Phocians as took part with Persia\*.

The different form of government established in Macedonia from that which prevailed throughout the states of Greece was alone sufficient to sever any political, and consequently, for all ordinary purposes, any territorial ties, which might otherwise have subsisted between the two countries. This is evident from the speech of the Lacedæmonian ambassadors at the conference held at Athens prior to the great struggle which ensued, and which terminated so disastrously for Persia, and so gloriously for the Grecian arms†.

That Macedonia was distinct from Hellas or Greece‡ appears, also, from an earlier part of the same book (115); nor were the Macedonians included among the tribes which formed the Hellenic corporation or confederacy§.

This was composed of Thessaly, Ætolia, Doris, Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica, with the addition of the states into which the Peloponnesus was divided. Strabo, who lived long after Macedonia had risen into, and then fallen from greatness, and therefore after she had identified herself more closely with the Grecian name, though he accounts the Macedonians to be Grecians from their Argive descent, yet excludes

\* Herod. ix. 31, 32.

† Herod. Uran. 142.

‡ By Hellas the great epic poet sometimes denotes the town or village of that name in Phthiôtis, the south-eastern province of Thessaly. *Iliad* ii. 683; xvi. 595. At other times he appears to intend generally the northern part of Greece. See *Odyss.* i. 344. *Strabo* viii. 537. *Oxon.* 1807. Mitford remarks that "in Homer's time no common name for all the Greeks [or their country] had obtained general acceptance. For the want of such we find him evidently at a loss."—*Hist. Gr.* i. 198, n. 7. Grote also observes that "Homer knows Hellas and the Hellenes only in connexion with a portion of Achaia, Phthiôtis."—*Hist. Gr.* i. 138.

§ Herod. *Clio*, 143.

Macedonia itself from the Grecian territory, by describing Thessaly as the most northern province of Greece\*. Mitford, speaking of Epirus and Macedonia, says, "The inhabitants of these two countries participated of the same origin with the Greeks, were of similar manners and similar religion, and their speech differed only as dialects of the same language. But in progress of ages, and among revolutions, arose circumstances tending to hold the people southward, though divided under numerous and often hostile governments, in some degree united as one people, and to exclude Epirus and Macedonia from the connexion†." Even with regard to language, it is related by Curtius in his history of Alexander, that the speech of the Macedonians was not generally understood by the Greeks.

When therefore Herodotus, with reference to the growth and extension of the power of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, says that his renown spread throughout Ionia and the rest of Greece—*ἀνά τε τὴν Ἰωνίην καὶ τὴν ἅλλην Ἑλλάδα* ‡—these expressions would not include Macedonia.

The Sacred War, however, decreed by the Amphictyonic Council against the Phocians, led to a closer alliance of Macedonia and Greece. Philip had taken part in this war; and when the Phocians ultimately succumbed, it was to Philip that they surrendered, in order to secure his protection, and thereby avert that extermination with which the Thebans and Thessalians, thirsting to avenge ages of hostility, threatened to visit them. But although the Phocians thus preserved their lives, they were as a people blotted out from the political constitution of Greece. By their

\* Lib. vii. 321. 465.

† Hist. Gr. i. 11, 12.

‡ Thal. 39, also Cli. 92.

submission to him Philip had virtually stepped into their place; and at the ensuing meeting of the Amphictyonic Council the double vote which had been possessed by the Phocians, and of which they were now deprived, was decreed to the Macedonian king and his posterity\*. Subsequently, upon the occasion of the league then about to be formed for the Sacred War against the Amphissians, Philip was invested with the supremacy of or lead among the Grecian states—*ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος*†.

At a later period he was, with a view to the contemplated invasion of Persia, elected to the distinct office of general-in-chief, or supreme commander of all the Grecian forces (*αὐτοκράτωρ*)‡. These important posts, which he held until his death, no doubt brought the Macedonians into the Grecian confederacy, but not so as to make Macedonia itself an integral portion of Greece.

Both of these offices, thus held by Philip, were elective; and in the latter he might have been superseded by a vote of the Amphictyonic Council. The most important post was the first; but the supremacy thereby conferred was one which communicated no regal dignity, and had previously been exercised suc-

\* Diod. xvi. 60. 64. Justin viii. 2.

† Demosth. de Cor. 279.

‡ *τέλος δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλομένων αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῆς Ἑλλάδος*: and then, after noticing the great preparations made by Philip for his Persian expedition, *διατάξας δ' ἐκάστη πόλει τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰς συμμαχίαν στρατιωτῶν*, having appointed to or arranged with each city the number of soldiers they were to contribute to the confederacy. Diod. Sic. xvi. 89. This is in exact accordance with the previous notice of the peace of Demades, *πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλαι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ συνθίσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν τε καὶ συμμαχίαν*. He sent ambassadors to the people of Athens, and concluded with them a friendly treaty, offensive and defensive. Id. 87.

cessively by Lacedæmon, Athens, and Thebes, who on that account were sometimes styled imperial republics, and might have been held by them again \*. The Grecian states yet preserved their republican constitution, and Philip was still king of Macedonia alone †. It was accordingly by this title that, as head of the Amphictyonic Council, he summoned the Grecian states to meet him in arms, for the purpose of engaging in the Sacred War against the Amphissians ‡.

On the death of Philip, Alexander, though he took his *inherited seat* in the Amphictyonic Council, had like his father to be indebted to an election, and that a contested one, for the supremacy over Greece, ἡγεμονίαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. To this he was chosen, in the beginning of his reign, by a council held at Corinth,

\* Mitf. Gr. vii. 457.

† Grote, apparently following Justin rather than Diodorus Siculus, and attaching perhaps too much importance to some hasty expressions used in Athenian debate, represents the treaty of Demades as a badge of complete conquest by Philip, and the most entire submission on the part of the Greeks. Hist. Gr. xi. 700. Yet in the same breath he says that Philip, in order to obtain the ἡγεμονίαν, or a recognition of his title to this office, had to conciliate the Athenians; and that he might have failed to obtain this by force, as the fleet of Athens was as strong as ever, and her preponderance at sea irresistible. Ib. 701. No doubt the Athenians after the battle of Chæronæa were sensible of the superior power of the Macedonians by land, and did not desire to renew the contest. But Philip's policy was conciliation: and while in theory he was merely the *elected* head of the Greeks, he did not, as a matter of fact, interfere with their autonomy, although realizing all the fruits of a victory gained, not over Greece itself, but over Greeks with the aid of Greeks, the defeat of the Athenians being chiefly due to the Lacedæmonians, who fought on the side of the Macedonians. Justin xiii. 111. This state of things continued unaltered under Alexander and his successors.

‡ Βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Φίλιππος, Πελοποννησίων τῶν ἐν τῇ συμμαχίᾳ τοῖς συνέδροις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμμάχοις πᾶσι κ.τ.λ. Demosth. de Cor.

against the determined opposition of Lacedæmon\*. Under these circumstances Alexander, in his letter to Darius, while correctly styling himself the *elected general* of the Greeks, sought further to associate his own country and Greece† in these terms, Μακεδονίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα‡. This, however, is a solitary instance of their being thus linked together, they being in general still referred to as separate and distinct countries. It is clear also that even at this period Macedonia would not have been understood, and could not properly have been included under the name of Hellas alone. The distinction to be gathered from Strabo, already noticed, was of a marked character and invariably maintained; so that while the Macedonians, from their descent, might be accounted Grecians, Macedonia itself formed no part of the Grecian territory. See the quadrupartite division of Macedonia mentioned in Livy xlv. 29. It is observable, too, that Alexander did not style himself, his people, or his army Grecians, but Macedonians; although he was at this very time general, or αὐτοκράτωρ, of the Greeks, who were then serving under him in large numbers. Thus in his epistle to the Jewish high priest, desiring to be furnished with

\* Diod. xvii. 4. Arr. i. 1.

† His father "Philip, while causing himself to be chosen chief of Hellas, was himself not only partially Hellenized, but an eager candidate for Hellenic admiration. He demanded the headship under the declared pretence of satisfying the old antipathy to Persia."—Grote's Hist. Gr. xii. 1, 2. So far from putting himself forward as the conqueror of Greece, the common rumor, which Philip encouraged, was that he entered upon the Persian war ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, on account or for the benefit of the Greeks. Diod. Sic. xvi. 89. Alexander held the same language. Vid. infra.

‡ Possibly ἄλλην may be a mistake for ὅλην. The entire passage runs thus,—Οἱ ὑμῖν πρόγονοι, ἐλθόντες εἰς Μακεδονίαν, καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα, κακῶς ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲν προηδικημένοι· ἐγὼ δέ, τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμὼν κατασταθεὶς, καὶ τιμωρῆσαι βουλόμενος Πέρσας, δαίβην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.—Arr. ii. 14, p. 120. Amst. 1668.



auxiliaries and supplies for his troops, he urges him to "choose the friendship of the *Macedonians*, and that he should never repent of so doing \*."

Even with regard to the two people, when spoken of together, the prevailing generic was that of *Macedonians*. This is almost invariably employed in the works of Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius Halicarnassus, Polybius, Arrian, Josephus, Justin, and other writers. The second mentioned author depicts the Macedonian empire in these terms, "After the power of the Persians had been broken, the Macedonian empire, from the extent of its dominions, surpassed every other which had preceded. It did not, however, flourish for any very great length of time; but after the death of Alexander began to decline †." Here a sketch is given of the Macedonian kingdom, as founded on the destruction of the Persian monarchy, commencing with Alexander, and then carried on through his successors.

So Josephus gives a relation of what the Jews "have suffered from the Assyrians and Babylonians; and what afflictions the Persians and *Macedonians*, and after them the Romans, have brought upon us ‡." In which passage it will be observed that the five great empires are all enumerated in their proper chronological order.

Justin, speaking of the Parthians, the descendants of those who had formed part of the Medo-Persian empire, says, "Postremò *Macedonibus* triumphato Oriente servierunt §." "Hi postea diductis *Macedonibus* in bellum civile ||." "Administratio gentis

\* Joseph. Antiq. XI. viii. 3.

† 'Η δὲ Μακεδονικὴ δυναστεία, τὴν Περσῶν καθελοῦσα ἰσχὺν, μεγέθει μὲν ἀρχῆς ἀπάσας ὑπερβέβαλετο τὰς πρὸ αὐτῆς· χρόνον δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτὴ πολὺν ἤνθησεν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἤρξατο φέρεσθαι.—Dion. Hal. Ann. Rom. i. 2, 8.

‡ Antiq. xx. 11, s. 2. § Justin xli. 1. || Ibid. xli. 42.

post defectionem *Macedonici* imperii sub regibus fuit\*." Like Dionysius Halicarnassus and Josephus, Justin is here speaking of the Macedonian empire in *Asia*; and so of the people, over whom especially Alexander there reigned, he masses them under the general name of Macedonians†. Again, in referring to the division of the Macedonian empire among the successors of Alexander, he speaks of it peculiarly as HIS Eastern kingdom‡.

Even in Egypt, where larger numbers of real Greeks were congregated than in any other part of the world, particularly in Alexandria and its vicinity, all, whether Macedonians or Greeks, went under the common appellation of Macedonians, by which they were also called in public documents. Lycophron seems to speak of the Egyptian nation under the name of Macedonian; and whenever, during the reigns of the Ptolemies, the citizens of the capital of Egypt met in public assembly in the gymnasium, they were addressed, "Ye men of Macedonia §."

The celebrity and extension of the Macedonian name is distinctly noticed by Livy, who says, "Then was the sovereignty and name of the Macedonians the greatest, when it was broken up into many kingdoms by the death of Alexander ||." Both Josephus and Arrian also, when speaking of Alexander's conquests in Asia and his subsequent military exploits, as well as of more ordinary events, designate those

\* Justin xli. 2.

† "Sic Arsaces quæsito simul constitutoque regno, non minus memorabilis Parthis, quam Persis Cyrus, *Macedonibus Alexander*, Romanis Romulus, maturâ senectute decedit."—Justin xli. 5.

‡ "Post mortem Alexandri Magni, cum inter successores ejus, *Orientis regna* dividerentur."—Justin xli. 4.

§ Polyb. l. xv. Theocrit. Idyll. xv. 94. Sharpe's Egypt, i. 192. 195—199; ii. 45. 288. 295.

|| Liv. xlv. 9.

engaged in them Macedonians, which comprised all who served under the Macedonian standard or were subject to Macedonian sway. Out of Greece even those who were really Greeks lost their true and ancient names, and voluntarily merged this in their more renowned title of Macedonians. "On reaching the provinces the Greek soldiers, whether Spartans or Athenians, forgetting the glories of Thermopylæ and Marathon, and proud of their wider conquests under the late king, always called themselves Macedonians; they pleased themselves with the thought that the whole of the conquered countries were still governed by the brother of Alexander \*."

It was only upon occasions which had some reference to literature or the arts, or which otherwise involved or recalled their common origin or language, that they were styled Greeks †. Even then the instances of their being thus blended under this common appellation are rare; although they are occasionally found mentioned separately, when the contrary might have been expected.

Arrian distinguishes between the ancient Greeks and the Macedonians, and refers to their different tactics in war under the expressions ὑπὲρ γε παλαιῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ τῶν Μακεδονικῶν ‡. So in reference to the contests which took place in the Peloponnesus between the Macedonians under Antigonus and Demetrius, on the one side, and first the Achæans, and then the Ætolians and Lacedæmonians, on the other, the Macedonians are spoken of as distinct from the Greeks §.

Without having the same occasion, Josephus like-

\* Sharpe's Egypt, i. 179—212. 248.

† See Joseph. l. 20; xi. 2.

‡ Arr. *Tactica*, edit. Amst. 1683, p. 74.

§ See Polyb. ii. 4, 5. Plut. vit. Demetr., and other writers.

wise distinguishes the two in the case of those who were contemporaries. Thus he says that Seleucus Nicator gave the Jews of Asia "privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks, who were the inhabitants \*." So in referring to the efforts of Demetrius Nicator to recover his kingdom, he relates that "those *Greeks and Macedonians* who dwelt there (parts of Babylonia), frequently sent ambassadors to him †." Again, speaking of the citizens of Alexandria, he says, "For while they were the Grecians and Macedonians who were in possession of this city;" and then referring to the influx of Egyptians which afterwards took place, "These Egyptians, therefore, were the authors of all these troubles, who not having *the constancy of Macedonians*, nor the *prudence of Grecians*, indulged all of them the evil manners of the Egyptians ‡." So that even of those who had become settled in a mixed community in Asia or Egypt he marks their distinct origin, assigns to them separate names, and describes them as having different national characteristics, according to the countries from which they had respectively sprung.

Although, therefore, the people might thus be distinguished, the common appellation out of Greece was that of Macedonians alone; while the distinction between the two countries universally obtained. A like discrimination is observable in the sacred Scriptures, it being said of St. Paul, "And when he had gone over those parts (i. e. Macedonia) . . . he came into *Greece*, and there abode three months, and . . . as they were about to sail into Syria, he proposed to return through *Macedonia* §." So Macedonia and Achaia

\* Antiq. xii. 3, s. 1.

† Contr. Apion. ii. 6.

† Ibid. xiii. 5, s. 2.

§ Acts xx. 2, 3.

are separately and distinctly mentioned by the same Apostle in 1 Thess. i. 7, 8.

West of Asia the title of Alexander, as of Philip, was that of *Βασιλεὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων*, or simply *Ἀλέξανδρος Βασιλεὺς* \*. He never assumed the title, or could have been styled, *Βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. Accordingly after his death, when Philip Aridæus, with the aid of a military council, proceeded to distribute the various provinces which had constituted his vast empire among the generals of Alexander, no mention is made of Greece. To Antipater was assigned Macedonia, but there is no addition after it of Greece; though in other instances, where more was included than would be understood by the simple name of a country, this was pointed out in express terms †.

Besides the division of the Greeks into Æolians and Ionians, already noticed, there was a still earlier and nicer distinction between the *Iæones*, *Ἰάονες*, who were descendants of Javan, the son of Japheth, and are conjectured by the learned Bryant to have been the primitive inhabitants of Greece, and the *Iönim* or Ionians, *Ἴωνες*, who were the descendants of Ion, supposed to be the son of Zuth or Zeuth ‡, who was the same as Deucalion and Prometheus, supposed by Bryant to be an ideal person, derived from a term imported into Greece §. The former of these were a colony first from Babylonia, and afterwards from Egypt and Syria ||.

From this descent, and not from the name of the country which they occupied, the term *Iæones* had its origin. It signified a race rather than a nation; and though some of the Greeks were comprehended in it,

\* *Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων φυγάσι*.—Diod. Sic. xviii. 8, &c.

† Ibid. ‡ Herod. viii. 44, 45. § Bry. Myth. v. 23, 24.

|| Ibid. v. 11, 12. See Wintle's Notes on Dan. p. 126.

the Iäones were not necessarily Grecians. The Iönim, however, being the immediate ancestors of the Athenians and other Hellenistic tribes, who were among the most influential of the Greeks, they within the confines of Greece almost supplanted in name the more ancient inhabitants, the Iäones. Traces of both are to be met with in Homer, and occasionally, though rarely, in subsequent writers. According to the Scholiast the Athenians were referred to by Homer under the expression of Ἰάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες \*. So Æschylus, speaking of Attica, calls it Ἰαόνων γῆν †.

In other countries the original name apparently prevailed for a longer period. The Scholiast upon Aristophanes says, Πάντας τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ἰάονας οἱ Βάρβαροι ἐκάλουν, *the barbarians called all the Greeks Iäones* ‡. Hesychius after the description, Ἰαννα Ἑλληνική ἐπεὶ Ἰαννας τοὺς Ἑλληνας λέγουσιν, *Ianna, Grecian, since they call the Iannes Hellenes*, adds, Ἐπεικῶς δὲ οἱ Βάρβαροι τοὺς Ἑλληνας Ἰαννας λέγουσιν, *foreigners commonly call the Grecians Iannes*. He distinguishes between the Iönim and the Hellenes, whom he respectively describes as Ἴωνες, Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ Ἴωνες ἀπὸ Ἴωνος. Ἐμοὶ καὶ τοὺς Θράκας, καὶ Ἀχαιοὺς, καὶ Βοιωτοὺς, Ἑλληνας. The Ionians, Athenians, are derived from Ion. *Some account the Thracians, the Achæans, and the Bæotians to be Hellenes*. Of these, however, the Bæotians had by Homer been spoken of as a different race from the Iäones §. Yet how little the distinction between the Iäones and the Iönim was really preserved, or even understood, appears elsewhere from the same writer, Hesychius, who identifies the Ἴωνες or Iönim, not with the Athenians, but with the Hellenes; his description of them

\* Il. xiii. 695, and see Strabo ix. 392.

† Pers. v. 178, see Mitf. Gr. i. 67, n. 37.

‡ Schol. in Acharn. v. 106.

§ Il. N. v. 685.

being Ἴωνες, Ἑλληνες, *the Ionians, that is to say, the Hellenes*. Even Bryant, who urges the point, has in quotation preserved the inconsistency\*. But, as he correctly observes, when these two "families were mixed, we must not wonder if their names were confounded †." The traces of it even in Homer are not very distinct, and after his age they became gradually lost.

In the Aramean language the word most nearly corresponding with *Ion* is 𐤓, which may be read either *Ion*, or else *Javan* or *Yavan*, according to the vowel-points. In the one case the name would, as with the Greeks, be traceable to *Ion*, said by Grecian writers to be the son of *Zuth* or *Zeuth*, known also under the appellation of *Deucalion* and *Prometheus* ‡. In the other it would be derived from *Javan* or *Yavan*, one of the sons of *Japheth*. But in either case the name, as a country, commonly designated Asiatic Greece, with which the Orientals were most familiar, and came most into contact. It was not, however, a term of the same definite import, as the Greek title of *Ion* became long before the age of *Herodotus*. *Gesenius*, though considering them identical, says, in allusion to Asiatic *Ion*, "The name of which province, as being adjacent to the East, and better known than others to the Orientals, was extended so as to comprehend the whole of Greece §."

In the age of *Daniel* it primarily signified *Asia Minor*, and the parts adjacent, which had been colonized by the Greeks and Macedonians. The prophet *Ezekiel* associates *Javan* (*Ion*) with the countries round the *Black Sea*, as trading in the fairs of

\* Compare *Bry. Myth.* v. pp. 13, 14, with p. 18.

† *Ibid.* p. 14.

‡ *Herod.* viii. 44, 45.

§ *Gesen. Heb. and Eng. Lexicon*, by *Robinson*. London, 1844. Also *Aristoph. Acharn.* 504, *ibique Schol. Æschyl. Pers.* 176. 561.

Tyre with slaves, vessels of brass, and other articles of commerce \*. Another contemporary, the prophet Zechariah, looking forward to Maccabean times, when the sovereignty which was to prevail in Judea was to be separated from both Greece and Macedonia, says, "When I have bent Judah for me, filled the bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece [i. e. Javan or Yavana], and made thee as a sword of a mighty man †." Here the country referred to under the name of Javan or Yavana is evidently that which was subject to the Syro-Macedonian empire of Antiochus.

Among the Greeks and Romans, as well as with the Jews, there was a clear distinction between the two countries. Thus Appian says of Sylla, upon his termination of the war with Mithridates, that he "returned after recovering to the Romans, Greece, and Macedonia, Ionia, and Asia, and many other tribes on which Mithridates had seized ‡." So Dion Cassius says, ἐς τε τὴν Ἰωνίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολέμῳ ὥρμησεν §. Josephus says of Vespasian, while Titus was laying siege to Jerusalem, "he passed over from Ionia into Greece ||." And in another passage the same writer observes, "After the same manner do those Jews that inhabit Ephesus, and the *other cities of Ionia*, enjoy the same name with those that were originally born there;" where the term Ionia is clearly confined to Asia Minor, and does not comprehend Greece ¶. Wintle, though with some degree of inaccuracy, remarks that "the whole states of Greece were sometimes called Iäones,

\* Ezek. xxvii. 13. 9.

† App. Av. i. 76.

|| Bell. Jud. vii. 2.

† Zech. ix. 13.

§ Dio. xlix. 44.

¶ Contr. Apion. ii. 4.



and the sea which washes their borders is the Ionian Sea. Yet there seems to have been a distinction made by the Hebrews between the Peloponnesian and the Ionian Greece. But Macedonia certainly belonged to the latter; and Alexander might with the greatest propriety be styled the first king of Ion, as he was the first chief who subdued the Medo-Persic, and established the Grecian [i. e. the Ionian or Macedonian] empire \*."

The term יָוָן, Yavan, might not inappropriately be extended eastward, so as to take in the whole country, יַוָּנִית, J'vanith, subject to the dominion of the Greeks or Macedonians, יָוָן, J'vani, in Asia.

There is another word bearing some resemblance to it, यवन्, Yavana, supposed to be Bactria, where the Greeks were settled in considerable numbers; or it may be extended from that country to Ionia, or still further to Greece †. Johnson observes that "the Asiatics have immemorially applied to those of Greek origin names evidently derived from their Asiatic residence, or Ionians; or, rather, these names were intended to designate the supposed descendants from Javan, and the territory which they occupied. Even as late as the ninth century, when the Greek writers and the Greek and Macedonian empire were well known to the Mohammedans, the Greeks were called Yunánis ‡. The name first occurs in the Indian poem just referred to, the Mahábhárata, written in the fourth century before the Christian æra, where

\* Notes on Dan. p. 126.

† Wilson's Dict. of Sanscrit and English, p. 682, Vocabul. to Selections from the Mahábhárata, by Johnson.

‡ Johnson's Mahábh. p. 89, n. 9. So Thessaly is called *Ianna* by the Turks. Encycl. Metrop. tit. Thessaly.

the king of the J'vani or Yavanas is made a competitor of Draupadís Swayamvara \*."

That Javan or Yavana was more particularly applied to the Syro-Macedonian kingdom in Asia appears from another Indian record, as well as from a passage in Zechariah. After the division of Alexander's kingdom, when the government of Asia Minor, Syria, and other parts of Asia was in the hands of Antiochus, it is he, and not the king of Macedon, who alone had then any connexion with Greece, that is described under the title, in its Pali form, of the Yona or Iona Raja †.

Thus whether the king of the Yavanas, as found in the Mahábhárata, was intended to denote Alexander the Great (which from the date it might), or merely the person of the king, without reference to any particular individual, it is clear that in the Eastern languages Alexander would most appropriately be styled king of Yavan or the Yavanas; that is, of the Græco-Macedonian or Syro-Macedonian state or people settled in Asia. Any ambiguity or indefiniteness, which might otherwise attach to the term as used in Daniel, is removed by the symbol employed to designate this kingdom; the symbol selected being the goat, which was the national emblem or armorial distinction of Macedonia ‡.

In the course, indeed, of his Persian expedition, and after the decisive battle of Issus, Alexander assumed a title, by which he identified himself with this

\* Johnson's edit. p. 89.

† Edict of Asoka inscribed on the rocks of Orissa and Guzerat. See Lassen's *Alterthumskunde*, ii. 213. 274. Selections from the Mahábh., by Johnson, p. 89, n. 9. The date of Asoka is from 263 to 226 n.c. See also Zech. ix. 13.

‡ Justin, *Hist.* viii. Mede iii. 654. 712. Joseph. *Archæol.* x. 10. *Fundgruben des Orienta*, iii. 3, pl. 2, fig. 3.

vast continent. In his celebrated letter to Darius, already referred to, he haughtily requires to be addressed, and to have homage paid to him as king of Asia; he being then, as he avers, by right of conquest lord of all Asia, and every thing which Darius possessed \*. Later in his career, however in the West he might content himself with the simple and really sublimer title of "Alexander king †," he also appropriated the eastern designation of Βασιλεὺς Βασιλείων, and even claimed to be styled "The king of the whole earth ‡." The previous title which he assumed after his conquest of Egypt was "ALEXANDER, KING, SON OF JUPITER AMMON," or the Egyptian God AMUN RA §.

He subsequently carried his conquests into India, but it was in Asiatic Greece and Asia that Alexander reigned supreme; and having overthrown the Persian empire, established there a kingdom over which Philip, his father, never reigned. Accordingly Justin terms it, "Ejus orientis regna;" and in ancient records Alexander is represented as the founder of a new dynasty, the first king of that monarchy which was reared on the ruins of the Persian throne. Thus the Chaldean dynasty of Salmanasar or Nabonasar, both in the ecclesiastical and astronomical canons, is reckoned from this monarch to Alexander of Macedon, Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδονίας; or, as it runs in the astronomical canon, ἕως Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ κτιστοῦ τελευτῆς, until the death of Alexander, the *founder*, i. e. of the Mace-

\* Arr. ii. 14.

† Diod. Sic. xviii.

‡ "Accepto deinde imperio regem se terrarum omnium ac mundi appellari jussit."—Justin l. 12, xvi. 9. And see Arr. vii. 15. Diod. Sic. lxxvii.

§ Varro, apud Aul. Gell. xiii. 4. Arr. iii. While Alexander thus took *various* regal titles in connexion with *other* countries, as respects Greece he simply claimed to be invested by election with the ancient and constitutional dignity of ἡγεμὼν. Arr. ii. 14.

donian dynasty. In Ptolemy's Canon Alexander is also placed at the head of a new line of kings, here termed ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, as their successors on the throne of Egypt are styled ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΕΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩ. This is an uncommon instance of the word Ἕλληνες being substituted for Μακεδόνες; for even in the fragment of Megasthenes preserved by Abydenus, as given in the translation of Eusebius, the wall of Babylon with its brazen gates, erected by Nabuchodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar), is said to have remained until the time of the Macedonian sovereignty, μέχρι τῆς Μακεδόνων ἀρχῆς \*. It may hence be inferred that after the Macedonian conquest, if not for some time previously, the same prominence was given by the Chaldeans to the name answering in their language to that of Macedonia †, as was then conceded to it by other nations; although previously the general, and afterwards the occasional appellation for those of Greek origin or descent, was that of יָוָנִי, J'vani or Yavanas.

This remark only applies to the generic name; for there can be no doubt that both the Assyrians and Babylonians had from a very early period a distinct appellation for Macedonia, as well as for other countries. The armies which they severally brought into the field were composed of immense numbers of men of various origin and language, and these were marshalled according to the nations to which they belonged. The separate divisions of an army bore distinctive names, and were called after their respective countries, as the Thracians, the Macedonians, &c. ‡

\* Euseb. Præp. Evan. l. 10. Euseb. Chron. 49.

† In the Targum of Jonathan on Gen. x. 2, we find יָוָנִי. The adjective occurs in the later Targum on Esth. vi. 10; viii. 15. See Heb. Bible by Buxtorf.

‡ See Herod. xxxi. 2. Polyb. iv. 5, and other writers.

They were distinguished from each other not less by their national costumes, than by their various arms and different modes of warfare.

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## CHAPTER II.

### TESTIMONY DRAWN FROM THE BOOK OF MACCABEES.

THE historical facts above noticed will be found to throw considerable light upon the Book of Daniel. In the opinion of Dr. Arnold, Chev. Bunsen, and Rev. Dr. Rowland Williams, this was a work of the time of the Maccabees; and it is averred to be "clear beyond fair doubt, that the period of weeks ended in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that those portions of the book, supposed to be specially predictive, are a history of past occurrences up to that reign\*." Now let us only apply to the subject that criticism which, according to these writers, proves the non-authenticity of great part of the Book of Daniel, and the very reverse will be satisfactorily established. For this purpose it is only requisite to bring together two passages, occurring one in the Book of Daniel, and the other in the first book of the Maccabees.

Before doing so, however, I may remark, that in the case of literary piracies the surest mode of detection is to ascertain if any errors, of typography or otherwise, exist in the original, and then to see whether these have been transcribed into the later work. Should the same errors be found to exist in both, then, however colorable may be the general character of the alterations adopted, the evidence that the one has been borrowed from the other is

\* Essays and Reviews, No. 2, p. 69. Seventh edit.

irresistible. Another indication, not less certain perhaps, is the existence in the one of passages slightly varying from the other, but which in their altered state are found to be erroneous. In such a case, if the language of the two should closely approximate, a moral conviction arises that the one has been adapted from the other, and that in attempting to give the same representation the later writer has miscarried. He may have misapprehended the meaning of the original from its antiquity, from its being written in a different language, or from the subject being above his capacity. Should his statement relate to occurrences antecedent to his own age, it is clear that he must have derived his conception of them from some source or other; and if in another work passages are found expressed in language extremely similar or nearly identical, however the two may really differ when they come to be closely examined, it is scarcely possible, in the absence of a common source of reference, to doubt that the work in which the erroneous representations occur has, to this extent at least, been derived from the other, under a mistaken notion of what the earlier one was intended to convey.

This is remarkably the case with the writer of the first book of the Maccabees. From various expressions and allusions it is evident that he had the Book of Daniel before him; and both internal and external evidences concur in establishing that the Alexandrine version was in existence when the first book of the Maccabees was composed. The instances of correspondence in the language of the two works, adduced by Dr. Hengstenberg, are too many and too close to leave a doubt that the writer of the one was indebted to, and intentionally borrowed from the other. The most obvious instance, perhaps, is the passage

in which the dying Mattathias stimulates his sons to zeal and stedfastness by the examples of the most eminent among the Jewish fathers, closing his enumeration by a reference to Daniel and his companions: "Ananias, Azarias, Misael, by believing were saved out of the flames. Daniel for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of the lions \*." The charge brought by Bertholdt, that this passage has no reference to the Book of Daniel, but is to be attributed to some oral tradition, is refuted by the fact that the several other examples here mentioned are all taken from the sacred writings. Another instance, though not so obvious, occurs in the opening of the same address of Mattathias to his sons (v. 49), where the idea, if not the language, appears to have been suggested by Dan. viii. 19. There are several other passages in which the writer of the first book of the Maccabees has adopted the sentiments, and occasionally the very words, which are to be found in the Septuagint translation of Daniel. Compare Dan. Sept. xi. 31, with 1 Macc. i. 46; Dan. Sept. xi. 25, with 1 Macc. i. 17, 18. 26; Dan. Sept. xi. 26, with 1 Macc. i. 18; Dan. Sept. xi. 28, with 1 Macc. xix. 20; Dan. Sept. xi. 36, with 1 Macc. i. 24; and Dan. Sept. xi. 31, with 1 Macc. i. 54.

Another remarkable passage is that in which the Roman people are personified as "a king of fierce countenance." Of this king Daniel writes, "He shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practise . . . and *through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper* in his hand: and he shall magnify himself in his heart: and by peace shall destroy many †." Corresponding with which are the verses in the Mac-

\* 1 Macc. ii. 59, 60.

† Dan. viii. 24, 25.

cabees which speak of the Romans as "men of great valor," and how "*by their policy and patience they had conquered* all the place (i. e. the country of Spain), though it were very far from them, and the kings also that came against them from the uttermost part of the earth, till they had discomfited them, and given them a great overthrow, so that the rest did give them tribute every year\*." These are so many direct testimonies that the writer of the first book of the Maccabees had the Alexandrine version of Daniel in his hands.

But there is one other instance of a singular character, and which is not less convincing than the others. It is one in which the writer has attempted to give the same account as Daniel, but has unconsciously been led into an historical error, from a misconception of the work before him.

The passage in Daniel forms a portion of those chapters which have been referred to as showing them to be mere history. After describing the vision of the goat and the ram with the two horns, Daniel proceeds to give the explanation vouchsafed to him: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia; and the rough goat is the king of Græcia: and [whereof, as Wintle renders it] the great horn which is between the eyes is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power†."

The better to understand the term "Greece," as here employed, it must be remembered that the inhabitants of Asia Minor were intimately connected with the expedition of Xerxes into Greece. In the reign of his father, Darius Hystaspes, occurred the revolt of

\* 1 Macc. viii. 2. 4.

† Dan. viii. 20—22.



Miletus, which extending to the whole of Ionia and Æolia, was thence termed the Ionian insurrection. This took place in the year B.C. 500, and was the origin of the war with Persia; the Greeks of Athens and Eubœa having sent over succours *into Ionia* to take part with those to whom they were allied by language and descent. The Persians thus attacked prepared to re-establish their dominion. In the year B.C. 494 they again made themselves masters of Miletus, and scourged Ionia. Darius, still further to fortify his authority in that country, resolved to carry the war into Greece itself, where, however, he was defeated on the plains of Marathon. His further prosecution of this war was for a time diverted by an insurrection in Egypt; but he subsequently renewed his preparations on a larger scale, in which he was engaged at the time of his death in the year B.C. 485.

These preparations were continued by Xerxes, whose invasion of Greece, and whose reverses at the straits of Thermopylæ, and subsequent overthrow at the battles of Plataea and Mycale in the years B.C. 480 and 479, are known to every reader of Grecian history. After the battle of Mycale the Ionians again revolted, and with the support of the Athenians maintained their ground against the Persians until Athens was taken by the Spartans; shortly after which, at the peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, Ionia was by the Lacedæmonians delivered over once more to the dominion of Persia.

The passage in Daniel refers to a still later period, looking forward to which the term rendered "Græcia" would be especially appropriate to signify those parts of Asia, which were to be colonized by the Greeks and Macedonians. Before, however, the Macedonian conquest of Persia there is, as we have seen, ground for supposing that Chaldea was not behind other nations

in giving prominence to the name of Macedonia. In any work, therefore, written in the time of the Maccabees, particularly by one living almost on the spot, it is probable, if not indeed certain, that this word, and not the more general and undefined appellation, would have been selected to point out the country of which Alexander was peculiarly the sovereign; so that instead of the rough goat being described as the king of Javan or Yavana, we might have expected him to have been termed the king of Macedonia.

After the name of this country had been borne along with the conquests of its chief, any earlier designation would have become far too vague for the purpose of denoting a particular individual, and would lose in historical exactness just in proportion to the specific character of the other title. As the author of the first book of the Maccabees lived about two centuries after Alexander's career had closed, and therefore when the name of Macedonia had become not merely familiarized, but every where impressed upon public monuments and records, and thoroughly interwoven with historical associations,—it would be too refined an hypothesis to suppose that any one writing in this age, particularly as affirmed with historical minuteness, should seek to give a false chronological color to a book like that of Daniel, by purposely selecting an indistinct title for one which would not only have been recommended by its accuracy, but which had for such a lengthened period been specially applied to the person intended to be pointed out; and should so adjust his deception, as to lose in individuality what he might hope to gain by an appearance of antiquity. While, therefore, the title to be found in Daniel is just what might have been expected in a writer of his own age, living among an eastern people, and holding no communication

with Macedonia unless through Asia Minor, its adoption in the days of the Maccabees by a writer dwelling in Judea, in close and constant intercourse with the Macedonians themselves, who were or had recently been the masters and governors of the country, would, except for the purpose of a deception the most refined, and the least likely to have suggested itself, amount to something very like an anachronism.

Important, however, as this view of it is, its chief value does not lie in this direction, but in the contrast which it affords to a corresponding passage occurring in Maccabees. The first of these books opens thus: Καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ πατάξαι Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Φιλίππου τὸν Μακεδόνα, ὃς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς Χετταίμ, καὶ ἐπάταξε τὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλέα Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα\*. One copy has πρότερος in lieu of πρότερον†. "And it happened after that Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian, who came out of the land of Chittim, had smitten Darius, king of the Persians and Medes, that he reigned in his stead, *at first over Greece*‡." The authorized English version has "the first," which can only be correct if the word in the original is to be read πρότερος, otherwise, if an adverb, it is erroneous. The preponderance of authority is in favor of πρότερον, which is supported by the majority of Greek MSS., and by all the Latin translations, which render the word "*prius*." Two of them, annexed to Jerome's version of the Septuagint, have *Et regnavit pro eo prius in Græciâ*. The Syriac version§ also shows that the word is to be read adverbially. It is rendered in Latin thus, *Ut regnaret loco ipsius, quum prius regnasset in Elda*, i. e. Hellada.

\* Jerome's and Grabe's Septuag. ed. in loco.

† Holmes' and Parson's edit. Oxon, 1827.

‡ 1 Macc. i. 1.

§ Walton's Bibl. Sacr. Polygl.

Commentators are not agreed upon the meaning of this passage. Drusius would have us consider that by the word Ἑλλάς was meant Asia generally; but whatever may have been the origin of the word *Hellas*, or the meaning to be attributed to the term *Hellenes* in very ancient times\*, when history is so blended with fable that the two cannot be separated, not only had these terms long before the age of the Maccabees been confined to Greece and its inhabitants; but the writer of the first book, in which the passage occurs, applies to the various countries and people he speaks of, the names by which they were then respectively known, as Macedonia, Persia, Babylon, Judea, Rome, &c., with corresponding appellations for the natives of each.

How inappropriate, indeed, the term *Hellas* would have been to designate Asia is shown by a remarkable passage in Herodotus, where he speaks of Οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἕλληνες, generally allowed to mean the *Hellenes* of *Hellas* in Europe, and not, as suggested by some, "those of the *Hellenes* better affected towards *Hellas* †." Again, speaking of a critical period in the history of Greece, when the combined naval forces were assembled at Artemisium, and a dispute had arisen between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians respecting the supreme command, he says, "The Athenians yielded the point to the Lacedæmonians, who had threatened to withdraw their ships from the fleet unless the lead were given to them; they, the Athenians, esteeming it of the utmost importance to ward off danger from *Hellas*, and knowing that if they quarrelled respecting the command *Hellas* would

\* Bry. Myth. iv. 183. 207.

† Herod. vii. 145. See Valck. et Scheweg. not.

be lost \*." The same writer then mentions the deliberation of the Greeks to retire from Artemisium to "the inner parts or seas of Greece,"—*ἴσω τὴν Ἑλλάδα*. So Plutarch, alluding to the same event, has the words *ἴσω τῆς Ἑλλάδος* †. Similar passages might be multiplied.

In his first book, which was designed to explain the causes of hostility between the Greeks and the Persians, Herodotus commences with an allusion to the early and extended navigation of the Phœnicians, observing that they touched, among other places, "at Argos, which at that time surpassed all other towns in the country now called Hellas," *ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἑλλάδι καλειμένῃ χώρῃ* ‡. Here the author clearly confines Hellas to Græcia Propria, and excludes from it any portion of Asia Minor. For some time, indeed, after the coasts of the latter had been colonized by the Greeks, the colonists maintained political relations with Attica and the Peloponnesus; but these ties were dissolved when the Ionians and Æolians of Asia Minor came under the power of the Lydians. When Cyrus afterwards threatened an invasion of Lydia, Cræsus, it is true, sent offerings to Delphi, and made presents to the Lacedæmonians; but these were either dictated by policy, or arose from the celebrity of the Delphic and other oracles, independently of their Grecian character §.

Among the commentaries on this passage in Maccabees we find Drusius falling into another error, and representing Philip, the father of Alexander, to have been the first king of Greece. His words are, "Cæ-

\* *εἶπον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, μέγα πεποιημένοι περιεῖναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ γρόντες εἰ στασιάσουσι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίης ὥς ἀπολέσται ἡ Ἑλλάς*.—Herod. viii. 3.

† Vit. Themist.

‡ Herod. i. 1.

§ Ibid. i. 92.

terum primus in Macedoniâ regnavit Caranus, in Græciâ ex Macedonibus Philippus Amyntæ filius, in Asiâ vero post Darium Alexander Magnus, de quo hic sermo \*." Note the inconsistency of this,—the Maccabean writer referring to events transacted, not in Greece, but in Asia. Yet although Philip was the first to make Macedonian influence to be felt in Greece, his supremacy was one which had been long known to the constitution of the country, and which, though continued to his son, Alexander the Great, was so by the election of the Greeks themselves, who after Alexander's death similarly elected others to the same post as they thought fit. Such was the case even with Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, who, though the Athenians in their extravagant adulations had previously bestowed upon both the title of kings, was yet at an assembly of the Grecian states, held in the Corinthian isthmus, chosen ἀντοκράτωρ of the Grecian forces, a proceeding unnecessary had they been actual sovereigns of the country †. It was shortly after this that Antigonus and his son were raised to the dignity of kings in their own territory of Asia Minor and Syria; but in Greece, notwithstanding the titles lavished upon them by the Athenians, they professed to re-establish the ancient laws and mode of government, and in fact restored democracy in Athens, after overturning the aristocracy which had been promoted by Cassander. This was, it is true, a mask to cover their ambitious projects; but great as was the power they exercised, particularly after the Cleomenic war, Antigonus and Demetrius were never really masters of Greece. After the fatal battle of Ipsus, in which Antigonus was slain, Demetrius, says Plutarch, "was met by the Athenian am-

\* Crit. Sacr. p. 792. Lond. 1660.

† Plut. in Demetr. 900.

bassadors with the ungrateful message, that he must not think of a retreat to Athens, as the people had passed a decree that no crowned head should be received into their city \*."

At a later period Philip, the son of Demetrius, boasted that in the possession of Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Eubœa, and Corinth in Achaia, he had "the shackles of Greece" in his hands. But although this monarch exerted a greater sway over the country than had been exercised by any of his predecessors, there was no change in the outward form of the Grecian constitution; the states of Greece continued to preserve their separate, and ostensibly independent governments; and the grandson of Antigonus was acknowledged to be king of Macedonia alone. The very intimation that he had "the shackles of Greece in his hands," shows clearly that he did not assert a claim to be the absolute, recognized sovereign of Greece. It is the language of one who considered himself to be possessed of more real power than was due to his nominal position.

Grotius, in commenting on the same passage, apparently errs in a different direction. He bids us understand by 'Ελλάς, not Asia generally, of which Alexander really made himself lord, but Syria and Egypt, which were parts only of the vast territory of which he was the recognized sovereign. This he does on the alleged ground that there was at the time a word in Hebrew which comprehended these two countries. Even if this were so, it would not account for the use of words in the Greek denoting, not Syria and Egypt, but Hellas or Græcia Propria, particularly if, as forcibly contended by Professor Hengstenberg, the books of the Maccabees were not originally written

\* Plut. Vit. Demetr.

in Hebrew, but as we now have them, in Greek. This explanation therefore is inadmissible.

Michaelis and Professor Hengstenberg, though essentially differing from each other in their general interpretation, both understand the word Ἑλλάς in its proper sense, and confine it to Greece. The view, however, taken of the passage by Hengstenberg (who stumbles upon the truth without perceiving it) is a very strange one. He says, "According to this the author thought, probably misled by a wrong apprehension of Daniel (xi. 2), that Darius had ruled over Greece \*."

The same idea apparently occurred to Drusius, but was by him rejected, since he observes, "Cum præcedat ἀντ' αὐτοῦ *pro eo*, et certum sit Darium hunc nunquam in Græciâ regnasse." Hence it is that he draws the deduction that by Græcia was meant Asia †. The language can scarcely be understood as here suggested by Hengstenberg. The verb ἐβασίλευσε, which refers to Alexander, governs both the ἀντ' αὐτοῦ and also the πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα; and the latter words could not apply to Darius without some others being introduced to connect them with αὐτοῦ, or at least without changing the adverb πρότερον into an accusative adjective, and altering its position in the sentence. That which Hengstenberg terms the harsh interpretation of Michaelis seems to be the correct one: "He ruled in his place, *having previously reigned* over Greece." The literal translation given by Hengstenberg, "He ruled in his stead *at first* over Greece," conveys the same meaning, especially if a comma pause be introduced in the middle. This accords still more closely with the Syriac version, which runs, as we have seen, "Ut regnaret loco ipsius, quum prius regnasset in Elda."

\* Hengst., by Pratten, 260.

† Drus. ut sup.



In a parallel passage, the writer evidently intending to express the same idea, though his language is varied, says Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ [τοῦ] Φιλίππου Βασιλεὺς ὁ Μακεδῶν, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι [vel, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι πρῶτος]\*. In the received version this is rendered, "Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian king who reigned first among the Grecians †."

Various have been the interpretations of this passage, all proceeding on its admitted difficulty. Before proceeding to show how the words ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι are to be understood, it will be interesting to observe how this difficulty has been felt by some, and attempted to be removed by others. The objections, which have been taken and met by some of the German commentators, are thus summed up by Dr. (now Cardinal) Wiseman in his defence of the book wherein the passage occurs: "In the first book of Maccabees, vi. 2, Alexander the Great is introduced with this description, ὃς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι, 'who first was king among the Greeks.' This it has been alleged is false, inasmuch as Alexander had several predecessors in Macedon, who certainly were kings and reigned among the Greeks. It may be answered, indeed, that he was the first among them who founded an empire bearing their name; but the solution given by Fröhlich is far more satisfactory. For it is extraordinary that whatever may have been the power of other monarchs before him, not one ever took the title of Βασιλεὺς, or king, upon his coins before him. 'Certainly,' says Fröhlich, 'it is not without importance that no medal in Macedon anterior to Alexander should bear the title of king. They have barely the

\* Edit. Jerome, Holmes and Parsons, and Grabe.

† 1 Macc. vi. 2.

names of the monarchs, as Amyntas, Archélaus, Perdiccas, Philip; and some coins have simply Alexander \*.' Gottlieb Wernsdorf acknowledges that this solution is correct. 'This,' he says, 'is right; I could hardly suppose that any doubt would exist on this point. For Jewish historians under the name of Greeks (τῶν Ἑλλήνων) always understand the Macedonians, and by *kingdom* the Macedonian empire, or more peculiarly that of the Seleucidæ.' He, however, charges Fröhlich with a double fraud; first, in attributing to Philip Aridæus a medal of Philip Amyntor, given by Spanheim, on which the title of king occurs; secondly, in overlooking a medal of Argæus: 'Dicitur quoque extare numus Argæi, regis antiquissimi cum epigraphe—Ἀργαίου Βασιλέως †.' To these objections the anonymous defender of Fröhlich replies, that the supposed Amyntor of Spanheim is manifestly from the style of art a coin of a Gallo-Grecian king, and that the Argæus of Tollerius no one had ever seen, or could pretend to trace. He assures us, also, that he and Fröhlich had carefully examined every medal in the imperial and other cabinets, and had never found the title upon any prior to Alexander ‡."

To read these laborious efforts of really learned men, and find them arrive at no better solution of this puzzling passage of Maccabees than that Alexander is styled "the first king," simply because he

\* "Sane non de nihilo est, veterum qui ante Alexandrum fuissent Macedoniæ regum certa numismata Βασιλεὺς titulum non præ se ferre; sola comparent regum nomina: Ἀμύντα vel Ἀμύντον, Ἀρχελάον, Φιλίππου, et quædam numismata Ἀλεξάνδρου legimus: alia plura Βασιλεὺς Ἀλεξάνδρου."—Fröhlich, 81.

† Commentatio, s. xxii. 39.

‡ Oper. cit. p. 170.

Wiseman's Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion, delivered at Rome, ii. 120—122. Publ. 1836.

may have been the first in Macedonia to have had the word *Βασιλεὺς* impressed on his coinage in addition to his name, forcibly brings to mind Horace's well-known line beginning "Parturiunt montes," the conclusion of which is left to the reader.

Most translators and commentators are disposed to understand the words *ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι* as referring to a country, rather than to a people. Thus in some of the Latin translations the words are, "Qui primus regnavit in Græciâ." Drusius gives both renderings, subjoining to the words "in Græciâ"—"quomodo, Int. antiquus. Sic dicimus in Batavis pro in Bataviâ, in Britannis pro in Britanniâ. Cæterum *primus Græcorum* regnavit non simpliciter, sed pro Dario in Asiâ Syriâque\*." Grotius unhesitatingly adopts the translation, "Qui regnavit primus in Græciâ," adding his previous gloss, i. e. "Syriâ et Ægypto, post Persas primus;" where the rendering appears to be correct, but the interpretation erroneous. With respect to the former, a doubt might have existed, but for the corresponding verse in the first chapter; but taken in connexion with that, there can be no question that it was to the country the writer designed to allude, and not to the people.

The inquiry, then, being confined to the country which was intended to be pointed out, a clue is equally supplied with respect to this. That the Maccabean writer is here referring to Hellas, or Græcia Propria, and not to the kingdom of the Greeks established in Asia, is manifest from two circumstances. The one is that he states Alexander to have reigned twelve years, which, correct as it is with reference to his sway over Macedonia itself, would not be accurate as regards his supremacy in Asia; since, whether his

\* Crit. Sacr. v. 7927. 7975—7980.

reign over that country be dated from the battle of Issus, or that of Arbela, or from the death of Darius, it could not be reckoned to commence until three years, taking the earliest of these events, or until six years, taking the latest of them, after the time when he ascended the Macedonian throne, which would reduce the length of his reign in Asia by a proportionate number of years.

The other circumstance is, that a few verses lower down in the first chapter the Maccabean writer speaks of this Asiatic kingdom of the Greeks in such a manner as to show, that he did not comprehend Alexander in its line of sovereigns. Reckoning the beginning of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes to have occurred in its 137th year, he must have treated such Asiatic kingdom as commencing, not with Alexander the Great, but with Seleucus Nicanor, surnamed Nicator, whose reign in Syria did not commence, in point of computation, until upwards of ten years after Alexander had ceased to live, and in reality began some years later still. The mere exclusion of the period during which the Macedonian hero himself governed would have been no indication of this, since "the death of Alexander is one of the great epochs from which the Greek historians count their years. Other kings have made the beginning of their reigns an epoch in history; but, in the case of Alexander, his death seemed to his countrymen more important than his conquests \*."

Not only however is that excluded, but a further period likewise; and therefore the word *πρωτος*, and the expressions in connexion with it, must indicate his reign over some other country than Asia and Syria, according to the interpretation of Drusius, or

\* Sharpe's Egypt, i. 177.

than Syria and Egypt, according to that of Grotius. To the latter particularly this objection occurs, that the æra of the Ptolemies dates six years later than that of the Selencidæ, which shows that the writer had not the latter country in view; since he gives the date of the Seleucidæan dynasty, which would be inapplicable to that of the Ptolemaic.

Here then the Maccabean writer, whose mistakes in point of history and geography are numerous \*, has fallen into an historical error; since Alexander is represented to have been, what he never was in reality, *Βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, still less as successor to Darius. Are there any means of ascertaining how it was that the writer was misled? We have, I think, the solution before us in the Book of Daniel, where the author says that "the rough goat is the king of Grecia (i. e. Javan or Yavana), and the great horn that is between his eyes is *the first king*," viii. 21. While the Alexandrian version is merely ambiguous, the English version is calculated to convey as erroneous an impression as the passage in the Maccabees.

Properly rendered, however, nothing can be more in accordance with history, or more graphic in expression, than this verse of Daniel. Rightly understood it runs thus, "And the rough goat is the king of Yavana, and the great, or notable, horn that is between his eyes is the first king." In other words, "The rough goat is the king of the Macedonian empire in Asia, of which he is the head or first king, i. e. the founder (*ὁ κτιστὴς*) of a new dynasty in this quarter of the globe; and especially notable for his exploits, winning to himself the distinguished title of Great." It is impossible that the illustrious son of Philip of Macedon, who himself was cut off by the

\* Hengst. 268, 269.

hand of an assassin ere he could set foot in Asia, could be more appropriately described \*. At the same time, from the Aramean word signifying Javan or Yavana being one which was capable of being extended so as to embrace Western Greece, (though it never could have been confined to Greece, nor applied to that country alone, and primarily indicated Asia Minor and the parts adjacent subject to Macedonian rule,) the language of Daniel was susceptible of misapprehension. In the Alexandrine version of the Book of Daniel, which notoriously has more errors of translation than any other part of the Septuagint, the word Ἰ, Javan or Yavana, is rendered, not as a noun of place, but as indicating a people. It runs thus, ὁ τράγος τῶν αἰγῶν, Βασιλεὺς Ἑλληνῶν. And then of "the great horn between his eyes," αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ πρῶτος †. Other editions have, καὶ ὁ τράγος τῶν αἰγῶν, βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἑλληνῶν ἐστι. And then, αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ πρῶτος. "The rough goat (literally, the he-goat of the goats) is the king of the Hellenes; the great horn that is between his eyes, he is the first king." Here is a decided deviation from the original. This is probably to be accounted for by the difficulty of finding a word in Greek, strictly answering to the Hebrew of Javan or Yavana; and as the translator knew better than to render it by Hellas, he sought to avoid the difficulty in a change of idiom, by substituting a generic name of the people, of whom the country referred to was but the representative, and which, however ambiguous, and even improper, should not be altogether erroneous.

For the use of this, authority was furnished by the early Greek appellatives, and later by Ptolemy's

\* See the passage already quoted from Wintle's Notes on Dan. p. 126.

† Dan. viii. 21. Edit. Theodoret, Theodotion.

Canon. Still this was in those days a rare application of it, and of so ambiguous a character, that the generality of the expression had to be restricted by a superadded qualification, express or implied. Thus, in giving the line of kings which came of a Grecian stock in Egypt, the writer finds it necessary to graft the country into his title, which he gives as Ἑλληνῶν Βασιλέων ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. Without the addition of the words "in Egypt" the title would have been unintelligible by itself; and although, in the case of Syria and Asia, a similar addition does not occur, this is only because it was capable of being understood from the subject or context, and was on the face of it applicable to these countries.

In the Greek translation of Daniel little or no aid is supplied, and its unassisted ambiguity is therefore an essential defect. There can be little doubt that it was this source which misled the writer of the first book of the Maccabees, who plunges at once into the error, which the Septuagint translator, though by no means attaining perfect accuracy, had by a change of idiom studiously avoided. In representing Alexander to have reigned over Hellas or Græcia Propria, more particularly as the successor of Darius, if such be the meaning, it is clear that he has committed a great historical blunder; but his language approaches so nearly to that of Daniel, much as they differ when carefully scrutinized, that it is not difficult to discover how the error arose. "Even Bleek (p. 181) allows that the author used not only the original of our book (Daniel), at that time commonly known and acknowledged among the Jews, but probably also a Greek translation of it\*." The writer evidently intended to give the same account as Daniel had done,

\* Hengst. by Pratt, 176.

whose language he almost adopts; but either from not rightly understanding the original, or from being misled by the Alexandrine version, his representation in reality differs most materially: and that which is perfectly accurate and consistent with history in the one, is found to clash with every historical record in the other. The steps in this error can be distinctly traced. It originated, as we have seen, in a change of idiom. From the *Βασιλεὺς τῶν Ἑλληνῶν αὐτὸς ὁ πρῶτος* to the *ὃς ἐβασίλευσε πρῶτος ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι* the gradation is but slight; while from the *ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι* in one, and that no uncommon signification of the words, to the *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα*, it is scarcely perceptible.

What, then, is the legitimate deduction from these premises? Why, that at the time when the first book of the Maccabees was composed, the book of Daniel was already in existence; and further, that it was not only in existence, but was at this period an ancient book,—so ancient as to contain words and expressions, which were readily susceptible of misapprehension. The blunder, therefore, of the Maccabean writer becomes, in addition to the other evidences, an important testimony to the age and genuineness of the prophet's writings. Thus criticism, far from proving, as is affirmed, the non-authenticity of a great part of Daniel, throws its weight into the opposite scale. It shows the folly of those who, even in the case of one so learned and generally pious as Dr. Arnold, would be wise "above that which is written" in the imperishable revelation, which the Almighty in His beneficent providence has vouchsafed to mankind.



## CHAPTER III.

## TESTIMONY OF JOSEPHUS.

To this concurrence of evidence, *external* and *internal*, must be added the *direct testimony* of Josephus. Had the Book of Daniel been composed in or after the Maccabean æra, this writer could scarcely have failed to entertain at least a suspicion respecting its genuineness. Yet, so far from this being the case, he frequently refers to the antiquity of Daniel's prophecies, and even specifies the exact date of some of them. Speaking of the desolation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes, he says, "And this desolation came to pass according to the prophecy of Daniel, which was given 408 years before; for he declared that the Macedonians would dissolve that worship [for a time] \*." In another place, after quoting the passages having reference to this event, he remarks, "And, indeed, it so came to pass, that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes, according to Daniel's vision, *and what he wrote many years before they came to pass*. In the very same manner Daniel also wrote concerning the Roman government, and that our country should be made desolate by them. All these things did this man leave in writing, as God had showed them to him, insomuch that such as read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, would wonder at the honor wherewith God honored Daniel †."

Besides these general testimonies to the antiquity of the Book of Daniel, Josephus enters into particulars. It was the fate of Tyre to undergo a third siege from

\* Antiq. xii. 7, s. 6.

† Ibid. x. 11, s. 7.

the Macedonians, no less famous than the two former by the Assyrians and Babylonians. Before, however, this was entered upon, Alexander the Great thought it prudent to secure a footing on the coast by first attacking the city of Sidon. In his way thither he had taken Damascus, and was for a considerable period hovering upon the borders of Judea. After the fall of Tyre his army passed on to the siege of Gaza, a city of Philistia, but then under the dominion of the Persians. Thus traversing the land of Judea, he would scarcely have remained so long in the neighbourhood, and then have passed so near to it, without desiring to visit, if not to capture, a city so renowned as Jerusalem.

The relation of Josephus is this,—While Alexander was preparing to press the siege of Tyre, where his army lay encamped no less than seven months, he sent ambassadors to Jerusalem with an epistle to the high priest, desiring that he would enter into an alliance with himself instead of Darius, and furnish auxiliaries to the besieging army. To this the high priest replied, that he had taken an oath not to bear arms against Darius, which he could not violate during that monarch's life. The reply is characteristic of the Jewish people, who had great regard to the sanctity of an oath. A remarkable instance of this occurs in their earlier history, one of their best monarchs having lost his life apparently through a strict adherence to a defensive alliance cemented by a solemn obligation \*. The reply sent to Alexander was cal-

\* Josiah, there can be little doubt, had made a treaty of this kind with the king of Babylon; and considered himself so bound by it, that when Pharaoh-Necho intimated his intention of passing along the outskirts of Judea in order to reach the point of attack, which was Carchemish, by the Euphrates, supposed to be the Circesium of Greek and Roman geography, the Jewish monarch

culated to incense him against the Jewish nation, and he accordingly threatened an expedition against Jerusalem. His anger must have been considerably appeased by subsequent intelligence, for when he approached the city it seems scarcely to have been in a hostile spirit or with any large force. The high priest, who headed the procession which met him at a short distance from the city, was treated by him with the greatest respect. Alexander, approaching alone, saluted the high priest; and when his friend Parmenio sought for an explanation, observed that in a dream in Macedonia he had seen a person habited like the high priest, who had promised him success in his Persian expedition. Upon his entry into Jerusalem he was shown the prophecies in Daniel relating to himself, with which he was much gratified, and went up to sacrifice in the temple, after which he conferred important benefits upon the Jews.

Such is the account given by Josephus, which has been the subject of much controversy. Its correctness is impugned, chiefly on the ground that the circumstances are not mentioned by profane writers, and that, in addition to their silence on the subject, all are agreed that Alexander after quitting Gaza reached Pelusium, the most easterly town of Egypt, in the short space of seven days\*; thus allowing, it is said, no time for his visit to Jerusalem, which is by Josephus placed after the fall of Gaza. But although the details given by Josephus may not be met with in other historians, there is quite sufficient to support the general outline. While his army was delayed

as a faithful ally went forth with an army to arrest the threatened invasion of Babylonia, and engaging the Egyptians in the plains of Megiddo, perished of the wounds which he there received. 2 Chron. xxxv. 20—24.

\* Arr. iii. 10.

before Tyre from the want of machines and vessels of war, which were in course of construction, Alexander with a part of his forces made an expedition into Arabia, which, partly by force and partly by policy, he succeeded in bringing into submission. This expedition occupied but eleven days, so that two or three at the most would have sufficed for his journey to and from Jerusalem. Although Josephus says that Alexander went thither from Gaza, he might have been mistaken on this point, which was of no moment to his general relation. There is reason, indeed, to suppose that he was, since, according to Eusebius, Alexander after the siege of Tyre proceeded at once to Jerusalem; and as this city was nearer to him than Gaza, the natural and prudent course would have been to go there first, instead of leaving a hostile or dubiously disposed city in his rear, and afterwards fatiguing his army by a backward march.

The conduct of Alexander at Gaza is one of those stains upon his varied character, which are aptly represented by the spots upon the leopard's skin, under the figure of which animal he is depicted in Daniel. None were of deeper dye than his treatment of Gaza's warlike defenders and their heroic commander. Exasperated at the stubborn resistance which he met with, he caused no less than 10,000 men to be put to the sword, and the rest, with the women and children, to be sold into slavery. The noble Betis, disdaining an abject obedience, approached with a firm and manly step, and to the insolent menaces of the conqueror, in whose power he was, preserved a haughty silence. This so exasperated the temper of Alexander, that his anger rose to the highest pitch of fury\*; and he broke out into the unmanly threat that "he would

\* "Ira deinde venit in rabiem."—Q. Curt.

conquer that obstinate silence, and would force groans from him (Betis) if he could draw nothing else." He then ordered his captive to be fastened to a chariot, with ropes passed through holes drilled in his heels, and dragged round the city till life was extinct. Thus perished this magnanimous eunuch, the real hero of Gaza, leaving to Alexander the despicable boast of having imitated the Grecian warrior, from whom he claimed descent, in that most degraded act of his life, when Achilles dragged the dead body of Hector round the walls of Troy.

The siege of Gaza was protracted for a period of two months; and after its capture Alexander remained a sufficient time to settle the affairs of the country\*. How long this may have been is unknown; but it is manifest that either during the siege, or in the interval which followed, there was ample time and opportunity for Alexander's visit to Jerusalem, without trenching upon the seven days which are said to have intervened between the period of his *leaving* Gaza for Egypt and *arriving* at Pelusium. That he passed through Judea is certain. This is affirmed by every historian who adverts to these events; nor could he otherwise have reached Gaza from Tyre and Sidon, without having recourse to a dangerous and most circuitous route. Not only did he pass through the land,—he further induced its towns to acknowledge his authority. According to Arrian, "he had already brought to submission the other towns of Syria, called by the name of Palestine†." This passage is pregnant with events, although they are glanced at thus slightly. That Jerusalem was one of the places referred to in these

\* Diod. Sic. xvii. 588.

† Arr. ii. 25, p. 101. Edit. Gronov.

general terms cannot reasonably be doubted. The statement in substance agrees with what Josephus elsewhere affirms, that upon quitting Jerusalem Alexander led his army to the neighbouring cities, whose inhabitants gladly received him \*. From the mode in which the event is spoken of by Arrian, it may be inferred that the object was accomplished in a manner which was not thought worthy of particular notice by the historian of Alexander's exploits. Had there been a siege, such as that of Tyre, of Sidon, or of Gaza, it would doubtless have been noted by him. But however much the peaceable entry of Alexander into Jerusalem, and his visit to the temple may have concerned the Jewish nation, it had little to interest those for whom Arrian was writing, namely, the Roman people. Although Jerusalem itself was famous for its temple, Judea was not a province that was held in high estimation by the Romans. It is not surprising, therefore, that Arrian should content himself with this summary sketch, when he had nothing exciting or remarkable to relate in point of military incident, or having an important bearing upon the history of the nations, who were chiefly affected by the conquests of Alexander.

Confirmatory evidence is furnished by other authors. Thus Hecataeus of Abdera gives a particular description of Jerusalem and the temple, as if he had himself been there. He then mentions the fact that Jewish auxiliaries accompanied Alexander in his march; after which he proceeds to relate a circumstance of which, being personally present with the army, he was himself an eye-witness. It is remarkable for the boldness of one of the Jewish horsemen, by whom the army was being conducted. This man, Mosollam by

\* Antiq. xi. 8, s. 6.

name, upon seeing an augur observing a bird, and ascertaining that he was watching its motion with a view to obtain an intimation respecting the line of march, drew his bow, and being the most skilful archer in the army, shot the bird dead. Though known to be a man of the greatest courage and strength of body, he was immediately assailed by threats and imprecations, to which with great coolness he replied, "Why are you so mad as to take this unhappy bird into your hands? for how can this bird give us any true information concerning our march, who could not foresee how to save himself? for had he been able to foreknow what is future he would not have come to this place, but would have been afraid lest Mosollam the Jew would shoot at and kill him \*." But however undaunted this Jewish warrior may have been, he would scarcely have ventured thus to outrage the religious feelings of the great majority of those around him, had he not felt that he had a friend in Alexander.

Pliny incidentally alludes to Alexander's wars in Jewry when speaking of the balsam-tree, which grew only in Judea †. A stronger corroboration occurs in a passage of Justin, where Alexander's progress throughout Syria is spoken of in these terms: "He then advanced into Syria, where he was met by many Eastern princes wearing the mitre or sacred head-dress ‡." The younger Vossius considered that Justin here had regard to that memorable history which Josephus relates concerning Jaddua, the high priest of the Jews. This commentator, indeed, is not one upon whose judgment any great reliance can be placed; but the idea is approved and adopted by a

\* Josephus, in Apion. i. 22. † Plin. Nat. Hist. xii. 25.

‡ "Tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvius cum infulis multos Orientis reges habent."—xi. 10, s. 6. Ed. Græv.

prelate of later times, eminent for his piety and learning\*.

The only remaining portion of Josephus's narrative which has to be accounted for is his statement, that Alexander went up and offered sacrifice in the Jewish temple. This is consistent with other parts of the narrative, and also with Alexander's conduct on other occasions. At Tyre the object of his worship was Hercules. At Memphis he went in state to the Temple of Apis, and sacrificed to the sacred bull, after the custom of the native kings†. He also traversed that part of the Libyan desert known as the oasis of Ammon for the express purpose of offering sacrifice in the celebrated Temple of Amun-Ra‡. In like manner at Babylon he offered sacrifice to Belus. The circumstance therefore mentioned by Josephus, instead of militating against the truth of his narrative, strongly supports it. The assumption that Alexander must, if Josephus's account be correct, have intended to worship the one true God, is evidently gratuitous. There is no more reason to suppose that he paid any greater reverence to the God of the Jews, than he did to the heathen deities at whose shrines he successively sacrificed.

The more we look into his character and actions, the closer is the affinity which appears between this alleged act of Alexander, and the general tenor of his conduct. His whole history demonstrates that he was eager to lay hold of any thing which could exalt his character, exhibit him to the world as a divine or divinely protected personage, and assure him of success in his hazardous enterprises. The passage in Daniel was of this character, and would therefore be

\* Bp. Newt. on the Proph. i. 809.

† Arr. iii.

‡ Arr. iii. 2. Q. Curt. iv. See Sharpe's Egypt, i. 168.



likely to be shown to him; and, if pointed out, would be sure to engage his attention and propitiate his favor. Accordingly this is the effect which it is represented to have produced. Extraordinary privileges were in consequence conferred upon the Jews. He allowed them the free exercise of their religion, exempted their land from tribute every seventh or sabbatical year; and upon the revolt of the Samaritans, and their murder of the governor who had been set over them, granted their territory to the Jews, with the same exemptions and privileges which had previously been conferred on the inhabitants of Judea. In addition to this he bestowed on the Jews, who settled at Alexandria, immunities and benefits equal to those of the Macedonians themselves\*. Taken in connexion with the relation of Josephus, all this is readily to be accounted for; but is incomprehensible on any other hypothesis. Had the privileges been offered to the Jews of Alexandria alone, it might be inferred that they were so as an inducement to them to settle there; but by granting them to those who dwelt in Judea, and even giving to these the region of Samaria, it is evident that such was not the object. These circumstances would rather have induced them to remain in their own land. So Josephus, though with a different view, observes that "Alexander did not draw some of our nation to Alexandria, because he wanted inhabitants for this city, on whose building he had bestowed so much pains; but this was given to our people as a reward, because he had upon a careful trial found them all to be men of virtue and fidelity to him." "As Hecatæus of Abdera says concerning us, 'Alexander honored our nation to such a degree, that for the probity and fidelity which the Jews had

\* Joseph. Antiq. xi. 3, s. 5, 6. Contr. Apion. ii. 4.

exhibited toward him, he permitted them to hold the country of Samaria free from tribute \*.”

There are two other circumstances of some weight. One of Alexander's generals and favorite companions was Ptolemy, son of Lagus. He probably accompanied Alexander to Jerusalem, and was present when sacrifice was then offered up in the temple. Now this same Ptolemy, when subsequently on the throne of Egypt, gained Jerusalem without opposition, because he came to the city on the Sabbath, on the pretext of offering sacrifice †. Thus pretending to follow in the steps of Alexander, it was natural enough for the Jews to suppose that he came with the like friendly intentions, and would not take advantage of his admission within the city.

The other circumstance is that Ptolemy Euergetes, at a still later period, acted as Alexander the Great is said to have done. On his return from the expedition which he made into Asia for the purpose first of rescuing his sister Berenice, and then of avenging her death at the hands of Laodice, Ptolemy passed through Jerusalem, and there offered large sacrifices to the God of Jerusalem for the victories which he had obtained. In this he probably intended to imitate the conduct of Alexander, the founder of the Macedonian sovereignty, and may like him have been shown the prophecies of Daniel ‡.

The statements of Josephus are thus supported by such corroborative circumstances, as to lead to the conclusion that they must have been derived from an authentic source.

\* Contr. Apion.

† Joseph. Antiq. xii. 11.

‡ Joseph. cont. Ap. ii. Roll. Anc. Hist. vii. c. 3, s. 1.

## BOOK IV.

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### CHRONOLOGY OF DANIEL.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### THE TERMINUS $\lambda$ QUO OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

THE figurative emblems which so abound in the Book of Daniel, and which furnish such strong evidence of its authenticity, terminate with the eighth chapter.

The chronological periods of the succeeding chapter are no less striking and conclusive. The subject of it is the celebrated prophecy of the seventy weeks, which has been so fruitful a source of controversy. Professor Moses Stuart of America observes, that "it would require a volume of considerable magnitude even to give a history of the ever varying and contradictory opinions of critics respecting this *locus vexatissimus*; and perhaps a still larger one to establish an exegesis which would stand \*."

The words of Daniel are, "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.

\* Hints, &c. p. 104.

Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment [an edict, Wintle] to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times. And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself [marg. and shall have nothing]: and the people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary; and the end thereof shall be with a flood, and unto the end of the war desolations are determined. And he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week: and in the midst of the week \* he shall cause the sacrifice and oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation, and that determined shall be poured upon the desolate †."

The doubts which have been entertained respecting the commencement of this period have chiefly arisen from two causes. One has been the fact that several decrees or proclamations relating to the temple, or city of Jerusalem, or to the people of Israel, were issued by different kings of Persia; the first by Cyrus, the second by Darius Hystaspis, and the two last by Artaxerxes. The other has been the uncertainty which attaches to the duration of the reign of Xerxes, and the beginning of that of Artaxerxes Longimanus, his third son.

As respects the first, it is clear that the prophecy had reference to the building or restoration of Jerusalem as a fortified or fenced city. Not only is the prophecy of Jeremiah concerning the seventy years' desolation of Jerusalem, as a city, introduced in the

\* *Ἐν τῇ ἡμίσει ἐβδόμαδος*, Sept.

† Dan. ix. 24—27.

second verse, but its streets and its walls [*ditches or trenches*, Gesen.] are specified; showing that Daniel is speaking of the entire city, including its fortifications, and not a part of it only, however important and sacred that may have been.

### § I. DECREE OF CYRUS.

The proclamation of Cyrus was expressly confined to the rebuilding of the *temple*: "Thus saith Cyrus king of Persia, The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him an house at Jerusalem, which is in Judah \*." The terms the "*house of the Lord*," or the "*temple at Jerusalem*," or some equivalent expression, are repeated by Ezra in connexion with this decree at least thirty times, without in a single instance mention being made of Jerusalem itself, still less of its walls or fortifications. Notwithstanding this marked allusion to the former, and silence respecting the latter, it has been maintained that the proclamation of Cyrus must have extended to the city generally, on the ground that the Jews are afterwards upbraided with dwelling "in cieled houses †;" and that in Isaiah is written, "That saith of Cyrus, He is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure: even saying to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be built, and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid ‡." The latter part of this verse, however, is explained by the twenty-sixth verse, where we read, "that saith to Jerusalem, Thou shalt be inhabited, and to the cities of Judah, Ye shall be built, and I will raise up the decayed places thereof." As these words are manifestly a prophetic declaration of the Divine will, so the word "*saying*" and those which

\* Ezra i. 2.

† Hag. i. 4.

‡ Isa. xlv. 28.

follow (ver. 28) are not to be understood as putting words into the mouth of Cyrus, but as equally predicting what was divinely ordained, although Cyrus was to be an instrument in partially fulfilling this. Even if these expressions proceeded from Cyrus, still as no reference is made in them to the fortifications of the city, which are so prominently noticed by Daniel, his proclamation could not be the edict alluded to.

In another passage, supposed to refer to Cyrus, it is said, "I have raised him up in righteousness, and I will direct all his ways: he shall build my city, and he shall let go my captives, not for price nor reward \*." Now it is clear that during this reign Jerusalem was rebuilt to a very limited extent. Dean Prideaux, though with another view, suggests that the licence to rebuild the house of God may have implied a licence to rebuild Jerusalem also. But no such licence was needed, either with regard to the city or the temple. The Jews were not previously prohibited from erecting or repairing buildings for mere habitation, and probably would have met with no obstruction in so doing. That for which they required permission was to leave the country of their captivity; and when Cyrus made a highway for their return to their own land, he unquestionably gave the first impulse to the rebuilding of the city. The very circumstance of "letting go the captives" led, as a natural consequence, to their providing themselves with habitations of some kind when they reached Judea. This liberation was accompanied by a royal proclamation commanding or inviting assistance for the late captive race in rebuilding their temple; not, however, by way of licence, but as a work desired by the king himself, who had been divinely commissioned

\* Isa. xlv. 13.

for the purpose. It was only after they had made some progress with the work of reconstructing their temple, and when another king ruled over the Persian empire, that they met with any serious interruption.

The origin of this began, indeed, in the reign of Cyrus himself, and it is well to attend to its cause. When the Samaritans heard that the building of the temple was commenced, they proposed to join in the work. This the Jews strenuously resisted; which created a bitter animosity between them, and induced the Samaritans to offer every opposition to the progress of the undertaking. They hired counsellors at the court of Cyrus, and his successors Cambyses and Smerdis, who is styled Artaxerxes by Ezra, and so persevered in their hostility, that the Jews relaxed in their efforts for the restoration of the temple, and turned their attention to the construction of private dwellings for themselves. Hence the reproach of the prophet Haggai in the subsequent reign of Darius Hystaspis. But that such structures could not have been carried to any great extent is evident from the fact, that some seventy or eighty years later, when Nehemiah was engaged upon his great work of fortifying Jerusalem, he expressly states that though "the city was large and great, the people were few therein, and the houses were not builded \*."

From this brief history it appears that "no commandment" was ever issued by Cyrus "to restore and to build Jerusalem." The erection of some houses by the Jews followed, as a matter of course, upon their return to their own city. But an edict for the purpose never seems to have entered into the minds of either prince or people; and was not needed until the opposition offered to the Jews became so serious as to make some fortifications necessary.

\* Neh. vii. 4.

## § II. DECREE OF DARIUS HYSTASPIS.

The decree of Darius Hystaspis was expressly founded on that of Cyrus, and was as distinctly confined to "the house of God at Jerusalem\*." The one throws light upon the other, and the reproach of the prophet Haggai on both. So when the Samaritans in a letter to Smerdis represented the Jews as building "the rebellious and bad city," and as having "set up the walls thereof, and joined the foundations," we find that the temple was alluded to from the result: "Then ceased the work of the house of God, which is at Jerusalem†." A favorable opportunity now presented itself for the prosecution of the work, by the accession of a prince who was more friendly disposed than his predecessor. This furnishes another of those undesigned coincidences meeting us at every turn in Holy Scripture. No reason is assigned why the prophet Haggai should have been sent to the Hebrews at this particular period; yet from other sources we find that his mission to them took place just at that juncture of circumstances when his exhortations were calculated to be most effectual. The hostile Smerdis was no more; and the prince who now sat on the throne of Persia was not disposed to abet the machinations of their enemies. Yet we are left to gather this as we best may. All that we are told is, that it was in the second year of Darius this prophet was commissioned to convey "the word of the Lord unto the governors of Judah and the high priest‡." During the successive reigns of Cyrus, Cambyzes, Smerdis, Darius Hystaspis, and Xerxes, the city continued open and defenceless, without ditch or rampart of any kind§.

\* Ezra vi. 3. 8.

† Ibid. iv. 12. 24.

‡ Hag. i. 1. Ezra v. 1.

§ Hengst. Christol. ii. 381.



It appears, then, that although these two royal edicts were issued, they were never acted upon to any extent; and became in fact dead letters, when thus "the work of the house of God ceased at Jerusalem."

§ III. FIRST DECREE OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.

The third decree appeared in the shape of an epistle or commission to Ezra the scribe from Artaxerxes Longimanus, in the seventh year of his reign. This renewed to the Israelites who had remained in the land of Babylon or elsewhere free permission to go up to Jerusalem, and then proceeded to give directions concerning the offerings of the king and his counsellors for the temple. It further enjoined his subjects to render the utmost assistance to Ezra in collecting whatever he might require for the sanctuary, to beautify which was the main object of the royal mandate\*. This edict, then, as well as that of Darius Hystaspis, treated of the temple only. As the latter was professedly founded on that of Cyrus, for which search was made among the records of the kingdom†, so this first edict of Artaxerxes Longimanus appears likewise to have been framed from the same model. They are thus all three confirmatory the one of the other, and have severally a common object. From the last of them three points are clear,—1, that the invitation given by Cyrus to the Israelites to return to their own land and rebuild the temple had been but partially accepted or complied with; 2, that considerable numbers of Jews still remained in Babylonia; and 3, that a further decree was required to effectuate the object, which the two former decrees had designed, but had failed to accomplish. Cyrus, indeed, was the first to give an impulse

\* Ezra vii. 2—27.

† Ibid. vi. 1—12.

to these great designs; but it remained for a succeeding monarch, not merely to revive the drooping ardor of the Jewish people in relation to the temple, but to grant them permission, and supply them with the means of rebuilding and fortifying their city. In the joy and enthusiasm which they must have felt on re-beholding their beloved Jerusalem, and their gratitude to the Almighty for their deliverance from captivity, their first aspirations and efforts would naturally be directed to the reconstruction of the temple; nor would they require fortifications for their city until some progress had been made towards this object. Accordingly the decrees or proclamations of Cyrus, of Darius, and the first of Artaxerxes accord with this earlier state of feelings and circumstances.

§ IV. SECOND DECREE OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.

The last edict to be noticed was that issued by Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign. This, unlike the former proclamations or decrees, related to the city of Jerusalem, and appears to have had no reference to the temple. It had been represented to Nehemiah that "the remnant of the captivity" then at Jerusalem were "in great affliction and reproach," because "the *wall* of Jerusalem was broken down, and the *gates* thereof were burned with fire\*." These, without the royal permission first obtained for the purpose, they would not venture to erect. Upon the representation of Nehemiah not only was such permission accorded by Artaxerxes, but orders were issued by him to the keepers of the king's forest to supply the requisite materials†. With this royal sanction and aid the walls arose to their ancient height, the gates were re-erected, and the city was

\* Neh. i. 3.

† Ibid. ii. 3—8.

once more placed in a state of defence. The adversaries of Judah, however, did not allow the works to proceed without molestation. These, in strict accordance with the prediction of Daniel, were carried on "in troublous times \*."

This decree of Artaxerxes was *the only order*, emanating from the kings of Persia, for the rebuilding and fortification of the city. None appears to have been issued previously; and it is certain that no such edict was issued afterwards.

The fact, too, that at the time Jerusalem itself was *not restored*, is expressly recorded in Nehemiah, who with touching beauty thus mournfully alludes to the circumstance: "Why should not my countenance be sad, when *the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste*, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire †?" and again, that "the people were few therein; and the houses were not builded ‡."

A remarkable confirmation of the correctness of this interpretation exists in the memorials, preserved by the Jews themselves, of the men most eminent among them: "How shall we magnify Zerubbabel? Even he was as a signet on the right hand. So was Jesus the son of Josedec, *who in their time builded the house of the Lord, and set up an holy temple to the Lord*, which was prepared for everlasting glory." Here we have the names of those who, on the first return of the captivity under Cyrus, were the principal actors in promoting the rebuilding of *the temple* §. The individual next celebrated is Nehemiah for the prominent part taken by him in restoring *the city* of Jerusalem; a work which, as he himself records, was commenced in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes ||.

\* Dan. ix. 25.

† Neh. ii. 3.

‡ Ibid. vii. 4.

§ Ezra iii. 2. Hag. i. 12. Zech. iii. 1.

|| Neh. ii. 1.

"And among the elect was Neemias, whose renown is great, *who raised up for us the walls that were fallen, and set up the gates and the bars, and raised up our ruins again* \*."

Thus did the Israelites keep in remembrance, and hand down to posterity, the names of those who had been chiefly engaged in these important national undertakings. The first are associated with the act of rebuilding *the temple*, the other with that of erecting and fortifying *the city*, under these very decrees of Cyrus and Artaxerxes respectively. What more striking commentary could there be upon the prophecy of Daniel than this song of Israel? Ere it was composed a lively remembrance of these several events had for a space of three or four centuries been preserved among them. During the whole of this period, and thenceforth until both temple and city were no more, did the Israelites unconsciously furnish, in the strong contrast here exhibited between the restoration of the one and the other, a significant and striking testimony to the fulfilment of this prediction of their prophet; and point to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, as the period referred to for "the going forth of the commandment to restore, and to build Jerusalem †."

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE FIRST DIVISION OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

THE next object is to determine when the twentieth year of Artaxerxes occurred. This subject has been investigated by various writers, but by none so copiously or successfully as by Professor Hengstenberg.

\* Eccles. xlix. 11—13.

† Dan. ix. 25.

In an elaborate investigation \* this writer has endeavoured to show, in opposition to Dodwell †, that the commencement of Artaxerxes' reign and the flight of Themistocles to Asia fell in the year B.C. 474. Vitringa and Krüger, whom he takes as his guides, had previously worked out nearly the same results; the death of Xerxes being placed by the latter in the year B.C. 474 or 473, and the flight of Themistocles a year later ‡. The principal arguments adduced by Hengstenberg, who considers the error to have arisen from  $\alpha$ , the Greek numerals for eleven, having been mistaken for  $\kappa\alpha$ , those for twenty-one, are divided by him into direct and indirect proofs. His *direct* proofs are:—

1. That no account is given of Xerxes after the eleventh year of his reign.

2. That the return of Xerxes from Greece and his death are placed in close connexion §.

3. That the age of Xerxes' sons is irreconcilable with a twenty-one years' reign ||.

4. That the problematical peace of Cimon after the battle of the Eurymedon was, if at all, concluded with Artaxerxes in B.C. 470, when his reign must have already begun ¶.

5. That the history of Nehemiah is scarcely reconcilable with only a forty-seven years' reign of Artaxerxes.

6. That Thucydides and Charon of Lampsacus, who lived at or not long after the event, represent Themistocles as flying to Artaxerxes.

\* Hengst. Christology, ii. 394—408. Also Keith's Translation, abridged by Arnold, 443—454.

† Annal. Thucyd.

‡ Ueber den Cimonischen Frieden in Archiv. f. Philologie und Pädagog. von Seebode, i. 2, p. 205 ff.

§ Ælian, Var. Hist. xiii. 8. Justin iii. 1. || Justin l. c.

¶ Krüger, c. 218.

7. That Ephorus, Dinon, Klitarchus, and Heracclides, who represent him as going to Xerxes, were of much later date, the earliest living more than a century afterwards; and that Ptolemy's Canon, which coincides with them, is of no peculiar authority, except on astronomical points.

The *indirect* proofs advanced are:—

1. That the flight of Coriolanus to the Volsci in B.C. 492 is stated to have preceded that of Themistocles to Asia by twenty years only\*.

2. That Diodorus Siculus, xi. 55, places in Ol. 77, 2, B.C. 471, both the flight of Themistocles and his death, although these events were separated by at least two years; and that if his death occurred in this year, his flight must be dated at least as far back as B.C. 473.

3. That Eusebius refers the flight of Themistocles to Ol. 77, 1, or B.C. 472.

4. That the expedition of the allied Greeks under Pausanias against Cyprus and Byzantium, and the capture of their city, also the transfer of the Grecian supremacy from the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians, occasioned by the insolence of Pausanias, happened in B.C. 477.

5. That the death of Pausanias can in no event be placed later than B.C. 474, and that there was an interval of a year only, at most, between his death and the arrival of Themistocles in Asia; so that the latter event must have occurred in B.C. 473, if not in 474.

6. That on the supposition that the commencement of Artaxerxes' reign and the flight of Themistocles fell in B.C. 465, an extravagant old age must be attributed to Charon of Lampsacus†.

\* Cic. Læl. xii.

† Vitrin. Proll. in Zach. 29. Creuzer, Frag. Hist. Græc. 95.

7. That Themistocles, on his passage to Asia, fell in with the Athenian fleet when besieging the isle of Naxos; that the siege of Naxos preceded the battle on the Eurymedon; that Naxos was the first confederate city with which the Athenians became embroiled, owing to the requisitions made upon their allies to meet the war with Persia; and that the expedition, which terminated with the victory on the Eurymedon, was the first considerable undertaking of the Athenians against the Persians.

8. That the flight of Themistocles falls at least three years earlier than the battle on the Eurymedon; that one year was spent by him in learning the language; in addition to which, he resided some time in Persia before he was required to act against his countrymen, when, according to Thucydides, he took poison; and that Plutarch expressly connects his death with the expedition of Cimon.

9. That from Plutarch's account that Themistocles died at the age of sixty-five years, his death cannot be placed lower than B.C. 470, nor his flight higher than 473\*.

The conclusion arrived at by Hengstenberg from these premises is, that Artaxerxes ascended the throne in B.C. 474, and consequently that the twentieth year of his reign must be placed in the year B.C. 455.

In support of this masterly inquiry it may be observed, that however confused and doubtful the chronology of the ancients may be in many respects, there are some events which may be arrived at with tolerable certainty. Among these are,—the commencement of the reign of Xerxes I., the termination of that of Artaxerxes Longimanus, and both the commencement and

\* Krüger l. c. p. 312. Dahlmann's *Forschungen*, i. 69—71.

termination of that of Darius Nothus. According to the received chronology, Xerxes ascended the throne in the year B.C. 485. The death of Artaxerxes occurred in the year B.C. 423 \*. The reign of Darius Nothus began in the year B.C. 423, and terminated in the year 404. The chief point in dispute, which Professor Hengstenberg has attempted to solve, is the period when the reign of Xerxes ceased, and that of Artaxerxes Longimanus began.

Marshalling the several authorities, we find on the one side, Charon of Lampsacus, a contemporary; Thucydides, a contemporary, or born at the very time these events were occurring; Cicero, Plutarch, and Cornelius Nepos, if not Diodorus Siculus and Eusebius: and on the other side, Ephorus, Dinon, Klitarchus, Heraclides, Ptolemy Claudius, and some others, whose names have perished, but who being referred to by Plutarch after Heraclides, were no doubt of a subsequent date †.

But for the weight justly due to the Canon of Ptolemy, there could be no doubt on which side the balance of authority would incline. But unless the date of an event rests upon some astronomical data, which is not here pretended, the Canon stands on no higher ground than any other historical record. Living as Ptolemy did six centuries after the period in dispute, he can have known nothing but what he derived from others. His information may have been drawn from one or more of the above-mentioned

\* Most writers say B.C. 423. See Clinton's F. H. ii. 312. Hengst. Dan. by Pratt. 443. One, however, gives the date of B.C. 424. Browne's Scrip. Chron. 202. Unless the contrary is indicated, the dates given in this and other places are in accordance with the received chronology, without regard to the correction subsequently pointed out in the present work.

† Plut. in Vit. Themist.



writers, Ephorus, Dinon, and Klitarchus, the earliest of whom, as Hengstenberg remarks, lived upwards of a century after the event. How little assistance he could have derived from Persian annals may be estimated by the fact, that those which are extant attribute a reign of sixty years to Gustasp, or Darius Hystaspis, the father of Xerxes, and a reign of double that duration, or no less than 120 years, to Bahman or Dirazdast, the Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks; while nothing is recorded of Xerxes himself, unless it be his name, this being supposed to be Isfunder, the father of Bahman.

In no case could the authority of the other writers on the same side be set against that of contemporary authors, more especially such as we have here. One of them, Charon, was a subject of the Persian monarch; resided in Asia; was a native of Lampsacus, one of the very cities whose revenues were assigned to Themistocles for his maintenance; and had for about a quarter of a century previously to the event been engaged in writing history. The other, Thucydides, the most exact of all ancient historians, took the utmost pains to inform himself of the several circumstances which he related, and frequently undertook long journeys for the express purpose of acquiring accurate information. Plutarch, again, though not living near the disputed period, yet refers to previous chronological works; observing that "the opinion of Thucydides agrees best with the chronological tables, if these may safely be relied upon\*." As Plutarch was contemporary with Ptolemy Claudius, the existence of earlier chronological tables, opposed to the view taken by Ptolemy, goes far to neutralize the authority of the Canon in this particular instance.

\* In Vit. Themist.

Cornelius Nepos also, after investigating the subject, concurs with Plutarch that the authority of Thucydides is to be preferred.

There is a circumstance, too, which suggests the possibility that Ptolemy may have adopted the date he did as *a mean* between two others about equally distant from it. According to some authorities, the reign of Xerxes terminated in B.C. 474; or rather, as will presently be shown, in B.C. 473, which is between seven and eight years earlier than the date given by Ptolemy. In his time, however, there were others who attributed to this monarch a reign of not less than twenty-eight years; thus bringing down its close to B.C. 458. Josephus relates that the walls of Jerusalem were completed under the direction of Nehemiah, "in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Xerxes;" adding shortly afterwards, "Now this was done in the reign of Xerxes." That there may be no mistake respecting the individual intended, the following chapter opens thus: "After the death of Xerxes the kingdom was transferred to his son Cyrus, whom the Greeks call Artaxerxes\*." No doubt Josephus is here mistaken; but he must have had some authority for his statement; and this, whatever it was, made the reign of Xerxes to end seven years, at the least, later than Ptolemy's date.

It thus appears that in ancient times there were not only great discrepancies regarding the duration of this reign, but further that these differences ranged over a period of fourteen or fifteen years, embracing two periods of about seven years each, and that the date hit upon by Ptolemy is the medium between the two. Whether he was influenced by this circumstance it is of course impossible to say; but when in ad-

\* Antiq. xi. 5, 6.

dition to earlier and weighty authorities in opposition to the Canon, we find that the date there given is out of three varying dates the middle one, there is at least ground to suspect that the choice of a *tertium quid* may not have been without its weight upon the cautious mind of Ptolemy.

It is certain, also, that when Themistocles commenced his flight Xerxes was still alive; and therefore the mistake may naturally have arisen from confounding the monarch, who was then on the throne, with him whom Themistocles found reigning on his arrival in Asia.

As regards the death of Artaxerxes the testimony of Thucydides is unhesitatingly received. In speaking, however, of the commencement of this monarch's reign and of his death, there is not merely a close parallelism of expression, but also a particularity of statement, indicating in both cases actual information on the subject. Of Themistocles, after his arrival in Asia, he says, "He despatched letters to king Artaxerxes, the son of Xerxes, who had recently begun to reign \*." According to the French idiom, "Qui venoit de regner."

The death of the king is afterwards referred to in similar terms. In the seventh year of the Peloponnesian war a Persian envoy having been intercepted and brought to Athens, an embassy was despatched to Ephesus, where the Athenian ambassadors learnt tidings of the king's death, and proceeded no further: "They hearing at this place that king Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes was recently dead (for he died about the time), desisted from their journey, and

\* Ἐσπέμπει γράμματα ἐς βασιλεία Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Πέρσου, νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα.—Thuc. i. 137. Edit. Oxon. Arnold's and some other editions have ὥς instead of ἐς; but this seems incorrect.

returned home \*." This relation of the fact by Thucydides is considered a sufficient voucher for the date of its occurrence.

Although Diodorus Siculus assigns forty years only as the duration of this king's reign, he places the flight of Themistocles in Olymp. 77, 2, B.C. 471, which, supposing him to have fled to Artaxerxes, could only be consistent with an earlier and longer reign. Diodorus, therefore, even if his works did not contain those *vitiosissima*, which have been noticed by Dodwell himself †, could not be relied upon as an authority on either side. Cicero, like Diodorus, places the flight of Themistocles at such a period that, if Artaxerxes were then upon the throne, his reign must have continued for more than forty years.

It is difficult to conceive how contemporary writers could have been mistaken on the point. Had they prolonged the reign of Xerxes, and represented events to have occurred in *his* lifetime, which really happened during the reign of his successor, the error could readily be accounted for on the supposition, that they had not at the time heard of the death of the one king or the accession of the other. But no author could represent an occurrence to have taken place in the reign of a succeeding, instead of an earlier monarch, without having heard of the previous death of the latter, unless he were writing after a considerable lapse of time, when from a defective memory he might fall into a confusion of dates and events. But were this the case with one writer, it could not well happen to a second also, unless his relation were borrowed from that of the other. This could scarcely have

\* Οἱ πυνθόμενοι αὐτόθι βασιλέα Ἀραξέρξην τὸν Πέρσου νεωστὶ τεθνηκότα (κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν) ἐπ' οἴκου ἀν-εχώρησαν.—Thuc. iv. 50.

† Ann. Thuc. ad ann. A.C. 470. Also Clinton's F. H. ii. 259.

been so in the present instance; certainly not with Charon, who cannot be supposed to have seen the works of Thucydides, and who from his age is not likely to have survived Xerxes for any length of time.

Those who advocate the opposite view fall into singular inconsistencies and contradictions. Mitford, whose principal guide was Dodwell, although not insensible to his defects \*, places the death of Xerxes in the year B.C. 470; the siege of the isle of Naxos, and the victories of the Athenians over the Persians on the Eurymedon, in the year B.C. 469; and the flight of Themistocles into Persia in the year B.C. 465. Yet he says that when Themistocles addressed his letter to the king, Artaxerxes was *then lately* settled on the throne, which could not be averred of a monarch who had already reigned five years. Nor is any fact in history better established than that Themistocles, in his flight into Asia, fell in with the Athenian fleet, then engaged in prosecuting the siege of Naxos.

Nevertheless this author, in his separate relations of these two events, disconnects them by an interval of four years, although in another place he represents them as being contemporaneous. A still more glaring inconsistency occurs in his relation of Cimon's appointment to the supreme command of the confederate Greek forces. While correctly representing this as following from the banishment of Themistocles and the death of Aristides, the date assigned to Cimon's promotion is that of B.C. 470, although the very event which was the first to lead to it, viz. the flight of Themistocles into Asia, is placed five years later †.

Dean Prideaux reverses the order of some of these

\* Mitf. Gr. ii. 199, n. 7.

† Ibid. ii. 209. 224. 226.

events, placing the flight of Themistocles in the year B.C. 471, the victories on the Eurymedon in the following year, and the death of Xerxes in B.C. 465\*. The same writer places the death of Pausanias in the year B.C. 473; thus dissevering it from the flight of Themistocles, to which it gave rise, by a period of two years.

Bishop Thirlwall is no less entangled in the error of Dodwell. After placing the discovery of Pausanias' treachery and his death in B.C. 471, he defers the flight of Themistocles from Argos until B.C. 466; thus placing an interval of five years between this latter event and the occurrences which led to it, although it is acknowledged that the fate of one involved that of the other. He then crowds into this one year, B.C. 466, the flight of Themistocles to Molossis, his subsequent departure from thence, the siege of Naxos, and the battles on the Eurymedon†.

Dr. W. Smith is equally unfortunate in his account of this period. He places the arrest and death of Pausanias under the year B.C. 471. The flight of Themistocles itself, though correctly associated with the siege of the isle of Naxos, is placed under the date B.C. 449, probably a misprint for 469; while the revolt of Naxos is related to have occurred in the year B.C. 466. He thus dissevers the first and second of these events by two years, and the second and third by three years; or, assuming the figures 449 to have been intended to indicate, not 469, but the year B.C. 466, then this author, like Bishop Thirlwall, would place the flight of Themistocles five years after

\* Prid. Conn. i. Chron. Tab.

† Thirl. Gr. 421. 425, 426. 437. See also, with some slight variations, Dr. L. Schmitz, Hist. Gr. 3rd edit. 294—296.

the event which gave rise to it, namely, the arrest of Pausanias and the seizure of his papers\*.

Mr. Grote endeavours to surmount the difficulty by postponing the death of Pausanias to the year B.C. 467. In doing so, however, he remarks, "The chronology of this important period is not so fully known as to enable us to make out the precise dates of particular events. But *we are obliged* (in consequence of the subsequent incidents connected with Themistocles, whose flight to Persia is tolerably well marked as to date) *to admit an interval of about nine years between the retirement of Pausanias from his command at Byzantium, and his death. To suppose so long an interval engaged in treasonable correspondence is perplexing*; and we can only explain it to ourselves very imperfectly by considering that the Spartans were habitually slow, and that the suspected regent may perhaps have communicated with partisans, real or expected, in many parts of Greece†."

Contrasting thus the inconsistencies or difficulties of those who countenance an opposite view with the clear statements of two such contemporary writers as Charon of Lampsacus and Thucydides, supported as they are by the best testimonies of antiquity; and bearing in mind that the name of Xerxes was sometimes applied to Artaxerxes; and further, that if the Persian annals throw no clear light on the subject, they at all events indicate that the reign of Bahman or Longimanus was one of unusual length; and lastly, that the computation of Ptolemy is a mean between two others nearly equally distant,—it is scarcely possible to arrive at any other conclusion than that when

\* Smith's Hist. Gr. 247—249. 252.

† Grote's Hist. Gr. v. 370, 371. Second edit. Niebuhr equally fails to throw any light on the subject.

Themistocles landed in Asia, Artaxerxes was already on the throne, *νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα*.

It is also tolerably evident that the flight of Themistocles cannot be referred to a later period than the year B.C. 471. But if the battles on the Eurymedon were, as Diodorus relates, and as most writers concur, fought in the year B.C. 470, or even in the year 469, there is ground for placing it yet further back. Whether Themistocles was living at the time of these engagements is uncertain. Hengstenberg considers that in all probability he was then dead. Between the siege of Naxos and the expedition of Cimon to the Eurymedon an interval of some duration must have occurred. The policy of despatching a force to Asia Minor had to be debated in the Athenian councils. When an expedition was determined upon, it proceeded first to the coasts of Caria, where the army disembarked, and traversing that and the adjacent provinces took several cities, until they arrived at Phaselis, a sea town at the south-western extremity of Pamphylia. Here the Greeks were detained by a regular siege; and it was only after this had been successful that Cimon, receiving intelligence of the Persian fleet being there, determined to sail to the opposite shores of Pamphylia, where the Eurymedon flows into the Mediterranean. While these events, or some of them, were being transacted in Greece and the south of Asia Minor, Themistocles was engaged in acquiring the Persian language, which occupied him a whole year, then in proceeding to the court of Artaxerxes, and afterwards in settling himself in the city assigned to him for his residence, and thence transmitting to and receiving communications from his family and friends. Professor Hengstenberg considers that three or four years must be allowed for these occurrences, and therefore places the flight of Themistocles in the year B.C. 474. This, assuming



Artaxerxes to have ascended the throne in the same year, would, he considers, make the twentieth year of this king to fall in the year B.C. 455, a conclusion, however, which does not necessarily follow.

Hitherto the events and authorities referred to have been principally Greek or Roman. Turning from these, one fact in Jewish history is clear, viz. that the twentieth year of Artaxerxes occurred during the high priesthood of Eliashib, the son of Joachim, who had been high priest before him. Eliashib held the pontificate forty years, and was succeeded by his son Joiada in the eleventh year of Darius Nothus, between Midsummer B.C. 414 and Midsummer 413. Adding to this forty years, we go back to the year B.C. 454-3 as the date of Eliashib's entrance upon the priesthood\*. If this be so, Artaxerxes could not have entered upon the twentieth year of his reign earlier than Midsummer B.C. 454. But inasmuch as when first named by Nehemiah, Eliashib is not spoken of as having only just become high priest, it is reasonable to allow some little interval to have elapsed after he had succeeded to this important office.

Reverting to the history of Themistocles, if the battles on the Eurymedon were fought not later than the year B.C. 469 or 470, and a series of events occurred, which must have occupied between two and three years at the least anterior to this, but yet we cannot ascend higher than the year B.C. 474-3, there is scarcely any other alternative than to fix upon some time in the year B.C. 473 as that of Artaxerxes' accession. This is a year later than the date worked out by Professor Hengstenberg, viz. B.C. 474. But unless there be some error regarding the high priesthood of Eliashib, it is impossible to carry back the

\* *Chronicon Alexandrinum*. Nehem. iii. 1. Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 5, s. 5. *Prid. Conn.* i. 271. 355.

event so far as this able writer has done. Let us, however, take the several events bearing upon the subject in the order of their occurrence, with a view to see whether there are not sufficient materials for determining their chronology.

The earliest in the series was the flight and death of Pausanias. This appears to have taken place during the cold or rainy season of the year; for the slave, who made discovery of Pausanias' treasonable correspondence with the Persian monarch, was directed to take refuge on Mount Tænarus, within the precincts of the temple of Neptune, and there construct a *hut for his shelter*, behind which the Lacedæmonian Ephori might lie concealed, and overhear any conversation between himself and his master. The guilt of Pausanias having been established by means of this stratagem, his immediate arrest was resolved upon. Receiving, however, an intimation of this determination from one of his friends, he fled to the temple of Minerva Chalciaëca, or Athenè Chalciaëcus \*. Here, as is well known, his death was caused by starvation, a wall having been erected round the temple to prevent his escape. Thence he was only removed when on the point of expiring, to avoid the profanation of this sanctuary.

What interval occurred between the death of Pausanias and the flight of Themistocles is uncertain. Most writers represent the one as having followed closely upon the other; while some, though apparently without sufficient grounds, separate these events by a year or two, and Mr. Grote by some eight or nine years. According to Plutarch, upon the discovery of Pausanias' treachery officers were at once despatched

\* Supposed to have been so called from the brazen plates lining the interior.

to Athens, requiring that Themistocles should be brought to trial before the Amphictyonic Assembly instead of an Athenian tribunal. This was, either immediately or after some correspondence had taken place between them, acceded to by the party then in power at Athens; and it was on the receipt of friendly intelligence that Spartan and Athenian officers had been commissioned, and were actually on their way to arrest him, that Themistocles hastily fled.

He first took refuge in the island of Corcyra; but not feeling himself to be there secure, he proceeded northwards to Molossis, and threw himself upon the protection of king Admetus. When this monarch could no longer afford him an asylum, he traversed on foot\* the mountains of Epirus and Macedonia, bending his steps towards the sea coast in search of a vessel in which he might embark. Arriving at Pydna, he there had to await a favorable opportunity. When this occurred he embarked in disguise on board a merchant ship bound for Asia. In her passage thither the vessel was forced by a tempest† to the island of Naxos, which the Athenian fleet was then engaged in besieging. By dint of promises and threats he induced the captain to put to sea, notwithstanding the tempestuous state of the weather, and shortly afterwards landed at Ephesus. It was in all probability in the spring of the year that Themistocles quitted the Molossian court. At this season or early in the summer Admetus would have had to apprehend that, unless he dismissed his Athenian guest, the confederate Greeks might despatch an army to enforce a surrender of his person. Themistocles had then to traverse the mountains of Epirus and Macedonia; and on his arrival at Pydna to await a ship

\* πεζῇ, Thucyd. i. 187.

† χεῖμῶνι, Thucyd. i. 187.

sailing to Asia, Pydna itself being a place of no great resort. It was situate nearly at the head of the Thermaic Gulf, altogether out of any general line of traffic. A naval siege like that of Naxos, though protracted from the resistance offered by its inhabitants, would probably be commenced during the summer. When, therefore, we find that the ship in which Themistocles sailed encountered tempestuous weather in her voyage, there is ground for inferring that this was undertaken in the course of the autumn or early part of the winter, when storms most frequently prevail. The Mediterranean indeed from its inland position is subject, even during the summer, to sudden and violent squalls, occasioned by the wind being pent up between the mountains, and then rushing down towards the sea; but these are of short continuance and limited in extent. Had one of these occurred in the present instance, it would probably have been spoken of in different terms from those actually employed. These are applicable to the ordinary tempestuous weather, which more or less prevails during the autumn and winter, such as St. Paul met with in his memorable passage from Cæsarea to Italy, when he was shipwrecked on the island of Melita. It is far from improbable indeed that the wind, by which the safety of Themistocles was endangered, was the very same "tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon," which threatened the life of St. Paul\*. The course of the one was south-east, of the other due west, and to both this wind would be partly favorable. It blew from the north-east, which under ordinary circumstances would be propitious to a western course, as the wind would then be upon the starboard quarter. To a ship however sailing south-east, like that in

\* Acts xxvii. 14.

which Themistocles was embarked, it would be far less favorable, and might be exceedingly adverse. It was, however, a tempestuous, and therefore an uncertain and variable wind; and would of all others be the identical wind which would render the captain of a vessel, when driven to Naxos, unwilling to sail from thence and direct his course towards Ephesus, or indeed to any part of Asia Minor. No wonder, then, that Themistocles was compelled to have recourse to threats, as well as to promises, to induce the commander to sail in that direction. His arrival in Asia thus in all probability took place late in the autumn or early in the winter. Although the time of year cannot certainly be gathered from the use of the term χειμῶν by Thucydides, yet as the Greeks divided their military year into two parts, θέρος, the summer half, terminating in September, and χειμῶν, the winter half, terminating in March, Thucydides, in speaking of an event in connexion with a military operation, may have referred to the latter.

Having thus arrived at the conclusion that Themistocles reached his destination somewhere about the month of November, let us see whether this in any degree corresponded with the time of Artaxerxes' accession. There can be no doubt that this monarch ascended the throne in the *autumn*. Two decrees were issued by Artaxerxes, both in the same month Nisan, one in the seventh, and the other in the twenty-sixth year of his reign\*. The fifth month, *Ab*, happened in the same royal year†. Artaxerxes, therefore, could not have ascended the throne between the months of Nisan and Ab, that is, between April and August. Neither did his reign commence in any of the earlier months, since the month Chisleo or De-

\* Ezra vii. 7.

† Ibid. vii. 8.

cember preceding the month Nisan fell in the same year of the king as they did \*. Consequently, as the reign of Artaxerxes did not commence between the beginning of December in one year and the end of August in the next, his accession could only have occurred during the autumn, in one of the three months of September, October, or November †.

Taking the intermediate period, or the middle month of October, as the period of the king's accession, Themistocles on landing in Asia in the month of November or December following would, as Thucydides relates, have found Artaxerxes *recently come to the throne*. We are not, however, tied to the time of Themistocles' actual disembarkation on Asiatic soil. This is not the event referred to by the Grecian historian, but the despatch of letters by Themistocles to the Persian court. This could scarcely have been done immediately upon the arrival of Themistocles. He had first to provide for his immediate safety, and make other arrangements, before he could think of sending letters to the king. It may thus fairly be assumed that the despatch of these letters did not take place until a month or so later, when if both events occurred in the same year, or in the autumn of one year and the beginning of the next, Artaxerxes must unquestionably have been on the throne. But when the relation of Thucydides is found to harmonize with the fact as thus worked out in the minuter point, the confidence that so accurate a writer does not fail in his broader delineation is greatly enhanced. If he is found to be correct as respects the *time of year*, is he likely to be wrong as respects the year itself, or the monarch then ruling over Persia, especially as his

\* Neh. i. 1; ii. 1.

† See Lewin's Chronol. of N. T. 90, 91.

error would extend to no less than six, seven, eight, or nine years?

With regard to other writers there exist elements for mistake. The events, occurring towards the end of the year, might readily be referred to that or the succeeding year. Thus in the case of Artaxerxes the month Nisan would fall, not in the same astronomical year as that in which the king's reign commenced, but in the year next following. This would not, indeed, affect the ordinary computation of Ptolemy, it being his custom to include the whole year in which the death of a sovereign occurred in that king's reign, and to make the reign of his successor begin with the year next following\*. Still this practice of his shows, that when nice divisions of time enter into the calculation, he is not a writer who can be implicitly relied upon.

The next event to be considered is the government of the Athenians after the flight of Themistocles. For some time after this occurrence, though for how long is uncertain, the Athenians continued under the chief administration of Aristides, to whom, in conjunction with Cimon, the public affairs had been entrusted when Themistocles fell into disgrace. The latter years and death of Aristides are unfortunately involved in the utmost obscurity. All which can be fairly concluded is, that some time must be allowed after Themistocles had fled for the prolonged administration of Aristides†. On the death or second banishment of this illustrious man, Cimon succeeded to the sole command of the confederate forces in the ninth year after the battle of Platæa. This battle is

\* See Prid. Conn. i. 352.

† Bishop Thirlwall seems to place the death of Aristides before the flight of Themistocles. But there is a confusion in this part of his history, ii. 416.

generally allowed to have been fought in the year B.C. 479; and on the authority of Plutarch, although somewhat inconsistent on the point, the exact day has been supposed to have been the 22nd of September\*. Should this be correct, the ninth year after this memorable battle would in strictness not commence until the 22nd of September, B.C. 471; but it is probable that the computation accorded with the division of time into solar years, rather than with its subdivision into months. If so, then as this battle was fought in the year B.C. 479, that would be regarded as the first year; and the year B.C. 471 generally, without reference to any particular month, would be the ninth year, which unquestionably began in B.C. 471. Considering the energetic and ambitious character of Cimon, it is not likely that after he had thus acquired the supreme command he should long have remained idle; and there can be little doubt that he undertook the expedition to Asia Minor, which terminated with the battles on the Eurymedon, as soon as it had received the sanction of the Athenian council. The ordinary calculation, therefore, of the year B.C. 470 for the date of these battles may be assumed to be correct.

Placing these several events in something of a tabular form, they would appear to have occurred as follows:—

	B.C.
Death of Pausanias during the winter	474-5
Themistocles flies from Argos to Corcyra in the autumn of	474
Takes refuge at Molossis until the spring of	473
Travels on foot through Epirus and Macedonia during the summer of	
Artaxerxes begins to reign in October	

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\* Plut. vit. Camil. et Arist., also his Glory of Athens.



	B.C.
Themistocles embarks at Pydna, and is driven to Naxos in October or November . . .	473
Lands at Ephesus about November . . .	
Despatches letters to Artaxerxes about December . . . . .	
The month Nisan in the first year of the king fell in April . . . . .	472
Administration of Aristides, in conjunction with Cimon, continued through the year . .	
Themistocles engaged in acquiring the Persian language in . . . . .	
Cimon attains the sole command of the confederate Greeks in . . . . .	471
Themistocles proceeds to the court of Artaxerxes, and then settles at Magnesia . .	
Expedition to Asia Minor proposed and debated in the Athenian council towards the end of . . . . .	
Confederate forces under Cimon land on the coasts of Caria early in . . . . .	470
Themistocles probably dies in . . . . .	

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Eliashib becomes high priest about the end of 454  
 The month Nisan in the twentieth year of  
 Artaxerxes would fall in April . . . . 453

In this table but little more than four years intervene between the death of Pausanias and the battles on the Eurymedon; and into this period as many events are crowded as could well have occurred during so short a space. Between the arrival of Themistocles in Asia and his death, there is but an interval of about two years and a half, which is the shortest time that could be allowed.

Having, then, on grounds which furnish a tolerably secure basis, arrived at the autumn of the year B.C. 473\*, as the period when Artaxerxes acceded to the

\* According to the received chronology; but as afterwards corrected this year will be found to be B.C. 474.

Persian empire, and the month Nisan, the first in his reign, occurring in the solar year next following, it follows that this month in the twentieth year of the king would, as above given, fall in the year B.C. 453. The latter date differs from the computation of Professor Hengstenberg by two years, although in the king's accession there is but a difference of one year between the date given by this author and that contained in the above table, the reason being that Hengstenberg was not aware of, and accordingly made no allowance for, the solar difference between the period of accession and the month Nisan.

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### CHAPTER III.

#### SECOND DIVISION OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

THE year B.C. 453, of the received chronology, being thus from extraneous and independent sources determined to be the *terminus à quo* of the seventy weeks of Daniel, let us see, notwithstanding the loss of two years from Hengstenberg's computation, whether the entire period can be made up; and whether this can be resolved into its constituent parts of seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week; or, according to the year-day principle, of forty-nine years, 434 years, and seven years, making in all seventy weeks of, or 490 years. Unless the component parts, as well as the integral number, can be satisfactorily worked out, but little advance will have been made towards a solution of this remarkable prophecy. If, however, not merely the whole, but also its parts, are severally found to correspond with events then occurring in history, which answer to those indicated by the prophet, the sum of the various coincidences, taken together, will give such

an assurance of accuracy as closely to approximate, if it does not amount to absolute certainty.

Starting, then, from the spring of the year B.C. 453, and deducting forty-nine years, we come to the year B.C. 404\*. This first period is the most difficult to connect with any appropriate termination. In the Persian monarchy a change at this time occurred by the death of Darius Nothus, and the accession of his son Artaxerxes Mnemon. This was an event in which the Israelites were deeply interested, for upon the character and disposition of the sovereign depended their prosperous or adverse condition. How intimately this was associated with the ruling monarch has been seen on their first return from captivity, and in their subsequent efforts to rebuild the temple. In opposition to the policy of their predecessors, both Artaxerxes Longimanus and Darius Nothus extended great favor to the Jews.

It was during their reigns that the temple was completed and embellished, that the city was restored, and the temple worship thoroughly re-established. Nehemiah, who had the principal hand in this great work, held office under these monarchs successively; and, as governor of Judea, was the connecting link between the Persian court and the people of Israel. He lived to a "great age," although the time of his death is not recorded†. Supposing him to have been twenty-five when he stood before Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of this king's reign, he would only have attained the age of seventy-four at the death of Darius Nothus; or if instead of twenty-five he had been thirty, then his age at the death of the last-

\* Really B.C. 454 and 405, with the correction subsequently made; but at present the received chronology is adopted.

† Joseph. Antiq. xi. 5, s. 8.

mentioned monarch would not have exceeded seventy-nine. Had he not been approaching fourscore years, his age would scarcely have elicited a remark.

He appears to have survived Eliashib the high priest, who died in the year B.C. 413, since the last act of Nehemiah's reformation was during the high priesthood of Joiada, the son of Eliashib\*. It has, indeed, been contended that the term high priest in this passage refers to Eliashib himself, and not to Joiada; but this is shown by Dean Prideaux not to be the case†. Coupling this circumstance with his "great age" at the time of his death, the probability is that he died in the same year as Darius Nothus, as we do not hear of him in the following reign. Another circumstance which favors the notion that the deaths of Darius Nothus and Nehemiah occurred about the same time, is that a change of administration took place on the decease of the latter, which was likely to be the act of a new sovereign. After Nehemiah, as Prideaux observes, "there does not seem to have been any more governors of Judea; but this country, being added to the prefecture of Syria, was thenceforth wholly subjected to the governor of that province, and under him the high priest had the trust of regulating all the affairs therein‡."

Internal evidence shows that the prophet Malachi flourished about the same period. It appears from several passages, that at the time his prophecy was written storehouses for laying up tithes and offerings had been provided within the precincts of the temple (iii. 10); that notwithstanding this tithes were withheld (iii. 8); that the marriages with heathen women, "the daughters of a strange god," whom the Hebrews

\* Neh. xiii. 28.

† Prid. Conn. i. 357, 358.

‡ Ibid. i. c. vii. s. 1.

were so strongly urged by Nehemiah to put away, and which constituted the last act of his reformation, were likewise inveighed against by the prophet (ii. 11); and that in all probability the change of administration just alluded to had not then taken place, but that the Israelites had still a governor of their own, offerings to whom, and not to a distant resident in Syria, were those referred to (i. 8)\*. Of the acts of Nehemiah the last recorded was during the pontificate of Joiada, who became high priest in the year B.C. 413. Malachi's prophecy appears to have been written subsequently, since he alludes to the hypocrisy of the Jews with respect to these heathen marriages, and the continuance of this offence (ii. 13). We thus arrive at the verge of the year B.C. 404. It cannot, indeed, be shown with positive certainty that Nehemiah and Malachi were both gathered to their fathers in this particular year, but this epoch is closely approached; and the change of administration, which seems to have followed upon Nehemiah's death, is more likely to have occurred at this than at any other period. According to some traditionary accounts Malachi was a member of the great synagogue, and as such assisted after the return from captivity in the re-establishment of the temple worship, and the restoration of the Jewish polity in Judea. He is said to have died young, and being of the tribe of Zabulon, and a native of Sapha, to have been buried in that city. According to this tradition his death would have occurred not long after his prophecy; and this having been delivered subsequently to the year B.C. 413, and while there was still a governor of Judea, equally brings down his death to about the year B.C. 404.

Although chronologists differ materially respecting

\* See Horne's *Introd. to the H. S.* iv. pt. i. c. iv. s. 4, § 3.

the date of this prophet, varying from B.C. 436 to 397, some of the circumstances above referred to have been overlooked. All agree, however, "that Malachi prophesied while Nehemiah was governor of Judea, more particularly after his second coming from the Persian court\*."

Taking the omitted circumstances into account, his prophecy appears to have been delivered between the years B.C. 413 and 404, while his death not improbably occurred during the last of these years. It has generally been supposed that Malachi prophesied about 400 years before the birth of our Lord. From the date here given as that of his death, to that of the Nativity, is just over this number of years.

There are thus no less than three events, occurring or probably occurring during the year B.C. 404, in which the Israelites were materially interested: 1. The death of Darius Nothus, under whose sway they had lived prosperously, and from whom they had experienced great favors. 2. The death of their governor Nehemiah, who had been the chief instrument in the restoration of their temple, and the establishment of order among them, and upon whose demise a marked change took place in the administration of their province. 3. The termination of the splendid series of prophecies, which had extended through so many generations, in the person of their last prophet Malachi, who so specifically announced the coming of that still greater herald, who was to prepare the way before the Lord, when He was "suddenly to come to His temple†."

The first of Daniel's prophetical divisions thus ending in the year B.C. 404, or as subsequently corrected 405, the next period of 434 years brings us to

\* Horne's Introd. iv. pt. i. c. iv. s. 4, § 3.

† Mal. iii. 1.

the year A.D. 30. This, in the language of the prophet, was to extend "unto Messiah the Prince \*."

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## CHAPTER IV.

### THIRD DIVISION OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

#### § I. DIFFICULTIES OF THE INQUIRY.

THE period of our Lord's entry upon His public ministry involves a determination of the true date of the Christian æra. When it is considered how long an array of annotators, astronomers, academicians, historians, and divines have engaged in this investigation; what ages have been consumed in the inquiry; how many and discordant have been the theories advanced on the subject; that not one of these has ever brought conviction to the mind; and that after the lapse of nearly two thousand years, mankind had settled down into a reluctant and unsatisfied acceptance of the result of Fynes-Clinton's researches, as the nearest approach to probability which could be expected, leaving the question as far from a real solution as ever;—it must be acknowledged that to have entered anew into the dark labyrinths of chronology, even though in search of this hidden treasure, was no inviting, and was likely to prove no easy task. But although the labor has been severe, and the effort painful in the extreme, from the distressing uncertainty and repeated failures which long attended it, the writer has throughout been buoyed up with the conviction that the Spirit, which had brooded over the waters and vivified creation, would not have allowed a point of such deep and absorbing interest to remain involved in impenetrable obscurity. The main difficulty was to discover

\* Dan. ix. 25.

some clue whereby to judge what might fairly be discarded or adjusted, and what should be deemed cardinal and fixed.

§ II. MATERIALS SUPPLIED BY JOSEPHUS.

One key to the investigation appeared to be the statement of Josephus, that Jerusalem was taken by Herod the Great, and Sosius, the lieutenant of Antony, on the anniversary of its capture by Pompey, and twenty-seven years after it: the one in the 179th, and the other in the 185th Olympiad, on the same fast-day; while in the 184th Olympiad Herod was made king by the Romans\*.

Another circumstance noticed by Josephus is that the siege and capture of Jerusalem by Herod occurred in the course of a Sabbatic year†. The Sabbatic years were computed by the Jewish civil year, which began with the month Tisri, answering to September and October, and not with the ecclesiastical year; but there is a difference of opinion where these are to be placed. Mr. J. W. Bosanquet considers that this particular year occurred between the autumns of B.C.

\* Joseph. Antiq. XIV. iv. 3; xiv. 5. Τοῦτο τὸ πάθος συνέβη τῇ Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλει ὑπατεύοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Μάρκου Ἀγρίππα καὶ Κανινίου Γάλλου, ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης καὶ ὀγδοηκοστῆς καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, τῷ τρίτῳ μηνί, τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστείας, ὥσπερ ἐκ περιτροπῆς τῆς γενομένης ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συμφορᾶς, καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου τῇ αὐτῇ ἐάλωσαν ἡμέρᾳ, μετὰ ἑτὴ εἰκοσικαίεπτά.—Joseph. Antiq. XIV. xvi. 4. Owing to the difficulty of making out the twenty-seven years, Scaliger suggests that the three last words should be read μετὰ ἑτὴ κς'. De Emend. Temp. 451. Edit. Colon. Usher retains the text as it stands, but suggests that it may be interpreted like the three days mentioned in St. Mark and St. Matthew in connexion with the resurrection; forgetting that this is excluded by the anniversary, and the recurrence of the same fast-day.

† Antiq. XIV. xvi. 2; XV. i. 2.



38 and 37 \*; while other writers are of opinion that it ranged between the autumn of B.C. 37 and that of B.C. 36 †.

Again, Josephus says that the battle of Actium was fought in the seventh year of Herod's reign ‡; and that it was in the thirty-seventh year after this great contest, that Cyrenius was commissioned by Augustus to take an inventory of the effects of Archelaus, when he had been deposed and banished §.

Looking first at the Olympiads, if the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey took place in the 179th, and that by Sosius and Herod in the 185th Olympiad, —Herod being made king by the Romans, apparently in Olympiad 184-4, though really, as will be shown, in Olympiad 185-1,—there are but two years which will satisfy these conditions, viz. A.U. 689 and 716, or B.C. 64 and 37. Some have thought that the intervals between the Olympiads varied from forty-nine to fifty months, so as to bring them either to the month Apollonius or that of Parthenius. The more general opinion is that the Olympiads began on the first full moon after the summer solstice ||. They have even been assigned to particular days; and are stated to have commenced on the 11th, and terminated on the 15th of the Attic month Hecatombæon ¶. The true theory, however, appears to be that they were held at the summer solstice, provided there was sufficient moonlight at the time. If not, then they

\* Readjustment of Sacred and Profane Chronol. 80.

† Browne's Script. Chron. 291.

‡ Antiq. XV. v. 2.

§ Antiq. XVIII. ii. 1.

|| Schol. *ad Pind.* Ol. iii. 19. 85; v. 6. Böekh. Comment. Encycl. Brit. tit. *Olympiad*.

¶ Smith's Dict. G. and B. Antiq. tit. Olympia, p. 829. 2nd edit.

were postponed until the next full moon, so as not to vary more than a fortnight, or three weeks at farthest.

The fast for the idolatry of Jeroboam, which appears to be the fast-day referred to by Josephus, occurred on the 23rd of the month Sivan. This fell in Olympiad 179-1, on the 21st of June, the very day of the summer solstice, when the moon had been at the full for about six days. There was still, therefore, a brilliant moonlight; and the Olympiad seems to have been celebrated at this time, instead of being deferred for nearly a month. On no other hypothesis could the several events mentioned by Josephus have occurred in the respective Olympiads in which he places them. Moreover, the 23rd Sivan in this year fell on a Saturday, which accords with Dio's statement that Jerusalem was taken on the day of Saturn\*. In the next year, A.U. 690, B.C. 63, that in which the capture of Jerusalem by Herod is usually placed, the third month Sivan fell much earlier, and terminated on the 16th of June. The Olympiad did not commence until the 1st of July; there was no moon on the 23rd Sivan; nor did this day then fall on a Saturday.

Let us next attend to the anniversary and the twenty-seven years of Josephus, to make up which twenty-eight years are required, since the year with which the reckoning begins would not enter into the computation. Now from B.C. 64 to B.C. 37 are twenty-seven years, the very number specified by Josephus. This is not likely to be a mistake, since he elsewhere mentions two other numbers, primarily in connexion with the priesthood, but having also reference to the capture of the city first by Pompey, and then by

\* ἐν τῇ τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τότε ἡμέρᾳ ὠρομαμένην. Dio. xlix. 22.

Herod. These added together make up twenty-seven years; really twenty-four years, and three years, and three months, the former no doubt being a round number\*. The distance in point of time between the two captures constitutes one of the lunar cycles, when the days of the week and consequently the fast-days may be, but are not necessarily the same in the one year as the other. They were so, however, in the years B.C. 64 and 37, owing to the latter being a leap-year. Thus just after the precise lapse of time specified by Josephus, Jerusalem might have been taken, as he says it was, on the *anniversary* of its former capture by Pompey, and in both instances on the day of the same identical fast.

But here this difficulty presents itself. Josephus says that the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey occurred in the consulate of L. Antonius and M. Tullius Cicero, and that its capture by Herod took place in that of M. Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus†. When, however, these and the intermediate consulships are counted up, there are but twenty-seven in all; thus leaving twenty-six consulships only, and apparently therefore but twenty-six years, from the one with which the reckoning has to begin.

It is commonly supposed that the Romans in computing numbers included *both extremes*, and it might thence be inferred that the twenty-seven years spoken of by Josephus were here made up. But this mode of computation was confined to their Calendar, in which what was originally Kalends 1 became afterwards known as *the Kalends*; and what was originally Kalends 2 became afterwards known as the day *before*,

\* Antiq. XIV. xvi. 4; XX. x. 1.

† Dion Cassius is supposed to have placed the latter a year higher, in the consulate of Ap. Claudius Pulcher and Ca. Norbanus Flaccus, a point which is subsequently investigated.

though really *the second of* the Kalends; and so on with the others. It was the same with the Nones and Ides \*. In other respects the Romans calculated as modern nations do, and excluded the number with which the reckoning began; as may be seen in the writings of Suetonius, Tacitus, Velleius Paterculus, and Plutarch. So much was this the case, that by "post quatuor, sex," or "novem annos" was meant *a clear interval* of four, six, or nine years, where *neither extreme* entered into the calculation †.

De la Nauze suggested that the civil years of the Romans were purely consular, and had no relation to the solar year ‡. A somewhat similar theory, though arrived at very fancifully, was put forth in an anonymous publication noticed by Court de Gebelin §. In this it was maintained that owing to conspiracies to restore the Tarquins intercalations of twenty-three days in ordinary years, and twenty-two days in bissextile or leap-years, were made without any adjustment of the civil to the solar year.

At this rate it has been computed that "a whole year would have been absorbed, and an encroachment made upon another year of nearly two months and a half ||." In other words, that the civil years would have been *in advance* of the solar years by nearly one year and a quarter.

The opinions thus propounded have been thought to be opposed to that of Censorinus, who, after speak-

\* See Smith's Dict. G. and R. Antiq. art. "Nundinae," p. 815. 2nd edit.

† See Suet. Aug. 26, 27.

‡ Mémoires de l'Acad. Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, tom. xlv. p. 111—200. Paris, 1771.

§ Histoire Civile du Calendrier, 100—104, being the fourth volume of his Monde Primitif.

|| Jarvis's Chron. Introd. 73.

ing of the imperfect attempts which, previous to Julius Cæsar's reformation of the Calendar, had been made by the Romans and other nations to correct their calendars, and of the subsequent adaptation of the Roman to the natural year, says, "Therefore whenever mention is *here* made of any number of years, they are to be understood as natural years \*." Censorinus, however, is here speaking only of his own writings, and does not touch the question under consideration.

### § III. ERROR IN ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY.

During the consulship of L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Lælius (i. e. A.U. 562-3) an eclipse of the sun took place on the fifth day before the Ides of the month Quintilis (11th of July)†. This eclipse, according to Petavius, actually occurred on the 14th of March‡. Thus, owing to previous irregularities of intercalation, there was at this time a variation of 119 days, or nearly four months, between the solar year and the civil year of the Romans, the latter being *accelerated* by this number of days.

From a passage in Macrobius, a Latin writer of the fourth century, though of no high authority, it has been inferred that some time after the above-mentioned consulship intercalations were discontinued; so that when Julius Cæsar reformed the Calendar, not only had the excess of days noticed by Livy vanished, but in lieu of this there was a deficiency of eighty days out of the modern computation of 365 to the year, or of ninety days taking the Roman year,

\* "Itaque cum de aliquo annorum numero *hic* dicetur, non alios par erit quam naturales accipere."—c. xx.

† "Per eos dies quibus est profectus ad bellum consul, ante diem quintum Idus Quintilis; cælo sereno, interdiu obscurata lux est, quum luna sub orbem solis subisset."—Liv. xxxvii. 4 and 1.

‡ Doctr. Temp. i. 509, © 23.

which consisted of 355 days only. This alleged deficiency Cæsar, as Pontifex Maximus, is said to have supplied in one year, by adding twenty-three days after the month of February, and inserting two additional months, or sixty-seven days, between November and December\*. All, however, that Macrobius says is, that there was a time when from a superstitious feeling all intercalation was suspended†. It is singular that this should have been noticed by no other writer; but allowing the statement to be correct, the utmost that can be inferred from it is, that this suspension was of a temporary nature.

Unquestionably the practice of intercalation was shortly resumed, and the augmentations thereby made to the year from time to time were not based on any regular rules, but were altogether arbitrary. Suetonius says of Julius Cæsar, "He corrected the *Fasti* (Calendar), which for a long time had become so disordered from the corruption of the priests, through their unjustifiable licence of intercalation, that neither the rejoicings of harvest coincided with summer, nor those of the vintage with autumn‡."

Plutarch says that "not only in ancient times had the Romans no consistent revolutions of the months with the year, the result of which was that the sacrificial days and festivals gradually passed out of their proper seasons; but that afterwards, when the solar year was in use, all chronological reckoning fell into the utmost confusion; the priests, who alone

\* Suet. Jul. Cæs. 40. Dion Cass. xliii. 26.

† "Verum fuit tempus, cum propter superstitionem intercalatio omnis omiſsa est."—Saturnal. I. xiv. 228. Edit. Valpii.

‡ "Fastos correxit, jam pridem vitio pontificum per intercalandi licentiam adeo turbatos, ut neque messium feriæ æstati, neque vindemiarum autumnno, competerent."—Suet. Jul. Cæs. 40. See also Cæs. Bell. Civ. c. vi. ix. xxv.

knew any thing of time, being in the habit all at once, and quite unexpectedly, of inserting an intercalary month, called Mercedonius, which Numa is said first to have introduced \*." From this representation it is evident that the people at large were in profound ignorance on the subject.

In his reference to Cæsar's reformation of the Calendar, Dio says, "The days of the years, which did not well accord with each other (for they even then reckoned the months by the revolutions of the moon), he regulated after the present manner, throwing in sixty-seven days, which were required to make up the full number. *Some have said that more were inserted*, but this is really how it was arranged †." Dion Cassius is thus referring only to what Cæsar himself did, without noticing how the civil and solar years stood relatively to each other at the time. He says that sixty-seven days were required to make up a full year, which, if the civil year had then advanced 156 days beyond the extra number mentioned by Livy, and the twenty-three days inserted by Julius Cæsar after February, would have been the case.

Other authors speak even more plainly than Sue-

\* Οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς πάντῃ χρόνοις τετραγαμέναις [τετραγαμέναις] ἐχρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς τῶν μηνῶν πρὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν περιόδοις, ὥστε τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ὑποφερομένας κατὰ μικρὸν, εἰς ἐναντίας ἐκπεπτωκέναι τοῖς χρόνοις ὥρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν τότε σῶσαν ἡλιακὴν· οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παντάπασιν τούτων ἀσυλλογίστως εἶχον, οἱ δ' ἱερεῖς μόνον τὸν καιρὸν εἰδότες, ἐξαίφνης, καὶ προσσημειῖον μηδεὶνος, τὸν ἐμβόλιμον προέγραφον μῆνα, Μερκεδόνιον ὀνομάζοντες, δὲ Νουμᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς πρῶτος ἐμβαλεῖν λέγεται.—Plut. J. Cæs. 59.

† The passage is strong; but Dio lived nearly three centuries after the event, which he thus relates,—Ταῦτά τε ἐνομοθέτησε,—καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἐτῶν οὐ πάντῃ ὁμολογούσας σφίσι (πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τῆς σελήνης περιόδους ἔτι καὶ τότε τοὺς μῆνας ἤγον) κατεστήσατο ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον, ἐπτά καὶ ἐξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἐμβαλὼν, ὥσαιπερ ἐς τὴν ἀπαρτιλογίαν παρέφερον. "Ἦδη μὲν γάρ τινες καὶ πλείους ἔφασαν ἐμβληθῆναι, τὸ δ' ἀληθές οὕτως ἔχει.—Dion Cass. xliii. 26.

tonius and Plutarch had ventured to do of the mode in which this derangement of the civil year had taken place. They openly assert that the power of intercalation exercised by the pontiffs had long been grossly abused for political and private purposes. "The pontiffs were invested with the office of intercalation, the mode and extent of which was left to their absolute judgment. But they for the most part either from enmity or favor, to the end that any one might the sooner be relieved of an office, or might exercise it the longer, or in order that a farmer of public revenue might from the length of any year be a gainer or loser, in making their intercalations from the basest motives either more or less, deliberately turned to corrupt purposes the very duty, which had been committed to them with a view to the correction of errors \*."

So another author says, "The Romans became involved in profound ignorance and error, when they transferred the power of intercalation to the priests, who, corruptly turning this to the advantage of farmers of revenue or litigant parties, shortened or lengthened years according to their own arbitrary will †." By shortening the year or seasons (*tempora*) must only be understood that no intercalary days, or but few, were inserted when this occurred, and not that there was any power of abbreviating the ordinary year of 355 days.

\* "*Pontificibus datum est negotium, eorumque arbitrio intercalandi ratio permissa. Sed horum plerique ob odium vel gratiam, quo quis magistratu citius abiret, diutiusve fungeretur, aut publici redemptor ex anni magnitudine in lucro damnove esset, plus minusve ex libidine intercalando rem sibi ad corrigendum mandatum ultro depraverunt.*"—Censorinus, c. 20.

† "*Romani, errorum profundâ caligine fluctuabant, cum in sacerdotes potestatem transtulissent intercalandi, qui licenter gratificantes publicanorum vel litigantium commodis, ad arbitrium suum subtrahebant tempora vel augebant.*"—Amm. Marc. XXVI. i. 12.



The priestly licence, thus abused, hung like a dark cloud in the political atmosphere, involving men of the highest eminence in embarrassing uncertainty. In several of Cicero's letters, written to Caius Marcellus and L. Paullus, upon their being designated consuls, and also to C. Cassius, the proquæstor, he entreats them to exert all their influence to prevent the term of his provincial government from being prolonged\*.

A more complete state of political demoralization at the highest and most sacred source of power it is difficult to conceive. No wonder when the ancient virtue was gone, that the republic should have been torn by civil wars, and finally overthrown.

It thus appears that during the period referred to by Josephus the greatest irregularities prevailed. As the power vested in the pontiffs was that of either allowing the civil year to remain at 355 days, or of inserting a larger or smaller number of extra or intercalary days, the limit within which any one year could be shortened was far too narrow to have occasioned serious inconvenience, even if several consecutive years had been allowed to pass without any intercalation

\* "Ut aut mihi succedat quam primum aliquis, aut ne quid accedat temporis ad id, quod tu mihi et senatus consulto, et lege, finisti."—*Epist. ad Consules, &c. M. Marcello, No. 9.*

"Ne quid mihi fiat injuriæ, neve quid temporis ad meum annum munus accedat."—*L. Paullo, No. 12.*

"In primisque tibi curæ sit, quod abs te superioribus quoque litteris petivi, ne mihi tempus prorogetur."—*L. Paullo, No. 18.*

"De me autem idem tecum his ago litteris, quod superioribus egi, ut omnes tuos nervos in eo contendas, ne quid mihi ad hanc provinciam, quam et senatus et populus annuam esse voluit, temporis prorogetur."—*C. Cassio, No. 14. Cicer. Op. Omn. iv. 448—453. Halle, 1756.*

Although his government might have been prolonged directly by a decree of the senate, Cicero here darkly intimates some other source of apprehension.

at all. To call forth marked observation, and still more the strong condemnation expressed in the above passages, the pontiffs, instead of abstaining from intercalation, or making only slight augmentations falling short of the solar year, must have greatly erred on the side of excess. That this was actually the case at one period is collected from Livy. The other testimonies adduced show that these augmentations must have gone on, and must at least have been as excessive afterwards. Yet simply because Julius Cæsar found a broken year, and added the requisite number of days to make it up into a complete year, it has hastily been assumed that the civil years had gradually fallen back, and that this addition was to supply a deficiency, which in the course of time had accrued in the civil years\*.

Before, however, the reader is called upon to pass a definitive judgment, some other circumstances require to be noticed. The reformation of the Calendar was suggested to Julius Cæsar during his stay in Egypt, subsequently to Pompey's death. Cæsar remained in Egypt for nine months†. After his return he undertook two other campaigns in different years,—one to Africa, against Juba, Scipio, and Cato; the other to Spain, against the sons of Pompey. Before each of these expeditions he remained for several months at Rome. There were thus three civil years in which Cæsar's correction of the Calendar might have taken place; viz. those in which he returned, first, from Egypt, secondly, from Africa, and, thirdly, from Spain.

Let us see which of these has the greatest probability for its support. Profiting by the example of the Egyptians, Cæsar took the apparent solar revolutions as a guide. "He accommodated the year to

\* Clinton's F. H. iii. 204. Jarvis's Chron. Intro. 73.

† *εἰς ταῦτα διεπίσθησαν αὐτῷ μῆνες ἑννέα.*—App. Civ. ii. 90.

the course of the sun, so that there might be 365 days; and that, the intercalary month being taken away, one day might be intercalated in every fourth year\*." He did not, however, borrow their entire calendar, but proceeded on independent calculations. "There were then (says Pliny) three systems,—the Chaldean, the Egyptian, and the Grecian; to these Cæsar the dictator added a *fourth*, regulating every year according to the course of the sun, being assisted by Sosigenes, who was skilled in astronomical science†."

The calculations requisite to construct this new system must have occupied considerable time, and could not possibly have been put into operation during the first of the three years referred to, that of Cæsar's return from Egypt. There apparently remain, then, the years of his return from Africa, and from Spain. According to Censorinus the correction of the Calendar began with Cæsar's fourth consulship, which was after his African expedition‡. Plutarch mentions it after Cæsar's return from Spain, but in such a way that no inference can be drawn from his notice of it §.

An indirect, though valuable source of information, is furnished by Cicero's epistle to Ligarius. In this

\* "Annumque ad cursum solis accommodavit, ut trecentorum sexaginta quinque dierum esset; et intercalario mense sublato, unus dies quarto quoque anno intercalaretur."—Suet. J. Cæs. xl.

† "Tres autem fuere sectæ; Chaldæa, Ægyptia, Græca. His addidit apud nos quartam Cæsar dictator, annos ad solis cursum redigens singulos, Sosigene perito scientiæ ejus adhibito."—Hist. Nat. xxxviii. 25.

‡ "Ex hoc anno, ita à Julio Cæsare ordinato, cæteri ad nostram memoriam Juliani appellantur, iique consurgunt ex iiii Cæsaris consulatu, qui etiam si non optime, soli tamen ad annum naturæ aptati sunt."—Censor. c. 20.

§ Vit. J. Cæs. lix.

he alludes to "the former intercalary" *scilicet* additions to the year, *intercalares priores*; an expression which has been variously interpreted. Some have thought that it referred to an intercalation after February, though not necessarily in connexion with Cæsar's grand measure\*. Others have considered it as a direct allusion to the first of the two intercalary months, which on the reformation of the Calendar were introduced between November and December†.

Whichever of these views is correct one thing is certain, either that this epistle was written, and that the oration which followed it was delivered prior to the reformation of the Calendar, or else in the very year of its correction, usually termed the last year of confusion. There could have been no *intercalares* afterwards, since the year was then fixed at 365 days, with only one intercalary day on the periodical recurrence of bissextile or leap-year. The prevailing opinion is, that Cicero's epistle was written and his oration delivered during the year in which Cæsar returned from Africa, and previously to his expedition to Spain. If so, and Cicero is to be understood as really alluding to the two intercalary months, introduced between November and December on the reformation of the Calendar, both the letter and the oration must be referred to December, just before Cæsar set out for Spain.

We are thus brought to the verge of, if not into the very year of Cæsar's Spanish campaign, and are introduced into all the perplexities which have been found to beset this celebrated expedition. After he had been *designated* consul for the fourth time ac-

\* See Ainsworth's Latin Dictionary, tit. "Intercalarius."

† See Clinton's *Fasti Hellen.* iii. 207, also Smith's *G. and R. Antiq.* 231, 2nd edit., where however the *second* is put by mistake for the first.

according to Plutarch \*, or when he was consul for the fourth time according to Appian †, Cæsar either led or despatched an army, *ἱστράτευεν* or *ἱστράτευσεν*, into Spain against the sons of Pompey. The chronicler of the Spanish war says that it was when Cæsar was dictator for the third time, and designated for the fourth, which has been understood of the consulship and not of his dictatorship, he proceeded into Spain with the utmost despatch in order to carry on the war ‡.

Every writer on the subject has felt himself pressed with the alleged rapidity of Cæsar's movements, and the brief space they are represented to have occupied. While some have attempted to reconcile the one account with the other, the more prudent have abandoned the idea as hopeless §.

The difficulty of accounting for Cæsar's rapid *arrival* in Spain would be lessened, if Appian's statement that Cæsar performed or undertook the journey with a powerful army, *βαρυστάτῳ στρατῷ* ||, could be set aside. Dion Cassius has been thought to differ from Appian; and has been understood as representing that Cæsar travelled with few attendants, and that

\* Vit. Cæsar.

† Bell. Civ. ii. 103.

‡ "O. Cæsar dictator iii, designatus iv, multis itineribus ante confectis, quum celeri festinatione venisset."—De Bell. Hisp. ii. 941, and n. 3. Ed. Oudendorp. Also Eutropius, Brev. vi. 24.

§ "Appian (l. c.) says that Cæsar arrived in *Spain* from Rome in twenty-seven days, accompanied by a part of his army; Suetonius (Jul. 56), that he reached the *further province* in twenty-four. Strabo seems to rely on the same authorities as Appian (iii. 4). From Rome to Corduba, or Obulco, is more than 1000 miles, a distance which it is utterly impossible for an army to accomplish in the longest of these periods. The author of the *Commentary on the Spanish War* is contented with the expression 'celeri festinatione,' and Dion prudently follows him."—Mer. Hist. Rom. ii. 396, n. 2.

|| App. Civ. ii. 103.

his army was already in Spain\*. What, however, Dion says is, that at some point or other of his march Cæsar preceded the army with which he left Rome, and hastened on to join his other troops which had previously been in Spain; so that the two accounts substantially agree. The narrative of Dion is as follows:—

“In the meantime Cæsar suddenly arrived with a small escort, to the surprise not only of the Pompeians, but also of his own army. Such was his expedition, that before his arrival in Spain was heard of, he was seen there by his enemies. To this end he left a large part of his army on its route, and hoped that by this despatch and his single arrival, among other objects, to strike terror into Pompey, and draw him away from the siege of the city, i. e. Ulia. Pompey, however, thinking that one man did not much excel another, and relying upon his own forces, was in no way disconcerted by his arrival, but continued as before to surround and make assaults upon the city. Cæsar, leaving there the few soldiers who had preceded the rest of his army, betook himself to Corduba, partly in the hope of conquering through treachery, but still more that acting upon the fears of Pompey he might turn him from Ulia. The event answered his expectations. For in the first place Cneus, having left a part of his army before Ulia, came to Corduba, and strengthening its fortifications upon Cæsar’s retreat, committed its defence to his brother Sextus. Afterwards, returning to Ulia, he made no progress; for in an assault upon the city, induced by the fall of a tower, which was thrown down, not by the works of the besiegers, but by the crowding of the defenders,

\* μετ’ ὀλίγων ἐξαίφνης ἀδόκητος—τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπῆλθε.—  
Dio xlii. 32. See Clinton’s Fasti Hellen. iii. 206.

his troops met with a repulse. Cæsar, also, having in the meanwhile thrown succours by night into the town (i. e. Ulia), again pitched his camp before Corduba, and surrounded it with his forces. At length Cneus, completely raising the siege of Ulia, marched with his whole army to Corduba, before which he appeared in such force that Cæsar, who was then suffering from sickness, retreated on hearing of his approach. Cæsar, however, having recovered his health, and being joined by the troops which had followed him, found himself under the necessity of carrying on the war in the winter. On this account, and from the supply of small and incommodious tents, the army suffered much, besides which a great scarcity of provisions prevailed."—"At this time Cæsar still held the dictatorship \*, and only at the close of the year was created consul †, the people being assembled for this express purpose on the summons of Lepidus, who was then master of the horse, and who retained this title during his consulate contrary to custom ‡."

\* This appears to have been the fourth; since Dio subsequently mentions a *fifth* dictatorship of J. Cæsar, when Marcus Lepidus was consul for the fifth time, with Mark Antony for his colleague (xliii. 49). Shortly afterwards Dio says that J. Cæsar "was dictator in these [qy. which] two years, and appointed another person and Octavius, though then but a stripling, masters of the horse. In the year in which these things were done Cæsar had Dolabella substituted in his place as consul, Antony continuing in office the whole year."—Dio xliii. 51.

† What consulship is here referred to it is difficult to say. Cæsar is represented in the year of his Spanish expedition to have remained in Rome until after the 1st of January, whatever time of the year that was (Jarv. Chron. Introd. 175), and to have returned in the month of October (Vell. Pat. ii. 56). It here, however, appears from Dio that during a great portion of the campaign Cæsar was dictator, and that afterwards, at the close of the year, he was chosen consul during his absence in Spain.

‡ Dio xliii. 32, 33.

But were it within the range of possibility for Cæsar individually to have reached the further part of Spain, and afterwards to have been joined by his large army, within the short space of time assigned for these exploits, there are other circumstances which throw his arrival at the seat of war comparatively into the shade.

When Cæsar quitted Rome Augustus was detained by severe illness. How long this lasted we are not informed; but he set out with a small number of companions to join his uncle. With a view, it may be presumed, to despatch he proceeded by sea, but was shipwrecked on the voyage. This disaster must have delayed his progress; and when he reached the mainland he must have been further hindered from having to make his way through a country infested by the enemy. On arriving Cæsar praised him for his expedition; a commendation which must have had reference to the obstacles that presented themselves at the outset of his journey, and to the impediments which he encountered in the prosecution of it\*. Yet notwithstanding his detention first from illness, and afterwards from shipwreck, accidents which with all his exertions to make up for lost time must have occasioned considerable delay, Augustus is said to have been present both at the capture of Attegua and the battle of Munda, the one on the 10th of February, the other on the 17th of March.

Not only, however, did impediments thus present themselves to the rapid progress of Augustus; Julius Cæsar after reaching Spain was himself seized

\* "Profectum mox avunculum in Hispanias, adversus Cn. Pompeii liberos, vix dum firmus à gravi valitudine, per hostibus infestas vias, paucissimis comitibus, naufragio etiam facto, subsecutus, magnopere demeruit, approbata cito etiam morum indole super itineris industriam."—Suet. Aug. 8.



with illness. This must have been of some continuance, for it is noticed that he had to wait for his recovery. On regaining his health, it is said that he found himself compelled to carry on the war in the winter\*.

But if he left Rome in January, and this month answered to the modern month of the same name, and he was then laid up with an illness of some duration, it would have been utterly impossible that he should have captured Attegua on the 10th of February. As regards the time of year, every day which elapsed after his arrival would have led more and more into spring. Supposing him to have arrived in the further part of Spain during the last week of January, or the first week of February, and then to have been attacked and laid up by illness, he must on his recovery have found spring approaching. Every day at this season would have brought with it more favorable weather, so that it could not have been winter which *compelled* him to hurry on first the siege of Attegua, and then the battle which was fought at Munda.

Were we, indeed, to accept the hypothesis, that the year in which these events occurred was the last year of confusion, and that on this ground we are to consider the beginning of January, when Julius Cæsar left Rome, equivalent to the latter end of September, and that after February there was an intercalation of the month Merkedonius, some of the difficulties attending Cæsar's operations *in Spain* would be removed. What, however, would then become of Cicero's *intercalares priores*, which by the best authorities are referred to two out of the three months supposed to have been inserted by Cæsar on the reformation of the Calendar;

\* ἡ γαγκάσθη καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πολεμῆσαι.—Dio xliii. 32.

this being placed by Fynes-Clinton and most other writers in the year preceding that of Cæsar's expedition to Spain?

The ancients themselves seem to have felt the difficulties which surrounded this period. Thus Pompey, who, according to Pliny, was born in the month of October \*, is said by Velleius Paterculus to have died the day *before* he completed his fifty-eighth year †. Both Appian and Dion Cassius state his age to have been fifty-eight years complete ‡. Plutarch, whose information was chiefly derived from his grandfather, who personally served in the civil wars, makes Pompey a year older, and relates that he died at the age of fifty-nine §, either on his birth-day or the *day after* ||.

Another event which is attended with difficulty and has been made the subject of discussion is the birth of Augustus ¶. Again, the civil wars according to Velleius Paterculus lasted twenty years, or terminated in their twentieth year \*\*; while in the Epitomes of Livy they are said to have ended in the twenty-second year ††. Velleius Paterculus also says that Lepidus succumbed to Augustus in the tenth year after he had arrived at the height of power ‡‡; although, according to the received chronology, this event took place not in the tenth, but in the ninth

\* Nat. Hist. xxxvii. sec. vii. 26.

† "Duodesexagesimum annum agentis, pridie natalem."—Nat. Hist. ii. 58.

‡ ὀκτώ τε καὶ πεντηκοντούτης ἔην.—Dio xlii. 5.

§ ἐξήκοντα μὲν ἐνὸς δέοντος βελιωκῶς ἔτη.—Plut. *infra*.

|| Plut. Camillo xix. Pomp. lxxix.

¶ See Clinton's F. Hellen. iii. 178. 180. Mer. Rom. Emp.

\*\* Vell. P. ii. 78. 89. †† Epit. cxxxiii.

‡‡ "Decimoque anno quam ad dissimillimam vitæ suæ potentiam pervenerat Lepidus."—Vell. Pat. ii. 80.

year after the formation of the triumvirate between Augustus, Antony, and Lepidus.

On the one side, then, besides the uncertainty and even contrarieties to be met with relating to the events of this period, an irresponsible power is found to have existed, capable of being exercised so as to disorder the whole framework of society. This power is stated by various unimpeachable witnesses to have been debased for the worst purposes. In one direction there was little scope for its exercise, and no perceptible evil could have resulted from it. In another its abuse could not fail to be attended with gain to some, with loss to others, and with more or less of inconvenience to the bulk of the people. No mere absence of intercalation in any year could have been sensibly felt; while the extension of the year by an excess of intercalation at once penetrated the entire political system, and was either beneficial or disastrous to individuals according to their position and circumstances. From Cicero's letters we accordingly learn, that what he apprehended was an extension of the year beyond its proper limits. The severe strictures of Suetonius, Censorinus, and Ammianus Marcellinus, are only consistent with this having been the prevailing practice.

At the period mentioned by Livy the civil year had in fact gained upon the solar year by no less than 119 days. This, in the exercise of the office entrusted to the pontiffs, may then have arisen from mere *errors* of intercalation. But what the depositors of this power are afterwards charged with is a gross abuse of it for the most scandalous corruption. As they could effect little in one direction, it cannot be doubted that they would seek to do so in another.

Recurring to Josephus, we have his *positive testi-*

*mony* that the capture of Jerusalem by Herod occurred twenty-seven years after that by Pompey. The main, as well as the subordinate circumstances, were all intimately associated with the history of his own nation; and when the particulars given come to be tested by calculation, his general statement is substantiated to the letter. In the Jewish years there were no such irregularities as existed in those of Rome. They were calculated on a different principle; and the Jewish archives, to which Josephus had access, must have shown that the number of years commencing with Pompey's capture of Jerusalem, and terminating with that by Herod, both being reckoned inclusive, were twenty-eight in all. This testimony receives a treble confirmation,—1, from the specified Olympiads, which indicate particular years, these corresponding with the intervals mentioned by Josephus, and excluding any other years; 2, from the existence of a power of extending the civil beyond the bounds of the solar year, which is known to have been constantly exercised in a corrupt manner; and 3, from actual astronomical calculation.

It cannot, therefore, be reasonably doubted that when Julius Cæsar reformed the Calendar the civil years, instead of having retrograded, must have *encroached* upon and been in *advance* of the solar years. Consequently, in adding eighty or ninety, or very possibly a larger number of days, to that which appeared to be a broken or incomplete year, one solar year must have been lost. What Julius Cæsar did was first to make up the current year to 365 days, and then to place the Calendar in future years on a correct and permanent footing. For accomplishing the first of these objects, the principle adopted would naturally be to make that alteration, which would occasion the least general inconvenience at the time. If, there-

fore, the civil year had become so accelerated as to be in advance of the solar by eight or nine months, less confusion would have been produced by adding the few additional months which were required to make up a full year, than by striking off the larger number of months which to all appearance had already elapsed. The latter course would have made the Romans pass as it were these over again, and have disordered all public inscriptions and monuments, in which years were represented by consulships, throughout the Roman world. In fact, as these superabundant months were not gained out of any one year, but consisted of encroachments upon several previous years, the mode in which they had been acquired was exceedingly likely to escape detection. Even if this were not the case, the desire of making as little apparent change, and of producing as little derangement in civil affairs as possible, would have been almost sure to prevail; while the effect of the change upon chronology at large was probably never thought of.

It thus happened that the twenty-seven consulships, which began with that of C. Antonius and M. T. Cicero, and ended with that of M. Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus, reckoning both inclusive, gradually encroached upon an extra year, until by means of the additions ultimately made by J. Cæsar on reforming the Calendar, they extended over twenty-eight solar years. In this way a solar year became lost sight of, and has so slipped out of all the chronological tables.

This one error has thrown the whole of chronology into disorder. The omission occurred, as we have seen, between the years 64 and 40 before the Christian æra, so that there is a year short in all the *Fasti* hitherto published.

## § IV. COMPUTATION OF ROMAN CONSULSHIPS.

After the reformation of the Calendar, when the civil year was made to commence on the 1st of January, the consulates did not begin nominally until after the consuls had been in office nearly four months; while they nominally continued for the same period after their term of office had expired. This arose from the consulates having anciently been concurrent with the years of Rome; the fasces being assumed on the feast of Pales\*, a solemnity which was subsequently altered with the civil year to the 1st of January. But as it would have created confusion to have altered the years of Rome, the consulates which marked those years continued to be reckoned in accordance with them; and therefore as beginning on the 21st of April in one year and ending on the 20th of April in the following year, instead of commencing as in reality on the 1st of January and terminating on the 31st of December†.

Fynes-Clinton notices this, but observes that it is not without exception. "The transactions of the Romans were marked by the consuls for the year; and while the consuls entered office in the spring, and the consular year nearly corresponded to the year of the city, no material difficulty would occur in marking a date. But when the commencement of the consular year had fallen back to the *Calends of January*, the official year began almost four months, and in intercalary years almost five, before the year of the city. Thus the consuls of B.C. 153, *Q. Fulvius* and

\* "Hac epocha [scil. a Palilibus] in Fastis triumphalibus Capitolinis designantur anni Romanorum magistratuum ac triumphorum eaque passim Romani scriptores utuntur."—Norisius, *De Epochis Syromaced.* 205.

† See Dio xlviii. 35; l. 43. Suet. Galba 6. Suet. Domit. 2.

*T. Annius*, belonged to the year of the city 60 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Their consulship continued almost four months of the former year, and little more than eight months of the latter. Whatever, therefore, was transacted in that consulship before the 21st day of April belonged to u.c. Varr. 600. But as the consuls who entered office on the Calends of January were always compared with that year of the city in which their consulship expired, it happened that the year of the city was anticipated in some cases \*."

This remark is suggested by the work of Sigonius, in which the consulship of Censorinus, A.U. 714, is thus anticipated. When a consul had a triumph between the 1st of January and the 20th of April, in recording the triumph he is there designated consul, although his consulate might not have been reckoned as beginning until the 21st of April. In other words, when *the individual* is spoken of, his proper title is given to him, he being styled consul as well between the 1st of January and the 21st of April, as between that day and the end of December. But when the consulship itself, that is, *the office* was referred to, this was not considered as beginning until the feast of Pales, and was then regarded as continuing until the corresponding period of the following year, although it really expired in December.

This rule forms an important element in determining chronological events, yet it has been lost sight of even by those who were aware of its existence †. Circumstances are occasionally found stated to have occurred in one year, which took place, or at least may have happened, in the year following.

\* Clinton's F. H. iii. Introd. xix, xx, also the notes.

† It must be obvious, also, that even ancient authors themselves may occasionally have been led into error, when uncertain at what time of year particular events may have occurred.

## § V. COMPUTATION OF JEWISH REIGNS.

The Hebrew mode of computing the reigns of their kings is another material element in chronology, from a want of attention to which one year more is supposed to be required to make up a given number of years, than is really the case. One hypothesis is that "Josephus writing from Rome, and for the readers of the Roman empire," would probably compute by *consular* years. In support of this several instances have been adduced, but these are based on the erroneous assumption that Herod's capture of Jerusalem did not take place until October\*.

There are two other modes of calculation which Josephus may have adopted. He may have begun with the day of accession, and then gone on from anniversary to anniversary in succeeding years, thus reckoning say from June to June as one year. Or he may have computed the reign of a Jewish monarch according to the national mode of reckoning. In referring to periods, including reigns, he seems to have computed by solar years. But as Herod's immediate successors had the right of coinage, and events were calculated within their dominions by the years of their several reigns, Josephus, in speaking of any of these reigns generally, appears to assign to them that duration, which was stamped upon their coins, which was inscribed on all official records, and was universally current among those of his own nation.

\* Lewin's Chron. N. T. 19—26. The *consular* reckoning would be the same, if Jerusalem were taken in *any part* of A.U. 716 [Varr. 717], that is, between the 21st of April, B.C. 37, and the 20th of April, B.C. 36; or, according to Mr. Lewin's own view, between the 1st of January and the 31st of December, B.C. 37. The proofs adduced therefore are inherently defective. The mesh is too large.



Now from their rabbinical writings we learn that the regal years of Hebrew kings were computed, not from the day of accession, but from the 1st of *Nisan* preceding, and that an additional year was attributed for every subsequent 1st of *Nisan*; the *fragment* of a year at either extreme being counted as one year\*. Wieseler finds several instances in Josephus of this method of computation †.

There are, then, two modes of reckoning which have to be borne in mind,—1, the mode of calculating Roman consulships; and 2, that of computing the reigns of Jewish kings.

By attending to the former it can be shown how Dion Cassius has been misapprehended, and how his narrative of the events connected with Herod's reign can be reconciled with the relation of Josephus, and how both fall in with the corrected chronology. Only let the reader while reading these pages turn to the *Fasti* in the Appendix ‡, and he will see how certainly Josephus must be correct, and how as certainly the received chronology (Fynes-Clinton's) must be wrong.

#### § VI. HEROD'S ELEVATION, AND CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

The triumvirate between Augustus, Antony, and Lepidus was formed late in the year A.U. 710, B.C. 43, shortly after which Antony proceeded into Asia; and in the summer of the year following was met by Cleopatra

\* "Non numerant in regibus nisi à Nisano . . . Nisanus initium anni regibus, ac dies quidem unus in anno (viz. post calendas Nisani) instar anni computatur. . . Unus dies in anni fine pro anno numeratur."—Gamara Rab. vide Anger, 9, n. x. •

† Chronologische Synopse, 52—55. Also Smith's Dict. of the Bible, p. 1072.

‡ In the subsequent parts of this work the years of Rome are those of the *Fasti Capitolini*, as in the Appendix.

in Cilicia\*. It was shortly after this that Herod was accused before Antony at Daphne in Syria by many of the principal Jews. Antony, however, sided with Herod, and made both him and his brother Phasaëlus tetrarchs†. After arranging this and some other affairs Antony placed his army in winter-quarters; and spent the whole of the following year, i. e. B.C. 41, with Cleopatra in Egypt‡. This brings us to the year A.U. 712-13, B.C. 40. Early in this or late in the previous year Pacorus, the king of Parthia's son, and Barzaphernes, a Parthian general, invaded and seized upon Syria§. Antony received intelligence of this while at Alexandria. Rousing himself from his voluptuous sloth, he at first determined to march against the Parthians; but pressing letters from his wife Fulvia induced him to proceed to Greece, from whence he made his way to Italy. Fulvia died in the spring of B.C. 40; and the reconciliation was effected between Antony and Augustus in the course of the summer through Antony's union with Octavia. They remained at Rome until late in the autumn, when Sextus Pompeius by stopping the supplies of corn from Sicily and other places caused so great a famine, and such serious insurrections among the people, that Octavius and Antony, who came to his assistance, were nearly falling victims to their exasperation. The two triumvirs found themselves compelled to open negotiations for peace with Sextus Pompeius, when the treaty of Misenum was concluded between the contending parties, to the great joy of the Romans||.

\* Appian, B. C. v. 11. Plutarch, Anton. 26. Athenæus iv. 29.

† Joseph. Bell. Jud. I. xii. 5. Antiq. XIV. xiii. 1.

‡ Appian, B. C. Plut. Anton. 28. Athenæus l. c.

§ Joseph. Antiq. XIV. xiii. 3. Bell. Jud. I. xiii. 1.

|| Appian, Bell. Civ. v. 67-74. Vell. Pat. ii. 77. Dion xlviii. 31, 32. 36-38.

After hospitalities had passed between them and Sextus, Augustus and Antony returned to Rome, where they only remained for a short time, Antony proceeding to Greece, and passing the succeeding winter at Athens\*.

Velleius Paterculus appears to assign this treaty to the consulate of Cn. Domitius Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio†. Dion Cassius speaks of it under the next consulship of L. Marcius Censorinus and C. Calvisius Sabinus, although with some laxity of expression. He begins his account of this consulate with a narrative of certain other transactions; and then says, "While these things were taking place, negotiations for peace with Sextus Pompeius were opened through mutual friends‡." He thus appears to go back somewhat in his narrative, so that the peace of Misenum, as far as Dio's statement is concerned, may have been concluded at the very commencement of this consulship, if not before. Its date is by some modern historians referred to the latter part of B.C. 40§. But it could not have been entered into before the month of January B.C. 39, as will presently be shown. As Censorinus and Sabinus were then actually consuls, Dio may not in this instance have observed the rule noticed at p. 479; or he may not have been aware of the precise month. The difference between himself and Velleius would be explained by the supposition, that the rule was observed by one and neglected by the other. Dio, however, is generally the most accurate; although he occasionally falls into error, as will be noticed hereafter. Taking his account in connexion with that of Velleius Pater-

\* Appian, B. C. 75.

† V. Pat. ii. lxxvii. lxxviii.

‡ Dio xlviii. 34.

§ See *Histoire Romaine*, par Catrou et Rouillé, xviii. 399. Paris, 1734. Hooke's *Rom. Hist.* iv. 384, 385.

culus, and also with what Josephus relates of Herod's movements at this time, it may safely be assumed that the treaty of Misenum was concluded in the *early part* of B.C. 39\*.

From Josephus' narrative it is evident that Herod was engaged during the greater part of the year, B.C. 40, in contending with the Parthians. Finding himself unable any longer to cope with them, he made his way to Pelusium, and thence to Alexandria, where Cleopatra sought in vain to detain him. He set sail in the depth of winter †, encountered a storm, and with difficulty reached Rhodes. Here he must have remained for some time; for finding this city seriously damaged by the war with Cassius, he employed himself in its restoration, and also fitted out a three-decked ship of very large size, in which when completed he sailed to Brundisium. Looking at the number and character of the events related, it is quite impossible that he could have arrived at Rome earlier than the beginning of A.U. 713-14, or B.C. 39.

Upon Herod's arrival at Alexandria on his way to Rome, he learnt that the affairs of Italy were in a disordered state. The disorders alluded to must have been those which preceded both the reconciliation of Augustus and Antony, and also the treaty of Misenum. Previously to the latter Sextus Pompeius, who was in possession of Sicily, infested the Italian seas with a numerous fleet, so that no vessel durst venture thither ‡. After this peace he engaged to

\* As part of the arrangement, consuls were named for eight years, beginning with the consulship next after that of Censorinus and Sabinus. Dio xlviii. 35.

† χειμῶνος τε ὄντος, Antiq. XIV. xiv. 2, 3. τῇ ἀκμῇ τοῦ χειμῶνος, Bell. Jud. I. xiv. 2, 3.

‡ Appian, B. C. 70 [710].

drive away all pirates, and to send yearly supplies of corn to Rome. Even during the negotiations for it, he would probably abstain from any flagrant attacks upon the partisans of those, with whom he was treating for peace.

When the senate passed its decree conferring upon Herod the title of king, he left the senate-house supported by Antony on one side, and by Augustus on the other \*. But Herod's elevation could not have occurred upon the occasion of Antony's marriage with Octavia; since this took place in the previous summer or autumn. Besides, Herod was only at Rome seven days; and if he were there at a season of festivity and general rejoicing, his stay would no doubt have been longer; while in the beginning of the following year, as Augustus and Antony were themselves only at Rome for a short time, there was a reason why Herod's visit should also be curtailed.

His elevation is placed by Josephus in the 184th Olympiad †. Aware from Jewish archives and tradition, that Jerusalem was taken by Sosius and Herod twenty-seven years after its capture by Pompey, he yet does not appear to have noticed, that reckoning by consulships there was one year short of this number. Consequently, in adjusting the Olympiads to these, he takes the corresponding or parallel year, as it must have appeared to the Romans. He thus places the consulship of Calvinus and Pollio in that Olympiad, in which it would have stood if no link in the solar years had been wanting, i. e. in Ol. 184. 4,

\* Joseph. Antiq. XIV. xiv. 4, 5. Bell. Jud. I. xiv. 4.

† Antiq. XIV. xiv. 5. For the different views taken on the subject in connexion with this Olympiad, see Langius de Annis Christi II. xviii. 341. Bucherius in Belgio Rom. ii. 75. Usher's Annal. 424. Also Apparatus Anton. Pagi ad Annal. Baron. 17. Basnage in Annal. i. 16, &c.

instead of Ol. 185. 1. This Olympiad must, therefore, have appeared to Josephus to commence at or shortly after Midsummer A.U. 713, or B.C. 40, which was about the time of Augustus' reconciliation with Antony. As Herod's elevation cannot possibly have occurred prior to their reconciliation, so from the Olympiad alone we can gather that Herod was made king by the Romans somewhere between Midsummer B.C. 40 and Midsummer B.C. 39.

The next step is to narrow this period of a twelvemonth. Shortly after Antony's reconciliation to Augustus, Ventidius was despatched by the former into Asia to oppose the Parthians. This must have been about the autumn of B.C. 40, for upon Herod's return from Rome to Ptolemais, Ventidius had evidently been some little time in Syria\*. Of this year there are thus only left about three months. Let us next take the consulship, that of Cn. Domit. Calvinus and C. Asinius Pollio. Being *consules ordinarii*, their names would be given to the whole year†. This nominally began on the 21st April A.U. 712-13, B.C. 40, and nominally terminated on the 20th April A.U. 713-14, B.C. 39. Having already got rid of all but the last three months of B.C. 40, we are here enabled to strike off a like portion from the extremity of the Olympiad, which will reduce the time from about October, B.C. 40, to the 20th April, B.C. 39.

\* Joseph. Antiq. XIV. xiv. 6; xv. 1. Bell. Jud. I. xv. 2, 3.

† Dio xlviii. 35; l. 43. Suet. Galba, 6. Domit. 2. This was *the rule*, although it was not one which was always observed. In numerous inscriptions we find the names of individuals described as consuls, who were only *consules suffecti*. One notable example of this occurs even in such a public document as the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, where L. Caninius and Q. Fabricius are mentioned as consuls instead of Augustus XIII. and M. Plaut. Silvanus, in whose places they were substituted. Vide Mon. Ancy. Tab. III., also Suet. Aug. 26.

We now arrive at something still more definite. From the time of his elevation Herod reigned thirty-seven years \*; but when he commenced his march upon Jerusalem, which will be shown to have been towards the end of January, he was just entering upon the third year since he was made king at Rome †. This event must, therefore, have taken place in January, or at the latest in February, B.C. 39; or Josephus could not have said that Herod's third year was only beginning in the former month two years afterwards. Moreover, it has been shown that Herod could not have arrived at Rome before the commencement of B.C. 39. The subsequent relation of Josephus leads to the same conclusion. In corroboration of this Appian says that Herod was among the kings constituted by Antony after the peace with Sextus Pom-

\* Joseph. Antiq. XVII. viii. 1. Bell. Jud. I. xxxiii. 8.

† *συνήγετο δὲ αὐτῷ τρίτον ἔτος, ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀπεδέδεικτο* [*ἀπεδέδεικνυτο*].—Bell. Jud. I. xvii. 8. And in another place, *τρίτον δὲ αὐτῷ [αὐτῷ] τοῦτο ἔτος ἦν, ἐξ οὗ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἀποδέδεικτο*.—Joseph. Antiq. XIV. xv. 14. In both cases Josephus makes use of the imperfect tense; but the verb *συνάγειν*, literally to join together, is more marked and expressive than *εἶναι*. It properly indicates the conjunction, initiation, or commencement of particular objects, circumstances, or periods. Its metaphorical senses are various, though all arising out of this primary signification. Thus one sense is to *compute*; as "from such an event to another there are reckoned or computed so many years," where the real meaning is that this number of years is brought together. See instances in G. Sync. 86 A, and Ptolem. Comp. ii. 191 D. The word was applied to military affairs, as in the instance of *ἡ μάχη συνήγετο*, "the battle was beginning." It is observable that Josephus here uses it in his Wars, where as a military phrase it would readily be understood in the sense of commencing; although not really requiring any technical aid for this purpose, this being as nearly as may be its primary meaning. The passage literally translated would run, "The third year was being joined, or beginning to be reckoned to him from the time of his having been declared king at Rome."

peius, a decree of the senate having confirmed all Antony's past and future acts\*. Thus no historical fact can be better established, than that Herod was declared king by the Roman senate in or shortly after January A.U. 713-14, or B.C. 39.

From this period dates and events are easily traceable. While Antony after the peace of Misenum was wasting his time in Greece, his lieutenant Ventidius was successfully contending with the Parthians, over whom he gained first one victory, and then a second, the news of which reached Antony while wintering at Athens. This brings us to the turn of B.C. 38, some six months after which, in the month of June †, Ventidius gained a third and more-decisive victory over the Parthians, Pacorus the king's son and great numbers of the Parthians being slain. For this triumphs were decreed to Ventidius, and also to Antony as the superior in command ‡.

After his third victory Ventidius laid siege to Samosata, the capital of the kingdom of Commagene; but for fear of exciting the jealousy of Antony, he declined to accept the terms offered by Antiochus, the king of the country, and awaited the arrival of his chief, to whose decision these terms were referred. Antony shortly after joining his army dismissed Ventidius, on the plea of sending him to Rome to receive the honors of his triumph. This act excited so much discontent in the breasts of the soldiers, that Antony, whose orders were unwillingly obeyed, failed to meet with the success which he had anticipated. After the siege had from this cause been protracted for

\* Bell. Civ. v. 75 [715].

† Conf. Dio xl. 23, cum Dio xlix. 21. Oros. vi. 18. App. in Parthic.

‡ Vell. Pat. ii. 78. Dion xlix. 20, 21. Plut. Vit. Anton. 30—33. Justinus xlii. Strabo xvi. Front. Strat. ii. Lewis' Hist. of Parth. Emp. 139. Lond. 1728.



some time, he was glad before winter set in to accept conditions far less favorable than had been offered to his lieutenant Ventidius\*.

Herod had left Judea, because he found that the forces of Antigonus, with the aid of the Parthians, were too powerful for him. He went therefore to Rome to sue for succour, not being aware when he set out that Ventidius had received orders to oppose the Parthians, and was probably on his march at this very time. Learning this on his arrival at Rome, Herod on being raised to royal dignity, and receiving promises of support, hastened back to Judea, where he arrived before the winter was over†. He provided the Romans with winter-quarters; but finding that he had the forces of Antigonus only to contend with, he kept out his own army, and took Sepphoris in spite of a heavy fall of snow‡. After allowing his men some repose, Herod resumed active operations, which continued through the greater part of this year, B.C. 38. In these he was generally successful. On two occasions he received assistance from the Romans,—once from Silo, by the direction of Ventidius; and the second time directly from Ventidius, who supplied him with a thousand men. The first occasion was before the great defeat of the Parthians. The second was after Ventidius had gained his third victory, when Pacorus was slain, and previously to the siege of Samosata§. This, therefore, was about July or August.

Meanwhile Herod's brother, Josephus, undertook an expedition in the neighbourhood of Jericho with

\* Plut. Vit. Anton.

† Bell. Jud. I. xv. 6; xvi. 1—3.

‡ *ἐν νιφετῷ σφοδρῶς*. Bell. Jud. I. xvi. 2. The winter season in this year appears to have been a late one.

§ Joseph. Antiq. XIV. xv. 5, 7, 8. Bell. Jud. I. xvi. 4, 6, 7, 8, 10.

the view of seizing upon the crops, in which expedition he was slain \*. Corn would be ripe about June, and when Herod's brother was killed it is said to have been ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ θεύους †, in the height of summer. Herod on receiving the intelligence hastened his march to avenge his death, and in Galilee encountered Pappus, the general of Antigonus, whom he defeated ‡. Herod was thus actively engaged against Antigonus up to the siege of Samosata, which began in the course of the autumn.

After the arrival of Antony at Samosata, and while he was detained before this city, he was visited by Herod, who then obtained from him promises of further support. Accordingly on leaving the command of his army to Sosius, Antony enjoined him to render assistance to Herod. Acting upon these orders, Sosius despatched two legions into Judea, and shortly afterwards followed himself with the main body §.

The time of these events can be proximately arrived at; since Ventidius, on being dismissed by Antony, hastened to Rome, and there celebrated his triumph on the 28th of Nov. A.U. 715, B.C. 38 ||. It must, therefore, have been towards the close of the year that Antony quitted Samosata, and gave these orders to Sosius.

Upon being joined by the Roman general, Herod's army was restrained from marching upon Jerusalem by "the depth of winter ¶;" and so soon as "the rigor of winter was over," or as "winter was going

\* Bell. Jud. I. xvii. 1.

† Ibid.

‡ Antiq. XIV. xv. 12. Bell. Jud. I. xvii. 5—8.

§ Joseph. Antiq. XIV. xv. 9. Bell. Jud. I. xvii. 2.

|| Fasti Capitolini apud Sigonius, v. 1. Clinton's F. H. iii. 220.

¶ Joseph. Antiq. XIV. xv. 12.

off\*," the army was set in motion, and laid siege to the city †. Now it was in the middle of the seventh month Tisri, or at the commencement of October, that the cold weather set in, and "the season of the year changed for winter ‡;" and it was during the month of December that the winter rains, accompanied with great cold, chiefly prevailed §. Although instances are recorded of inclement weather in Judea in March and April, and on one occasion by a traveller

\* *λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος*.—Antiq. XIV. xv. 14. *λωφῆσαντος δὲ τοῦ χειμῶνος*.—Bell. Jud. I. xvii. 8.

† In an elaborate note Fynes-Clinton attempts to fasten upon Josephus a charge of inconsistency—Fasti Hellen. iii. 299, note C. title Sosius. For this purpose he selects the death in battle of Herod's brother, and the junction of the forces under Sosius with those of Herod. As respects the first, he says that if Herod upon hearing tidings of his brother's death in the summer of B.C. 38 had, as Josephus asserts, hastened his march, he (Herod) would have reached Jerusalem in twenty-eight days, thus intimating that Jerusalem could not have been taken so late as B.C. 37. But what Josephus says is that Herod hastened his march, not to go up to Jerusalem, with the siege of which this had nothing to do, but to meet the forces of Antigonus, who were then *in the field*, and with whom he fought a battle, *not* in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, *but in Galilee*. (Antiq. XV. xvi. 11.) As regards the Roman army, Clinton says "that *Sosius* joined *Herod* in the summer." For this he cites the words given p. 493, n. 3. These, however, refer, *not* to the junction of the two armies, but to *the course of the siege*, after both armies had met, had marched together to Jerusalem, and had for some time been jointly engaged in prosecuting the attack. Clinton evidently had misgivings whether his date of the capture was correct, and appended this note to justify his conclusion. But his total misconception and confusion of Josephus' statements show that this particular note must have been written, either when he was suffering from illness, or after his mind had received so strong a bias as to be rendered incapable of a correct judgment. In differing from a writer of such eminence, it is satisfactory to find him assigning grounds for his conclusion, which can be shown to be incontestably wrong.

‡ Antiq. III. x. 4.

§ See Ezra x. 9.

even so late as the 8th of May, yet spring usually set in the latter end of January; while there was nothing to prevent an army from taking the field even earlier, unless the rains were unusually protracted\*.

The siege lasted five months, at the end of which time the city was taken by assault†. As, therefore, the siege commenced ere the *winter* was well over, it would be carried on until the summer had set in. Accordingly when the siege was far advanced, and there was no obstacle to its vigorous prosecution, Josephus notices that *summer* was being entered upon‡. The siege commencing the latter end of January, the capture of Jerusalem would thus occur towards the end of June, which precisely tallies with Josephus' description in other respects§.

\* Among the Romans the Calendar of Julius Cæsar fixed the commencement of winter at iii. Id. Nov. (11th Nov.); the winter solstice on viii. Kal. Jan. (25th Dec.); and the commencement of spring on vii. Id. Feb. (7th Feb.), when it was generally observed that the breezes of Favonius began to blow. Smith's G. and R. Antiq. 165, 2nd edit. In Judea, which is further east, the seasons are still earlier. According to Dr. Russell the climate of Judea resembles that of Aleppo, where the natives reckon the severity of winter to last but forty days, beginning the 12th of December and ending the 20th of January, which computation he found to be very near the truth. See Harmer's Observat. edited by Adam Clarke, i. 132. Amer. edit.

† Joseph. Bell. Jud. I. xviii. 2. Antiq. XIV. xvi. 2.

‡ *Θέρος τε γὰρ ἦν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν.*—Antiq. XIV. xvi. 2. Josephus here again uses the imperfect tense, showing that it was the beginning of summer, which is rendered still more apparent from the contrast to the expression, *ἀκμὴ τοῦ θέρους*, the height of summer, when Herod's brother was killed.

§ Josephus mentions or refers to two winters and two summers:—1. The winter when Herod went to and returned from Rome, and afterwards took Sepphoris. 2. The summer in the same year, when Herod's brother was killed. 3. The ensuing winter, in which Sosius joined Herod. 4. The summer following, in which Jerusalem was taken. .

Another mark of identification is, that the siege commenced and ended in the course of a Sabbatic year. Taking into account the missing solar year, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Sabbatic year referred to by Josephus occurred between the autumns of B.C. 38 and 37. Compare Bosanquet's *Readjustm. of Sacr. and Prof. Chron.* 80, with Browne's *Chron. of Script.* 290, 291.

A further mode of calculation, furnished by the Jewish historian with reference to the capture of the city, is that this evil befell his country in the third month. Now the third month of the ecclesiastical year was Sivan, which corresponds with the very month of June, to which the previous indications also lead.

It is true that the Jewish *civil* year commenced in the month Tisri, answering to September and October, the third month of which, Chisleo, fell in November and December. It was by the latter that the Sabbatical year, the year of jubilee, and some civil matters were computed\*. But after the exodus, the year commonly referred to by the Hebrews, that by which the reigns of their kings was calculated, and to which Josephus invariably alludes, is the ecclesiastical year†. It happened, indeed, that this particular year was a Sabbatic year; but Josephus did not on that account reckon by the civil year, as may be clearly shown. First, the year B.C. 64 was not a Sabbatic year; and yet the third month of that year is equally mentioned, and a day in the one is said to have been the anniversary of a day in the other. Again, the Sabbatic year did not begin until the end of September; but if the siege commenced subsequently, and lasted

\* See Exod. xii. 2. Numb. xxviii. 11. Mant's Bible in loco, n.; also Ezra x. 9.

† Antiq. III. x. 3. 5.

five months, this could not possibly have terminated in the third month of the civil year.

Notwithstanding this clear evidence on the point, some writers have understood Josephus as referring to the civil year, although these do not agree in point of time. Thus Browne and Lewin date the capture of Jerusalem by Herod on the 5th of October in B.C. 37\*. But this did not fall in the third month of either the ecclesiastical or the civil year. Mr. Lewin seeks to avoid this difficulty by throwing Herod's actual reign into the succeeding month Chisleo or November, in which he places the death of Antigonus, and which would be the beginning of the third month of the civil year. It was not, however, Antigonus' death, but the capture of Jerusalem, which happened in the third month; so that this is violating the text of Josephus. Others place the fall of Jerusalem in the latter end of the same month Chisleo or December, though in the previous year, B.C. 38, which, if the siege lasted five months, is simply impossible†.

The time of the capture is further identified by its being on "the solemnity of *the fast* ‡." This must have been a fast of some importance to be thus emphatically noticed, without being specifically pointed out. Accordingly in Sivan, the third month of the ecclesiastical year, occurred the fast for the idolatry of Jeroboam, which must have been one of especial observance. In Tisri, the third month of the civil,

\* Browne's Chron. of the Script. 21. 24. Lewin's Chron. N. T. 15.

† Reimar ad Dion. xxxvii. 16. Usher's Annal. 261—599. Lardner's Credib. i. 446. Clinton's F. H. iii. 176.

‡ *τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς νηστίας*.—Antiq. XIV. xvi. 4. The expression is peculiar. Happening on a Jewish Sabbath, the *solemnity* would be observed without the *fast*. Jud. viii. 6. *Taanith* ii. 10.

but the seventh of the ecclesiastical year, there occurred the fast on the day of atonement, which was also kept as a solemn Sabbath \*. In the month Chisleo, however, if there were any fast, it was one of much less account, the one alleged being on the 28th day of this month for the burning of the roll by Jehoiakim †.

A still further corroboration is found in the fact, that Jerusalem was taken by Titus in the 107th year after the capture by Herod ‡, and in the second year of Vespasian's reign §. If taken by Herod in the month of June this would be correct, but it would be erroneous if its capture were deferred until October ||. Vespasian was born on the 17th of November, A.D. 9, in the consulate of Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and C. Poppæus Sabinus, being the fifth year before the death of Augustus ¶. His reign began on the 1st of July, in the consulate of Serv. Sulpic., Galba II., and

\* This was the great day of humiliation ordained by the Mosaic law. Levit. xxiii. 27. *σάββατα σαββάτων*, Septuag. It is, therefore, inferred by those who place the capture of Jerusalem in October, that this must be the fast alluded to by Josephus. But it was instituted for sins generally, and had no special reference to Jerusalem, or even to the Jewish nation. Looking forward to the great atonement thereafter to be made for the sins of the whole world, there would have been nothing marked or peculiarly appropriate in a national judgment on this day. But that Jerusalem should have fallen on the day of the fast for the idolatry of Jeroboam, "who made Israel to sin," that special sin in which Judah had also become involved, is a striking instance of Divine retribution. See 1 Kings xiii. 34; xiv. 16; xv. 30; xvi. 18; xxi. 22; xxii. 52. Josephus does not speak of the fast he alludes to as *the fast*, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, of the *entire year*, but as *the fast of the third month*.

† See Jerem. xxxvi. 22, 23.

‡ *ἔτη πρὸς τοὺς ἑκατὸν ἑπτά*, Antiq. XX. x.

§ Bell. Jud. VI. x. 1.

|| By having recourse to consular years, Mr. Lewin affirms that the period is not only made up, but that it could not be so on any other hypothesis! Chron. N. T. 26.

¶ Suet. Vesp. 2.

T. Vinius Rufinus, in A.U. 821, or A.D. 69. He died at the age of sixty-nine years, seven months, and seven days, having reigned ten years all but seven days \*. His death, therefore, occurred on the 23rd of June A.U. 831, A.D. 79. Thus the *second* year of his reign commenced on the 1st of July, A.D. 70, and would therefore comprise the 1st of September in that year, on which day, *Saturni die*, the city was taken by Titus †.

The evidence does not rest even here. Josephus evidently makes three different computations of Herod's reign; one being his *nominal* reign, another his *actual* reign, and the third his *undisputed* reign. The *first* he dates from the senate's decree, when Herod was made king at Rome; the *second* from the fall of Jerusalem, when, as he says, Herod "had the government of all Judea in his hands ‡;" the *third* from the death of Antigonus, with whom the Asamonean dynasty came to an end, when Herod's kingdom became assured.

If no one of these is specifically mentioned, Josephus calculates from Herod's actual reign, when he became king *de facto*. Thus he says that the battle of Actium was fought in the seventh year of Herod's reign, which, reckoning this from the capture of Jerusalem, was actually the case.

In like manner Josephus mentions that in the thirteenth year of Herod § a famine broke out in Judea. This famine began in the summer of A.U. 728, B.C. 25. It extended into the next year, B.C. 24,

\* Suet. Vesp. 7. 24. Dio lxvi. 1, 2. † J. Front. Strateg. ii. 1.

‡ ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῆς ὅλης Ἰουδαίας ἐνεχειρίσθη τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἡρώδης.—Antiq. XV. i. 1.

§ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τρισκαίδεκατον ὄντα τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας.—Antiq. XV. ix. 1.



when Herod sent to his friend Petronius, then governor of Egypt, and obtained large supplies of corn. In this year Ælius Gallus undertook an expedition into Arabia, which failed through the treachery of Syl-læus. Early in the year following, B.C. 23, the expedition was renewed, when Herod furnished the Roman general with an auxiliary force of 500 men, who were of great service; although, owing to similar treachery, this second expedition was still more disastrous\*. These dates fix the thirteenth year of Herod's reign to A.U. 728, or B.C. 25.

Again, Augustus is said to have come into Syria after Herod had already reigned seventeen years, i. e. in Herod's eighteenth year †. This was in A.U. 733, B.C. 20, and must have been during the summer months ‡; although, except what may incidentally be gathered from Josephus and Dion Cassius, the exact time of year is not noticed. Dio says that Augustus spent the preceding winter in the isle of Samos; and then gives an account of his progress from thence—first into Bithynia and other parts of Asia, where he settled various political affairs, and then of his coming into Syria. Here he received from Phraates the standards which had been captured by the Parthians from Crassus and Antony. Dio next mentions the birth of Caius Cæsar, the grandson of Augustus, which appears to have taken place in July, August, or September §. Dio shortly afterwards states that Augustus

\* Dio liii. 29; liv. 5. Strabo ii. 118 [p. 157]; xvi. 780—782 [p. 1107]; xvii. 819, 820 [p. 1160]. Ed. Oxon. 1807. Plin. vi. 20. Joseph. Antiq. XV. ix. 1—3. Clinton's F. H. iii. 236.

† *Ἡδὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας ἑπτακαίδεκάτον παρελθόντος ἔτους.*—Antiq. XV. x. 3.

‡ Mr. Lewin says *at* Midsummer, Chron. N. T. 25.

§ See Jarv. Chron. Introd. 219.

returned to Samos, where he passed the next winter \*. All that can be collected, therefore, is that Augustus visited Syria during the middle of the year.

It is further stated that Herod, in the nineteenth year of his reign †, announced his intention of rebuilding the temple. Again, Josephus says that Cæsarea-Sebaste was completed in the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and in the 192nd Olympiad ‡. But in neither of these instances is there any thing to indicate the exact time of the year; so that they are useless for the present inquiry.

\* Dio liv. 7. 9.

† Ὀκτωκαιδέκατον τῆς Ἡρώδου βασιλείας γεγονότος ἐνιαυτοῦ.—Antiq. XV. xi. 1. That is, the eighteenth year being complete; although commonly rendered and understood as "during or in the course of the eighteenth year." It is so in the Latin translations of Havercamp and Hudson. Also by Dr. Thomson, now Bishop of Gloucester; and apparently by Mr. Westcott, who connects it with B.C. 20. Mr. W. A. Wright places it in B.C. 19. Smith's Dict. of the Bible, 793. 1007. 1072. 1074. There is no doubt that the latter is correct. *Γεγονότος* is the participle of the perfect tense, which tense denotes a complete state or action. Donaldson's Gr. Gram. 408, 409, 2nd ed. Had Josephus intended to express that the eighteenth year was in progress, he would no doubt have used the present form *ὄντος*, as he does with respect to the thirteenth year. Besides, Josephus had already referred to the eighteenth year, and is, therefore, not likely to have mentioned it again. In speaking of this, he does so under the words, "the seventeenth year *being already passed*." Here his expression is the eighteenth year *being complete*. Between the two words, *γεγονότος* and *παρελθόντος*, there is a nicety of distinction which can scarcely be conveyed in translation. While the former simply implies completion, the latter expresses that and something more, although the difference is not so strongly marked as between the perfect and the pluperfect. Antiq. XV. xi. 5, 6. The gradation indicated by the words *ὄντα*, *γεγονότος*, and *παρελθόντος* shows how attentive Josephus was to distinctions of grammar, as well as of time.

‡ Antiq. XVI. v. 1.

For fixing, however, the year of Herod's death, Josephus reckons the entire duration of his reign, not from the capture of Jerusalem, but from the other events referred to. Herod, he says, reigned thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus, and thirty-seven years from his elevation by the Romans\*. Between the capture of Jerusalem by Sosius and Herod, and the subsequent death of Antigonus, a marked distinction is made by Josephus. The two events must have been separated by a considerable interval. Antony was not present at the taking of Jerusalem. Not only had intelligence to be conveyed to him at a distance; but when apprised that Antigonus was a prisoner, he determined to reserve him to grace his own triumph, which had been decreed for the victories of Ventidius over the Parthians. It was not until some time after these tidings had reached him, and when he had apparently abandoned the notion of celebrating his triumph, that Antony, upon learning that disaffection to Herod was kept alive by the continued existence of Antigonus, and on Herod's continued importunity, ordered the captive monarch to be taken to Antioch, and there beheaded†. But Herod was made king at Rome about the end of January, or possibly in February, B.C. 39; and he was

\* βασιλεύσας μεθ' ὃ μὲν ἀνέϊλεν Ἀντίγονον, ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, μεθ' ὃ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδείκτο, ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, Antiq. XVII. viii. 1. βασιλεύσας ἀφ' οὗ μὲν ἀποκτείνας Ἀντίγονον ἐκράτησε τῶν πραγμάτων ἔτη τέσσαρα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀπεδείχθη βασιλεὺς ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα, Bell. Jud. I. xxxiii. 8. See also Antiq. XX. x. In these passages, *the action being single and complete*, Josephus not only employs the *aorist* tense in connexion with numbers to denote *definite* past time, but further joins it with the *pluperfect*. For a similar or analogous use of the *aorist* by other authors see Diod. Sic. ix. 81; xi. 52; i. 66; ii. 13. Herod. v. 89. Thucyd. i. 6. Philoct. Soph. 381.

† Joseph. Antiq. XV. i. 1; XX. x.

entering upon his third year two years afterwards, at the latter end of January A.U. 716, B.C. 37; Jerusalem being captured five months later still, on the 22nd of June in that year. To make up, therefore, the three years which elapsed between the senate's decree and the death of Antigonus, the latter must have taken place in the early part of B.C. 36. This gives seven or eight months between the two last events, which is about the interval to be inferred from Josephus' narrative in connexion with Antony.

This is corroborated by another period derived from the same source. Referring to the death of Antigonus, Josephus says that the Asamonean dynasty thus ceased after 126 years\*. The beginning of this period he reckons from the time that the government of the nation had been bestowed upon the sons of Asamoneus, when they had defeated the Macedonians in war†. This must refer to the reign of Demetrius Soter; since that of Antiochus Epiphanes is clearly too early, as is also that of his son Antiochus Eupator, especially considering that there was peace with Israel during the greater part of his reign‡. But some few months after Demetrius Soter had ascended the Syrian throne, his oppression of the Israelites led to a battle between his general Nicanor and Judas Maccabeus, in which the former sustained a signal defeat on the 13th of the month Adar, answering to the beginning of March§. This was at the end of the 151st year of the æra of the Seleucidæ, since the first

\* παύεται δ' οὕτως ἡ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου ἀρχὴ μετὰ ἑτη ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι ἑξ.—Antiq. XIV. xvi. 4. The word *μετὰ* implies 126 years and upwards.

† πάλιν δὲ οἱ τοῦ Ἀσαμωναίου παίδων ἔκγονοι, τὴν προστασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους πιστευθέντες, καὶ πολεμήσαντες Μακεδόσιν.—Antiq. XX. x.

‡ 2 Macc. xiv. 1.

§ 1 Macc. vii. 43. 2 Macc. xv. 27—34.

month of the 152nd year occurred shortly afterwards. In commemoration of their victory, the Israelites ever afterwards observed the day as a festival\*. Immediately after this the Romans entered into a treaty with them, showing that the Asamoneans were from that time recognized as having the government of the country†. According to Fynes-Clinton, however, Demetrius Soter did not begin to reign until November Ær. Sel. 151, which he makes equivalent to November, B.C. 162. This year is certainly too late, even if the month be not so likewise. As the battle with Nicanor was fought some little time after Demetrius had been on the throne, and in the month of March, the reign of Demetrius must have begun, not in B.C. 162, but in 163, as may thus be shown—

	B.C.
Demetrius Soter began to reign in . . .	163
Victory over Nicanor in the beginning of March . . . . .	162
The Asamoneans reigned upwards of 126 years afterwards . . . . .	126
Their government therefore terminated in the early part of . . . . .	<u>36</u>

While the received chronology (Fynes-Clinton's) is at variance both with Josephus and the Books of the Maccabees, the corrected chronology, by adding the solar year which has slipped out of the Fasti, is in harmony with all three. The loss of a solar year is thus confirmed; and it is established that the death of Antigonus must have occurred early in B.C. 36.

The evidence would be incomplete unless it could be shown in what way the thirty-seven years from the senate's decree, and the thirty-four years from the

\* 1 Macc. vii. 49. 2 Macc. xv. 36.

† 1 Macc. vii. 1; ix. 3. 2 Macc. xiv. 4.

death of Antigonus, are to be reckoned. Several writers, as Basnage\*, Wieseler†, and Dr. Thomson, Bishop of Gloucester‡, maintain that they are Jewish regal years, having reference to the 1st Nisan. But the decree of the senate was purely a Roman act, conferring no real authority, which was not recognized, but repudiated in Judea. It would be strange, therefore, that Josephus should magnify and expand an empty title by clothing it with a Hebrew computation, applicable only to real sovereignty. It might have been different with the thirty-four years, if these had stood alone; because the Asamoneans, whose line then ceased, were a Hebrew race. Yet even here it would be unlikely that Josephus, having reckoned by natural years, should in the same sentence shift his computation from one kind of year to another, without giving some intimation of the change. The very terms he employs with reference to Herod,—that through the death of Antigonus ἐκράτησε τῶν πραγμάτων,—seem to show that he was referring rather to Herod's successful career in the world, than strictly to his reign as such.

All speculation, however, on the subject is removed by Josephus himself, when he says that Herod, at the time of his march upon Jerusalem, was entering upon his third year from the time when he was made king at Rome (sup. p. 488). Had the thirty-four years been reckoned as Jewish regal years, Herod would have begun his third year nearly a twelvemonth before the time here mentioned. From the end of January to the 1st Nisan B.C. 39 would be one year; from thence to the 1st Nisan B.C. 38 would be two years; and on the 1st Nisan B.C. 38 the third year

\* Hist. des Juifs, vi. 155, 156. La Haye, 1716.

† Chronologische Synopse, 55.

‡ Smith's Dict. of the Bible, 1072.

would commence. Thus the third year would be thrown back from the end of January or beginning of February B.C. 37, where Josephus places it, to the beginning of April B.C. 38. This was before Ventidius had gained his great victory over the Partbians, and therefore before the siege of Samosata, when, upon his visiting Antony, Herod obtained the promise of that aid, which afterwards enabled him to march upon, and besiege the capital of Judea. The thirty-four years would thus be severed altogether from the siege of Jerusalem, and would be made to begin long before this was commenced, or even projected.

The object of resorting to this mode of calculation is to establish the year B.C. 4 as the date of Herod's death. But even according to this method the thirty-seven years would lead, not to B.C. 4, but to B.C. 3, unless it could be established that Herod lived up to the 1st Nisan, and died between that day and the passover of the former year. Now it is impossible to establish this; since the events, related as taking place before and after his death, show that he could not have lived so near to the passover, which succeeded his death, as the 1st Nisan would be. Even if alive on the 1st Nisan B.C. 4, it would in this mode of computation still be uncertain whether his death occurred in B.C. 4 or 3; since the thirty-seven years would not expire until the 1st Nisan of the latter year.

The same uncertainty would attend the thirty-four years, but with this additional difficulty, that these probably began *after*, and *not before* the 1st Nisan B.C. 36, which would bring down the date of Herod's death from B.C. 3 to B.C. 2. It has been shown that the nominal termination of the Asamonean dynasty by the death of Antigonus did not take place until after the 13th Adar, B.C. 36. This was about twenty-

seven days short of the 1st Nisan in that year. Josephus, however, says that the government of the Asamoneans continued over 126 years; so that it is by no means improbable that Antigonus' death did not occur until after the 1st Nisan B.C. 36. In that case the first year of the computation would extend up to the 1st Nisan B.C. 35, and the thirty-fourth year would not begin until the 1st Nisan B.C. 3, and would end with that of B.C. 2. Thus were the thirty-seven years and thirty-four years to be computed as Hebrew regal years, they would lead to no definite result.

In referring to Herod's reign *simpliciter*, Josephus adopts the same calculation as he does with any other Jewish reign, which is spoken of generally; although as the capture of Jerusalem, from which this was dated, occurred about three months only after the 1st Nisan, this in Herod's case scarcely differs from a solar computation.

In the other instances it is not his reign generally which is mentioned, but the number of years that he had been king from particular acts, which were essentially Roman. The senate's decree was passed at the instance of Antony, and the death of Antigonus was still more directly the act of the Roman triumvir; while Herod's actual reign was intermediate between the two\*. It is, then, by natural years that Josephus here calculates for purposes of Roman and general history, and the passage would more appropriately be rendered,—having borne or been confirmed in the royal dignity thirty-seven years from the one event,

\* Toinard and most other writers confound, in point of time, the capture of Jerusalem and the death of Antigonus. Toinard's *Evangel. Harm. (prolegomena)*, p. ix. Paris, 1707. Others, who distinguish between the two, date Herod's actual reign from the latter event, not from the former. Lewin's *Chron. N. T.* 14.



and thirty-four years from the other. The word βασιλεύσας has thus the signification of having *lived* with a kingly title, or undisturbed by a rival for the throne, rather than having *reigned* in the strict sense of the term.

Here, then, are numerous points of identification and marks of time specified by the Jewish historian, in all of which his statements are explicit and consistent, from first to last. These bear upon the face of them every stamp which can make evidence reliable, and have hitherto been shown to be corroborated by profane history. Yet these accumulated proofs have been set aside without scruple by almost every writer on the subject. But although his narrative has been rejected *as a whole*, such parts of it as have chanced to chime in with the views of authors have been culled out from the rest, and put forward as essential elements in the inquiry. Thus that Jerusalem was taken on the day of a *fast*, and in the *third month*, at least of the civil year, are assumed to be indisputable. But that the siege began in the winter and ended in the summer, that a Sabbatic year continued throughout, or that the various other circumstances or notes of time referred to really happened, or were combined together, are either regarded as erroneous, or else are misinterpreted, or passed over in silence. Yet in the whole range of profane history, there is no single instance in which so many and such various dates, chronological periods, and incidents can be brought together, like rays converging to a centre, as on this one subject.

#### § VII. SOURCE OF ERRORS RESPECTING HEROD'S CAPTURE OF JERUSALEM.

What, then, has doomed Josephus to the harsh fate of being discredited on a matter so intimately con-

cerning his own nation? The supposed counter-evidence mainly consists of two chapters in Dion Cassius, the position of which is not a little singular. They are introduced, not under the consulate during which the events related are considered to have occurred, but two years later. This has given rise to the conjecture that there must be some mistake; not a mistake, however, the correction of which would harmonize Dio with Josephus, but which would reconcile Dio with himself\*!

After relating various incidents under the consulship of Claudius Pulcher and Norbanus Flaccus, Dio proceeds to the next consulship of M. Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus. Having noticed whatever he thought worthy of record in their year of Rome, he goes on to the consulship of L. Gellius Poplicola and M. Cocceius Nerva. In the course of his history of the events occurring in their year of office, Dio introduces the chapter referred to. This begins with noticing the siege of Samosata by Ventidius, the rejection of the overtures by the king of Commagene, the subsequent arrival of Antony, the prolongation of the siege from the discontent of the Roman soldiery, the visit of Herod to Antony, the promise of succors to the latter, and then the other events which followed, terminating with the capture of Jerusalem, and the death of Antigonus. Dio then concludes the chapter with these words, "Moreover, it thus happened in the consulship of Claudius and Norbanus†." Hence it has been inferred that the whole of these

\* The contrast between this tender consideration for Dion Cassius, and the coarse and ignorant attacks upon Daniel and St. Luke, forms a striking illustration of the littleness and depravity of human nature.

† 'Επὶ μὲν δὴ τοῦ τε Κλαυδίου τοῦ τε Νορβάνου τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο.—Dion xlix. 22.

events must have been transacted during this one consulship, although without taking into account that for purposes of historical reckoning consulates were co-extensive with, or covered the same period, as the years of Rome ; and, therefore, that this particular consulship continued in point of computation until the 20th of April, B.C. 37.

In the next chapter Dio relates that Sosius remained inactive during the year following. Founding their views on these passages, Usher\*, Fynes-Clinton, and others have concluded that Sosius marched into Judea, and that Jerusalem was taken on the last day of December of the preceding year, 38. Others, as Browne and Lewin, consider Dion Cassius to be mistaken, and place this event in October, B.C. 37. In opposition to Clinton, Mr. Lewin judiciously remarks, that "Josephus in a matter peculiarly affecting his own people is entitled to greater credit than Dion Cassius." He therefore rejects the date of B.C. 38, not only on this ground, but also because "the series of events related by Josephus shows conclusively that Jerusalem could not have been taken before the year B.C. 37 †." But, in his turn, Lewin proceeds with Browne to alter this series in another direction. Instead of allowing the siege to begin in the winter and end in the summer, all these writers reverse the order, and make it begin in the summer and end in the winter ‡. To arrive at this conclusion as respects the year B.C. 38, Josephus is avowedly set aside. To do so as regards B.C. 37, both Dion Cassius and Josephus have to be disregarded.

\* *Annales* ii. 435. The date given by Usher is the Julian year 4677, or B.C. 37 ; but this seems intended to signify the 1st of January, which by a correction appears to be thrown back to the 31st of December, B.C. 38.

† *Chron. N. T.* 15.

‡ As to October, see p. 492, ante.

Dr. S. F. Jarvis\*, Dr. W. Thomson†, and some few others are exceptions, and correctly place the capture in June. Dr. Jarvis, however, erroneously assigns the event to the *commencement*, instead of the *end* of the month; while of Herod's regal elevation, the real date of which was January or February B.C. 39, he observes, "We cannot be far from the truth, if we place about the *20th day of July* (i. e. B.C. 40) the important decree, by which he became king of Judea!" (p. 352.) Here is the converse error of transferring an event from winter to summer. The mistake of Dr. Jarvis arises thus,—In his relation of Herod's contests with the Parthians, Josephus alludes to the feast of Pentecost, which occurs in the spring‡; and it is towards the end of the following chapter that an account is given of Herod's elevation at Rome. Hence Dr. Jarvis has inferred that as this event took place *after the spring*, it must have occurred *in the summer*; and without any ground for it he fixes not only upon July, but even upon a particular day in this month. Herod's contests with the Parthians, however, extended over a great part of the year; and when he retired, it was into Arabia§. Between his stay there, and his arrival at Rome, he travelled to Rhinocolura, then to Pelusium, and finally to Alexandria, from whence he sailed for Italy in the *depth of winter*||. It is impossible, therefore, that he could personally have been present at Rome in the summer of B.C. 40, when he was at this time in Judea, and did not even leave Alexandria on his way to Italy until the winter following. But the error does not rest wholly with Dr. Jarvis. The words *χειμῶνος τε ὕντος* and *τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος*, already

\* Chron. Introd. &c. 356. † Smith's Dict. of the Bible, 1072.

‡ Antiq. XIV. xiii. 4.

§ Antiq. XIV. xiii. 9; xiv. 1, 2.

|| Supra, p. 485, n. 2.

cited, have by the most learned men been rendered—*cum et tempus esset procellosum*, and *tempestatis asperitatem*, as if they referred, not to the winter, but in the one case to a boisterous season, and in the other to the severity of a tempest, or of the weather generally \*. To the first of these translations the following extraordinary note is appended: “Ita interpretatus sum, sicuti *Usserius* in *Annalibus* V. T. p. 423. *Pagi* in *Apparat. ad Annales Baron.* p. 16. *Norisius* in *Cenotaph.* Pisan. p. 136, et *Basnagius* in *Annalibus Eccl.* tom. i. p. 16. Aliter *Langius* de *Annis Christi*, p. 341 †.”

Now although χειμών with the Greeks, and *hyems* with the Romans, were words in ordinary use to denote a storm, because storms most commonly prevail in winter, yet it is scarcely conceivable that any one should have understood Josephus' words as referring to any thing but winter itself. Not only the words, but the whole passage and context, both in the Antiquities and Wars, preclude any other interpretation. Besides the folly of supposing that Herod would set sail when a storm was actually raging, Josephus in the very next sentence says that on quitting Alexandria Herod *fell in* with a violent storm ‡. This is not likely if there were a storm when he set out. At least if he encountered a second, such a circumstance would scarcely have failed to elicit special remark. The parallel expression of ἀκμῇ τοῦ θέριου, used by Josephus shortly afterwards, shows conclusively, if any thing were needed beyond the article τοῦ, that it

\* Owing to the want of articles in Latin, the word *tempestas* is ambiguous.

† Joseph. Antiq. XIV. xiv. 2, n. †. Havercamp's and Hudson's editions.

‡ καὶ χειμῶνι σφοδρῇ περιπεσών.—Antiq. XIV. xiv. 3. Here the article is properly omitted.

was not a storm, but winter which was indicated. Yet because this rendering did not coincide with their theories respecting Herod's arrival at Rome, and subsequent capture of Jerusalem, men of position and learning have not hesitated thus to misconstrue as plain a passage as ever was penned.

There is the greater occasion to dwell on the point, because this passage, as so misinterpreted, is one of the supports of the received chronology\*.

The difficulty which has arisen on the subject is easily solved, even should there be no serious mistake in Dion Cassius. It is partly attributable to a mode of writing common to all historians, and without which, in fact, history could scarcely be composed, namely, that of following up the narrative of some leading event by others growing out of it, so as to keep up the chain or sequence of connected events †;

\* To sustain this the utmost ingenuity has been exerted. One able writer, while correctly rendering χειμῶνος as winter, in quoting the Greek omits the antecedent article. The apparent object of this is to make the words apply, *not to the voyage in which Herod was then engaged, but to his return voyage*; since he is stated to have sailed from Egypt about the 1st of August. (Chron. N. T. 14.) Josephus is thus represented as saying that Herod embarked at Alexandria *in the summer*, without being deterred by an apprehension of what the weather might be some four or five months later, when it would be *the depth of winter*; although long before this, had he really left Alexandria on the 1st of August, he might reasonably have expected to have been back in Judea. Moreover, in addition to winter, Josephus refers to troubles in Italy, by neither of which he says was Herod deterred from sailing to Rome. On *quitting* Italy however he would leave its troubles, if they continued, behind him; so that it could not have been his return which Herod was contemplating, when he determined to brave the perils of the voyage.

† A passage in Josephus furnishes an apt illustration of this. After concluding one chapter with an account of the capture of Jerusalem and the death of Antigonus, Josephus in the opening of the next says, *τὰ δὲ ἐκείνοις συνεχῇ τῶν ἐπομένων* (Antiq. XV. i. 1),

and partly from a want of attention to the fact, that the consulates continued to be reckoned by the years of Rome, both beginning and ending in the month of April.

Now it was during the course of A.U. 715, that is, from the 21st of April B.C. 38 to the 20th of April B.C. 37, that nearly all the events referred to by Dion Cassius (xlix. 22) actually occurred. Sosius late in the year B.C. 38 received orders from Antony to proceed to the assistance of Herod. In obedience to these, Sosius immediately despatched part of his forces to Judea, and followed shortly himself with the main body. He effected a junction with Herod in time to commence operations before the dawn of spring; and carried on the siege for three months, all in the very consulate mentioned by Dion Cassius. Jerusalem, it is true, was not actually taken in the same consular year, the siege lasting two months longer, or five months in all; but looking at the various events related, commencing with the siege of Samosata, and ending with that of Jerusalem by the united forces of Sosius and Herod, and remembering that three out of the five months spent in the latter actually passed

where he refers to the connexion or mutual relation of *events*, as contrasted with mere order of *time*. His observation amounts in effect to this: "In relating a multiplicity of incidents and transactions, if a strict chronological order were observed as to all of them, it would lead to confusion; so that I shall here give a narrative of such events, as are immediately connected with those which have just been related." This species of arrangement constitutes, in fact, the great art of all composition or discourse, whether written or oral. Independently of its bearing upon Dion Cassius, the observation will be found important with reference to Josephus himself, when we come to his notice of Varus. Not only was he aware of the importance of attending to this connexion of events for the sake of perspicuity, but he tells his readers that this was his *plan* of writing.

before their year of office nominally expired, there is sufficient to justify Dio's expression, that "it thus happened in the consulate of Claudius and Norbanus." One able writer, though without availing himself of this construction in his text, suggests that "Dion in these words may be referring, not to the capture of Jerusalem, but to the siege of Samosata by Antony, with which he had begun the chapter\*." This suggestion is not wholly inadmissible; since the words *τοῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο* may indicate the origin of events, as well as the order or mode of their occurrence, without necessarily defining or restricting the period over which they extended.

The very circumstance that Dio defers his relation of these events, until he had come to a consulate which was two years later, shows his desire to give a connected narrative; and to relate, though out of their proper order of time, occurrences which had a mutual relation. But as most of the events related, all in fact which led up to ultimate result, actually took place in the consulate mentioned by Dio, there is no occasion thus to confine his language.

So far from this being required, it may be collected from Dion himself that it was at the close of the year 37 Coss. Agrippa et Gallo, or at the beginning of B.C. 36 Coss. Gellio et Nerva, that Antony upon quitting Samosata proceeded to Athens†. This would overshoot the mark. Still, as Josephus says that Antony proceeded from Asia Minor to Egypt, he may have gone first to that country and then to Athens, which would harmonize both narratives. The supposed disagreement of Dion Cassius with Josephus on the subject would scarcely have suggested itself, had it not

\* Lewin's Chron. N. T. 15, n. c. See a somewhat similar suggestion in Browne's Chron. of Script. 213.

† Dio xlviii. 54. See Browne's Script. Chron. 213.



been that the mode of calculating years from January to December was so ingrained in men's minds from continual habit, that the conventional method kept up for the sake of avoiding chronological confusion has been lost sight of. Thus an able living writer, in seeking to make out that Josephus reckoned by consular years, says that "the commencement of the Roman year was known universally to begin from the 1st of January;" and again, that "Josephus meant consular years, and reckoned from every 1st of January\*." Most other writers, whether on history or chronology, have fallen into the same mistake. Even Fynes-Clinton, though he elsewhere † notices that the consulships were marked by the year of Rome in which they expired, forgets to apply this rule to the date of Herod's capture of Jerusalem, and other events.

Thus while the testimony of Dion Cassius has been shown not to be opposed to that of Josephus ‡, there is a chain of evidence encircling the three events referred to, viz.—1, the nominal reign of Herod; 2, the capture of Jerusalem; and 3, the death of Antigonus; which it will be difficult to break through.

#### § VIII. CHIEF SOURCES OF ERROR RESPECTING HEROD'S DEATH.

Previously to the death of Herod, Quinctilius Varus succeeded Caius Sentius Saturninus as governor of

\* Lewin's Chron. N. T. 15. 22, 23. 25, 26. 31.

† Fasti Hellen. Introd. III. xix. xx.

‡ Should the two still be thought in any degree incompatible, there ought to be no hesitation to which the preference should be given. Josephus lived a century and a half before Dion Cassius, and had on this subject better and more ample means of information. In the copiousness of the details supplied by him, and the striking uniformity which these display, his narrative presents a strong contrast to that of Dio, which is here disjointed and confused.

Syria. Three coins have been discovered with a figure representing the city of Antioch, and on the reverse the name of Varus, with the Greek letters EK, ϠK, and ZK, for the numerals xxv., xxvi., and xxvii.\* It was for some time unknown from what epoch or event these numbers were to be calculated. They might have had reference to the Actiac victory itself, or to the æra, or games, instituted in celebration of it.

In Egypt the Actiac æra was computed from its reduction by the Romans, or nearly a year after the battle. It commenced on the first day of the month *Thoth* (29th August), which was the beginning of the Egyptian year †. In this year also, according to Cassiodorus, Nicopolis was founded, and games were there instituted in commemoration of the Actiac victory ‡. But after Cleopatra's death Augustus remained some time in Egypt, and then passing through Syria, returned to the isle of Samos for the winter §. During the first half of the following year, A.U. 723-4, or B.C. 29, he lingered on the further side of the *Ægean* ||; and could scarcely have visited the scene of his great contest with Antony, or founded Nicopolis, the site of which lay on the western side of Greece, until the autumn of B.C. 29, when he was on his way to Italy. Among the honors decreed to Augustus during his absence was a festival in commemoration of the Actiac victory. After his return,

\* ANTIOXEΩN EΠI OYAPY—EK. In the other two the final letters are alone changed. See references p. 517, n. 2.

† Dion li.

‡ Coss. Augustus C. Cæsar and M. Crassus. See Clinton's F. H. iii. 228. Syncellus, Chronograph. 308. Corp. Script. Hist. Byzant. 583.

§ Suet. Aug. 26. Dio li. 18.

|| Mer. Hist. R. Emp. iii. 401.

this festival was held for the first time at Rome in B.C. 29; and was subsequently celebrated every fifth year\*.

From some such considerations as these Cardinal Noris† and Allix‡ fixed upon the year A.U. 749 [Varr. 750], or B.C. 4, as the date of Varus' arrival in Syria. But the discovery of other coins, indicating that the Augustan æra at this time in use at Antioch was computed from the battle of Actium§, and not from either of the two following years, induced Norisius to change his views. The existence of these coins having been communicated to him by his two friends Pagi and Toinard, his former misconception made him hesitate in expressing any new opinion of his own on the subject. He prefers referring to their works for a correct chronological arrangement||.

The coins thus discovered were four in number. On the reverse they have the words ΕΠΙ ΣΙΔΑΝΟΥ ANTIOXEΩΝ, and beneath the letters ΓΜ, ΔΜ, ΕΜ, and ΖΜ, respectively, for the numerals xliii., xliv., xlv., and xlvii. The two last bear the head of Tiberius, surrounded with the title then given to him, being the Greek name for Augustus; and on the reverse above

\* Dio liii. 1; liv. 19.'

† Epochæ Syromacedonum, 217, 218.

‡ Dissert. de J. C. anno et mense natali, 102.

§ "The Antiochians had three epochs—1. ἀβροβωπίας à *Pompeio* Ol. 178. 4, B.C. 6½, Noris, p. 156, when *Pompey* drove *Tigranes* out of Syria. 2. ἀβροβωπίας à *Cæsare* u.c. Varr. 705, the autumn of B.C. 49, Noris, p. 164. 3. ἀβροβωπίας à *Augusto* u.c. Varr. 723, the autumn of B.C. 31, Noris, p. 251, after the defeat of *Antony*. The first and third Norisius has traced upon coins. The second epoch is in general use as a date in *Evagrius* and other writers, and subsisted to a late period. *Evagrius*, Hist. Eccl. iii. 38, &c."—Clinton's F. H. iii. 365, n. f.

|| Pagi, Animadvers. ad magnos in Ecclesiæ Annales. Toinard, Historia Herodiadum. But these writers do not quite accord.

the word ΕΠΙ, and the two first letters of Silanus' name, one has the letter Α, for the numeral i.; and the other the letter Γ, for the numeral iii.\* Pagi, Toinard, and Noris concur in regarding the letters, thus standing for the numerals i. and iii., as indicating the first and third years of the reign of Tiberius †. This may be conceded; since the numbers coincide with these years, and no ground appears to exist for applying them to Silanus.

On another coin it is recorded that Augustus entered upon his twelfth consulship in the twenty-sixth year from the battle of Actium ‡. This consulate marked the year A.U. 748 [Varr. 749], B.C. 5. Looking then at these several coins, particularly the last, it appears that Varro must have arrived in Syria during the previous year, A.U. 747 [Varr. 748], B.C. 6, which is the year fixed upon by Pagi, Toinard, and Noris. His arrival probably took place in the month of September, since the autumn was the usual time for the arrival of a governor in his province. It must have been before the 1st of November, which was the beginning of the year at Antioch §.

\* ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ = Α ΕΠΙ ΣΙΛΑΝΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΕΜ. The other is the same, with the mere change of Γ for Α, and of ΖΜ for ΕΜ.

† Noris, *Epochæ Syromaced.* Dissertatio iii. c. vii. p. 213. 216—218. Flor. 1691. Pagi, *Critica Historico-Chronologica* in *Annales C. Baronii*, tom. i. Appar. Chron. cxlv. et Sæc. 1, Ann. Chris. 14, p. 14. Antw. 1727. Toinard, *Historia Herodiadum.* Spanheim, *Dissert. Præst. et usu Numism. Antiq.* Dissert. x. tom. ii. p. 80, fol. ed. London, 1717. Eckhel, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 276—278.

‡ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ = ΕΤΟΥΣ ≈ Κ ΝΙΚΗΣ, ΥΠΑ. I.B. *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, après J. C. I. xl.

§ When the Syrian and Asiatic Greeks accepted the Julian year, commencing it with a fixed point, they did not all adopt the same day. Down to this period the first Macedonian month was Dios; at least this was so at Antioch, where the solar year began on the Calends of November. The beginning of the year may,

Owing to these later coins of Antioch, Pagi and Toinard apparently placed the death of Herod higher than they would otherwise have done. The year they ultimately fixed upon was B.C. 3; even thus allowing about two years and a half between this event and Varus' arrival in Syria. But Dr. Lardner, while citing their works, (though he unaccountably omits to notice these later coins,) contracts the interval to thirteen months. He afterwards, though hesitatingly, supposes Varus to have come into Syria before September 747 [Varr. 748], B.C. 6, and Herod to have died in 749 [Varr. 750], B.C. 4\*; thus separating the two events by about a year and a half only. It is, therefore, desirable to turn to Josephus, and see what account he gives of the incidents and transactions which took place during this period.

Saturninus is repeatedly mentioned by Josephus; but he is last spoken of upon the occasion of Herod's disclosing to him the plot, which had been formed by Syllæus against his, Herod's, life †. At this time a quarrel had arisen between Herod, and his brother Pheroras. The wife of the latter had indulged in some sarcastic remarks upon Herod's unmarried daughters, which so offended him, that he insisted that Pheroras should put her away, a step which Pheroras was by no means disposed to take. Herod long continued to press the divorce; but not succeeding in this object, he at length became so enraged that he ordered Pheroras to retire to his own tetrarchy. This Pheroras did, but with a solemn asseveration that he therefore, be dated on the 1st of November.—Clinton's *Fasti* iii. 364—389. But Scaliger, Usher, Petavius, and Corsini place it in September or October. Eckhel makes it the 2nd of September, *Doctr. Num.* iii. 281; and Smith the 1st of October, *Gr. and R. Antiq.* 882.

\* Lardner's *Credib.* i. 361—369.

† Joseph. *Antiq.* XVII. iii. 2. *Bell. Jud.* I. xxix. 3.

would not again set foot in Judea until Herod was no more. To this resolution he adhered; for when Herod was subsequently taken ill, and sent for Pheroras to come and see him before he died, Pheroras out of regard to his oath refused to come. Herod, however, unexpectedly recovered, after which Pheroras himself was seized with an illness, from which he died. In the course of this illness he was visited by Herod, who after his death took charge of his funeral, and had him interred at Jerusalem. From information furnished to Herod after the funeral, a lengthened inquiry took place into the causes of Pheroras' death. This led to the discovery of a conspiracy formed by Antipater with others to poison his father. Looking to these events alone, it would be impossible to say over what period they extended. They might have occupied one year, two, three, four, five, or even ten years.

We next come to something more definite. Seven months after the crime of Antipater had been detected, his freedman Bathyllus arrived from Rome, and being put to the torture, confirmed his guilt. Owing to her concealing some of these circumstances which had come to her knowledge, Herod at this time divorced his wife, the daughter of Simon, whom he had made high priest, and deprived her father of his office, appointing one Matthias in his place. Matthias himself was afterwards removed; but while he continued in office a circumstance happened which occasioned the appointment of another to be high priest for a single day, this being the day of the fast, which from the Mishna and Talmud appears to have been the great day of expiation. If so, as the circumstance is related to have happened during the course of his high priesthood, and not immediately after his appointment, Matthias must have been in office before the month of October, in the early part of which the

day of atonement occurred. This shows that his appointment must have taken place six months, at least, before Herod's death. Add to this period the seven months that Antipater was ignorant of the investigation which led to the discovery of his guilt, and the interval which occurred between the arrival of Bathyllus, and the divorce of Simon's daughter, and we find that these events alone must have extended over nearly a year and a half.

In answer to a letter received from Antipater, Herod subsequently wrote an artful reply desiring him to hasten his return. This letter Antipater received in Cilicia; though whether on its way to Rome, or whether after reaching that city it was forwarded after him, is not stated. Here Antipater for the first time heard of Pheroras' death, every thing that happened in Judea having carefully been concealed from him. After some hesitation he proceeded to Judea; shortly after which he was brought to trial before Herod and Varus, who, having succeeded Saturninus in the government of Syria, happened to be at Jerusalem at the time, and was requested by Herod to assist him as assessor. After Antipater and his accusers had been heard, Varus quitted Jerusalem and returned to Antioch. Herod then sent ambassadors to Rome with a letter to Augustus, informing him of what had taken place, and requesting permission to put Antipater to death. After this letters for Herod arrived from Rome, which are alleged to have been forged, and sent at the instigation of Antipater. These occasioned further investigation, and a second mission with other letters to Augustus. Subsequently to this second embassy Herod was seized with the grievous distemper, which ultimately terminated his life. While this was at its height his ambassadors returned with Augustus' reply,

probably to both sets of letters, shortly after which Herod ordered Antipater to be killed, and he himself died five days afterwards\*.

The events, thus related by Josephus after his last allusion to Saturninus and his first mention of Varus, are so many and various, that from them alone no idea can be formed of the number of years, which intervened. The language of Josephus affords no clue to this; since he uses the participle of the perfect and pluperfect tenses, ἀπεσταλμένος, which denotes time completely or long since passed, according to circumstances, without itself indicating how long †. As shown by the note, pp. 511, 512 *supra*, Josephus was in the habit of confining his history to events which had a mutual connexion, without troubling himself to introduce collateral occurrences, which would only render his narrative obscure ‡. He had no concern with the governors of Syria, except as these were mixed up with the history of Herod and his family. He therefore only mentions them incidentally. This he had occasion to do several times in the case of Saturninus; but between the discovery of Syllæus' plot and the trial of Antipater, the governor of Syria was not called upon to advise or interpose in the affairs of Judea.

When, however, Antipater was about to be tried, Josephus finds it necessary to notice the change, which

\* Joseph. Antiq. XVII. iii. 3; iv. v. vi. vii. viii. Bell. Jud. I. xxix. 4; xxx. xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii.

† Ἐρύγγανε δὲ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Οὐρὸς Κυνίτιος, διάδοχος μὲν Σαυυρνίνῳ τῇ ἐν Συρίᾳ ἀρχῆς ἀπεσταλμένος.—Antiq. XVII. v. 2. Josephus uses the same word, ἀπεσταλμένος, with reference to Cyrenius. Antiq. XVIII. i. 1. It signifies the *appointment* itself, quite as much as the *time* from which it was made.

‡ It has been observed, that Josephus relates events more in their pragmatical, than in their chronological order. Ideler u. s. ii. 392.



in the mean time had taken place in the government of Syria, though without intimating in the slightest degree how long this change of administration had occurred. All that he says is, that Quinctilius Varus, who had been appointed successor to Saturninus, being then casually at Jerusalem, was requested by Herod to assist at the trial.

Under these circumstances the arrival of Varus in Syria, as successor to Saturninus, cannot possibly determine the time of Herod's death except to this extent, that the events and periods given seem to be inconsistent with the year of B.C. 4. If we can arrive at nearly eighteen months, without taking into account the time that Pheroras resided in his tetrarchy before Herod was taken ill, and next allow for the illness and recovery of Herod, then for the interval which ensued before Pheroras was attacked, the length of his illness, and the time consumed by his funeral, and the inquiry into the causes of his death before Antipater became implicated,—it is clear that if Varus arrived in Syria in the autumn of B.C. 6, the whole series of events must have extended far beyond March, B.C. 4.

Another circumstance, which has led to the adoption of this as the received date of Herod's death, is that his murder of the rabbins, which was perpetrated a short time previously, was marked by an eclipse of the moon. This, Josephus says, took place *the same night* \*. Now in the scale of proofs there are various degrees; and this, though strongly relied upon by most writers, is not one to which those, who are accustomed to weigh evidence, would give any great prominence. No doubt if a natural phenomenon, like an eclipse, were perfectly well authenticated in point of

\* Καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλιπεν, Antiq. XVII. vi. 4.

time and place, it would be conclusive; but not where there is so much to detract from certainty as here. In the first place, Josephus could not have been an eye-witness to this particular eclipse, for he was not born until the first year of Caius Caligula \*, some forty years afterwards; nor did he compose his works until some fifty years later still. His information, then, respecting it must have been derived from one of three sources—1, hearsay; 2, history; or 3, astronomical tables. But until it can be ascertained to which of these he had recourse, it is impossible to judge of the degree of weight to be given to his statement, even if in those days there existed astronomical tables, which he might have consulted. We ought, then, to know where and by whom they were constructed, and what meridian was taken. But beyond the most ordinary lunar calculations, the science of astronomy was at this period little studied except at Alexandria; and it is not likely that the notice of an eclipse could be depended on within a few hours. This is apparent from the fact, that long after this period eclipses continued to be regarded as prodigies, which they could not have been, if the exact time of their occurrence were calculated beforehand; although they were so in some few instances, as in that which was predicted by Thales of Miletus.

So before printing was invented, works of reference must have been little accessible, and, if consisting of figures, were peculiarly liable to clerical errors. The habit, also, of associating the moon with night is so universal, that an eclipse is more likely to be spoken of in connexion with night than with day. In such a state of things, it is manifest that no serious stress can be laid upon the words  $\tau\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\rho\eta\ \nu\upsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}$ . Josephus is

\* Joseph. Vita i.

speaking of an eclipse, which took place nearly a century previously; and therefore the probability is that he derived his information either from tradition, or from some historical narrative, in neither of which cases would the precise time of obscuration be likely to be noted.

Those who place Herod's death in B.C. 3, and there are several who do so, set aside this testimony of Josephus altogether, since there was no lunar eclipse in that year. But this is to reject evidence without any grounds, instead of receiving it merely with that caution and latitude, which the nature of the subject requires, where a determinate meaning is sought to be ascribed to language in itself wanting in precision, and which is used by a writer whose information on a scientific point of astronomy, owing to the then state of knowledge and the slender means for its diffusion, is likely to have been defective. With all the advantages of increased knowledge and improved instruments, even at the present day there is no inconsiderable difference of opinion on the subject of various eclipses\*.

Should there be a doubt as to the year in which this eclipse ought to be placed, the only true principle is to weigh all the circumstances, and see which year best falls in with Josephus' entire narrative. From a neglect of this principle, the year commonly put forward upon the authority of Petavius is that of

\* A solar eclipse occurring on the 3rd of August, B.C. 432 [B.C. 431], the size of which according to Petavius was only 10 deg. 25 min., is stated by Kepler to have been a *total* one. As Thucydides, however, who notices this eclipse, terms it *μηροειδής*, or crescent-shaped, Kepler is probably wrong. Thuc. ii. 28. So with the lunar eclipses of the 13th of March, B.C. 4, and the 29th of December, B.C. 1, the extent of obscuration is variously calculated by different astronomers.

B.C. 4. This year is particularly urged by Browne and Lewin, who endeavour to remove some of the serious objections which attend it\*.

A further source of error has been a mistranslation of the passage cited from Josephus, sup. p. 499, n. 2; and the misconception of another passage in the same author in connexion with the forty-six years alluded to by the Jews in reply to our blessed Lord †. This period, however, will more properly be considered later.

§ IX. RECEIVED DATE OF HEROD'S DEATH ERRONEOUS.

Even if there were better grounds for assigning the eclipse, which occurred after the murder of the rabbins, to B.C. 4 than actually exist, it would be impossible to place the death of Herod in this year. He could not, then, have reigned thirty-seven years from the time he was declared king by the Romans, or thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus. The attempts to make out these by regarding them as consular years, or regal years of Hebrew computation, signally fail. So the endeavour to compress into the brief space between the 12th and 27th of March the various transactions and events, which occurred between the murder of the rabbins and the death of Herod, will not bear investigation.

Josephus' narrative of Herod's last illness and death opens with an account of his prolonged suffering, and the medical consultations which ensued. It then comprises the following circumstances,—the journey in Herod's prostrate state to Callirhoe; the various warm baths of water and oil which he there took; his return to Jericho; the madness of his con-

\* Script. Chron. 27—30. Chron. N. T. 2—6. † John ii. 20.

duct upon his arrival; the scheme which he then devised for the destruction of all the principal men in the Jewish nation; the despatch of messengers with epistles to all parts of Judea, summoning the chiefs among the Jews to Jericho; their successive arrivals at this city in obedience to the mandates thus personally delivered to them; their imprisonment as they arrived there in the hippodrome; the king's subsequent summons to his sick couch of his sister Salome and her husband; the address which he made to them; the arrival of letters by the ambassadors whom he had despatched to Rome; the king's temporary rally on learning their contents; his subsequent relapse, and consequent attempt upon his own life, and reported death; the conveyance of this intelligence to Antipater in his prison; the attempts made by Antipater to corrupt his jailor, and allow him to escape; the communication of these circumstances to the king; the consequent orders for putting him to death; his execution; and, finally, the death of Herod on the fifth day after that of Antipater\*.

It is inconceivable that these several events could have happened within the short space of a fortnight. For making out and despatching the numerous summonses to the principal men of the Jewish nation, the journeys of the several messengers to all parts of Judea, the departure of these principal Jews from their own homes, their arrival at Jericho, the announcement of this to Herod, and their imprisonment in the hippodrome, one writer allows but a single day†; while another author passes over these various occurrences altogether‡.

The advocates for the year B.C. 4 are compelled

\* Antiq. XVII. vii. viii.

† Lewin's Chron. N. T. 4, 5. See also Wieseler, 56.

‡ Browne's Chron. of Script. 29.

not only to compress the events which took place *before* the death of Herod, they are equally obliged to do so with those which occurred *after* it. Thus the sumptuous funeral of the king, described by Josephus, is compressed into the period of six days. Allowing Josephus to be mistaken in attributing to the funeral procession so slow a pace as to extend over twenty-five days, it must be manifest that the preparations for such a magnificent display, and the procession itself, must together have occupied more than six days.

§ X. DEPARTURE OF CAIUS CÆSAR FOR SYRIA, AND  
PREVIOUS HEARING OF ARCHELAUS AT ROME.

An important event connected with the death of Herod is the arrival shortly afterwards of Archelaus at Rome, for the double purpose of suing for his father's kingdom, and answering certain charges which had been brought against him. Now Archelaus and his accusers were heard before Augustus, assisted by a council of assessors, at which precedence was given to his grandson Caius. This occurrence, therefore, must have taken place between the assumption by Caius of the toga virilis, which was in the twelfth consulship of Augustus, and the departure of Caius from Rome for the province of Syria, to which he was subsequently appointed. He did not leave Rome until after the thirteenth consulship of Augustus, during which the toga virilis was assumed by his brother Lucius, Augustus having entered upon these, his two last consulships, with the view of introducing his grandsons into public life. This they did by a decree of the senate at the age of fifteen, and were made eligible for the consulship after the space of five years\*, Caius being designated and becoming in

\* Monum. Ancy. Tab. iii. Tac. Ann. i. 3. Dio lv. 9.

fact consul in the fifth year afterwards. These consulships of Augustus were entered upon, the first in B.C. 5, and the second in B.C. 2.

As Caius left Rome for his province in B.C. 1, there are but five years in which it is possible to place the hearing of Archelaus. These, again, can be reduced first to four, and then to three. The birthday of Caius seems to have taken place in the third quarter of the year, between the beginning of July and the end of September\*. From Josephus' allusion to disturbances at Jerusalem during the feast of Pentecost while Archelaus was at Rome†, it would appear that he must have arrived there, and that the council before which his case was heard must have sat, some time before July. If so, as Caius was not then invested with the toga virilis, the hearing of Archelaus could not have taken place so early as B.C. 5. We are thus enabled to get rid of this year.

With respect to the same year, as well as to B.C. 4, it is not likely that Caius should so soon have been called upon to occupy the prominent position of chief assessor to Augustus at the hearing of Archelaus. The first year of wearing the toga virilis was considered as a kind of novitiate. During this it was

\* "Caius was born when Marcus Appuleius and Publius Silius Nerva were consuls; and from the connexion in which Dio speaks of the event, it appears to have occurred before the birthday of Augustus, and after the dedication of the temple of Mars the avenger, which took place, according to Ovid, on the 12th of May (*Fasti* v. 575—598). A decree was passed by the senate appointing a perpetual sacrifice on the day of his nativity; and of this surely Ovid would have taken some notice if it had occurred as early as June, with which month the *Fasti* of that poet end. It may reasonably be inferred, therefore, that it took place after the 1st of July and before the 23rd of September (*Dion*, H. R. liv. viii. p. 526)."—*Jarv. Chron. Introd.* 219.

† *Joseph. Antiq.* XVI. x. 2. *Bell. Jud.* II. iii. 1.

customary for young men to keep their right arm within the toga, and to be under other restraints \*. The general policy of Augustus shows that he was not likely to have relaxed a rule of this kind †. These considerations alone would tend to exclude the year B.C. 4; but there are other and more cogent reasons, showing that Herod's death could not have happened in this year.

From the fact that no mention is made of Lucius having been present at the hearing of Archelaus, it has been argued that this must have preceded Lucius' assumption of the toga virilis; otherwise he as well as Caius would have been present, and sat as one of the assessors ‡. This assumes that between their introduction into the forum, and the time of their quitting Rome, both Caius and Lucius would necessarily be present on *all* occasions when Augustus had to transact any public affairs, without adverting to the particular nature of the business, or their own respective destinations. Such an assumption falls to the ground, when it is remembered that Lucius was sent on an expedition into Spain, while Caius was appointed to the province of Syria. Since Judea was situated within this province, there was an obvious reason why Caius should have been summoned to the council before whom the case of Archelaus was heard, which was wholly inapplicable to Lucius. The absence, therefore, of Lucius at this important investigation cannot fairly be brought into the discussion; unless,

\* Adam's Rom. Antiq. 354.

† He is supposed to have prompted the decree of the senate which was ostensibly passed to render Caius eligible for the consulate at the expiration of five years from his assumption of the toga virilis, but which virtually excluded him from office before that time. Mer. Hist. R. Emp. iv. 264—268.

‡ Lewin's Chron. of N. T. 7.



indeed, coupled with the prominent position given to Caius, it be to raise the inference, that the transaction took place shortly before the latter set out for Syria.

Some further light is thrown upon these years from collateral sources. On the death of Tigranes, whom the Romans had made king of Armenia, his sons ascended the throne without having first sought the imperial sanction. Augustus resented this as an affront, and despatching an expedition into Armenia, the sons of Tigranes found themselves compelled to retire, when the crown was bestowed upon Artavasdes, as a sovereign dependent on the Romans. This event was commemorated by coins bearing the inscription "Armenia recepta," and with the date of A.U. 749 [Varr. 750] \*, that is, between the 21st of April B.C. 4, and the 20th of April B.C. 3. Artavasdes was shortly afterwards expelled by his indignant subjects with the assistance of the Parthians, when Tigranes, one of the sons of the deceased monarch, was elevated to the throne. This assertion of independence by the Armenians, the hostile attitude assumed by the Parthians, and some inroads made by the Arabs on the Syrian frontier, combined to induce Augustus to send an imposing force into the East under the supreme command of his grandson Caius, with M. Lollius or Sulpicius Quirinus † as rector ‡. These events must have preceded by some time the departure of Caius from Rome.

Those who adopt the received chronology fall into

\* Hoeck I. ii. 48. Tac. Ann. ii. 8, 4. Eckhel, Doctr. Numm. vi. 82.

† It has been supposed by some that P. Sulpic. Quirinus, the Cyrenius of St. Luke, first filled this office to Caius Cæsar, and that Lollius succeeded him. See A. W. Zumpt's *Commentat. Epigraphic. ad Antiq. Rom.* ii. 102, 103.

‡ Vell. Pat. ii. 102. Ovid. *Ars Amand.* i. 177.

the inconsistency of placing Herod's death nearly four years before the arrival of Caius in Syria, and yet of representing the throne of Judea to have only then been recently rendered vacant\*. Either, therefore, the arrival of Caius in Syria must be placed too low, or else the death of Herod must be placed too high.

Having by these means disposed of B.C. 5 and 4, there are but three years remaining, viz. B.C. 3, 2, and 1. From these, again, we are still enabled to strike off one.

The banishment of Julia occurred in the thirteenth consulship of Augustus, i. e. in B.C. 2, between the Calends of July and the Calends of October †. It was shortly after this event that Caius left Rome; on quitting which he first made a passage through other provinces, then had an interview with Tiberius ‡ at the island either of Samos or Chios §, from whence he proceeded to his own province of Syria. Here he remained some time, and finally proceeded into Asia, where he was when in B.C. 1 he entered upon his consulate ||. On these grounds Caius is supposed to have left Rome early in the year; and if so, the hearing of Archelaus cannot be referred to B.C. 1, since Archelaus could not have arrived at Rome before the middle or latter end of May.

There remains, then, but a choice between the years

\* Merivale's *Hist. Rom. Emp.* iv. 274. 277. This distinguished writer, however, appears conscious of some error in the received chronology, though not aware in what it consists.

† Clinton's *Fast. Hellen.* iii. [258] 262. Confer Noris. ad Cenot. Pisan. 183. 240.

‡ "Breve ab hoc intercesserat spatium, cum C. Cæsar, ante aliis provinciis ad visendum [al. sidendum] obitis, in Syriam missus, convento prius Tiberio Nerone," &c.—Vell. Pat. ii. 101.

§ Suet. Tib. 12. Dio lv. 11.

|| Decret. Pisan. ii. Chishull's *Antiq. Asiat.* 190.

B.C. 3 and 2; and in order to determine which of these is to be preferred, resort must be had to numbers which are supplied directly or inferentially by various authors. But before having recourse to these, it may be well to attend to some circumstances connected with the reigns of Herod's immediate successors.

#### § XI. DURATION OF THE REIGNS OF HEROD'S SUCCESSORS.

##### ARCHELAUS.

Archelaus was banished in the ninth or tenth year of his reign, both being given by Josephus \*. Dion appears to assign it to the consulate of Æm. Lepidus and L. Arruntius †, answering to A.U. 758, or between the 21st of April A.D. 6, and the 20th of April A.D. 7. Cyrenius was deputed by the emperor to take an inventory of Archelaus' effects in the thirty-seventh year after the battle of Actium. As this was fought on the 2nd of September A.U. 722 [Varr. 723], B.C. 31, the thirty-seventh year would fall between the 2nd of September A.D. 6, and the 2nd of September A.D. 7.

##### PHILIP-HEROD.

Philip, another of Herod's sons (who married Salome, the daughter of Herod-Philip and Herodias), being made tetrarch of Trachonitis, Ituræa, Gaulonitis, and Batanæa, reigned thirty-seven years, and died in the twentieth year of Tiberius Cæsar, i. e. between the 19th of August A.D. 33, and the 19th of August A.D. 34 ‡.

The dates or periods here given by Josephus are somewhat confused, inasmuch as they follow after events, viz. the flight of Artabanus, king of Parthia,

\* Bell. Jud. II. vii. 8. Antiq. XVII. xiii. 2, 3. Vita, s. 1.

† Dio lv. 27.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. XVIII. iv. 6.

occasioned by the intrigues of L. Vitellius, governor of Syria, and his subsequent restoration to power, which occurred two or three years later, extending to the twenty-third year of Tiberius, or A.D. 37. Moreover, Vitellius himself was consul A.D. 35; and was not appointed governor of Syria until A.D. 36\*. Josephus here, too, employs his favorite phrase, *περὶ δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνον*; yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, the dates given by Josephus appear to be correct†. The tetrarchy of Philip was raised into a kingdom, and given by Caius Caligula to Agrippa the Great in A.D. 37‡.

#### HEROD-ANTIPAS.

Herod-Antipas, the brother of Herod-Philip (not the tetrarch), and who persuaded Herodias to elope from her husband and married her, being tetrarch of Galilee and Perea, was deposed and banished by Caius Caligula, and his tetrarchy added to the dominions of King Agrippa in the fourth and last year of this emperor's reign, i. e. after the 16th or 26th of March A.D. 40§.

There are three coins of Herod-Antipas in existence with the numerals ΜΓ, intimating that they were struck in the forty-third year of his tetrarchate||. Vaillant, an early French writer, pretends to have seen

\* See Tac. Ann. vi. 81. 87. 41—44. Lynam's Rom. Hist. i. 201—208.

† Josephus, however, so frequently makes use of the phrase above referred to in this portion of his history, as to lead to the inference that there existed very scanty materials in connexion with the reigns of Herod's immediate successors.

‡ Antiq. XVIII. vi. 10. Bell. Jud. II. ix. 6.

§ Antiq. XVIII. vii. 1, 2; XIX. viii. 2. Bell. Jud. II. ix. 6.

|| Eckhel, Doctr. Numm. iii. 486—489. Sanclemente de Vulg. *Æræ* Emend. iii. 6.

another with the numerals MΔ, forty-four; and this assertion has given Fréret a great deal of trouble \*. But Eckhel doubts the existence of any such coin; and Sanclemente has satisfactorily shown that Vailant was mistaken †. Clinton in his *Fasti* does not even notice the alleged coin of the forty-fourth year; and although Mr. Lewin says that there are no sufficient grounds for questioning its existence ‡, he assigns no reason for such an assertion. If there ever were such a coin, it should either be produced or its loss be accounted for. But even if proved to have existed, it would be of little weight in point of evidence.

It was in the second year of Caius Caligula, i. e. between the 16th of March A.D. 38, and the 16th of March A.D. 39, that King Agrippa quitted Rome, and sailed for Judea, where on his arrival he assumed the ensigns and pomp of royalty. This excited the jealousy and envy of his sister, Herodias, then the wife of Antipas, who urged her husband to accompany her to Rome and solicit a kingdom for himself. Antipas for some time resisted her importunities; but being at length prevailed upon, proceeded with Herodias to Dicearchia, or Puteoli, in Italy. Agrippa becoming aware of their intention, despatched a messenger with a letter to the emperor containing accusations against Antipas, intending to follow personally. These accusations were successful. Herod-Antipas was deprived of his tetrarchy and private estate, both of which were made over to Agrippa. Caius would have allowed Herodias

\* Eclaircissement sur l'Année et le Temps précis de la Mort d'Hérode le Grand. *Mun. de l'Acad. des Inscr.* t. xxi. 278, ff.

† See Ideler, *Handb. der mathemat. u. technischen Chronologie* ii. 391. Also Browne's *Chron. of the Script.* 81, &c.

‡ *Chron. N. T.* 8. 8.

to retain her own fortune, but she magnanimously declaring, that as she had shared her husband's prosperity she would also be a partaker of his adversity, this also was given to Agrippa. These events happened before the death of Caius Caligula; and since this emperor was assassinated on the 24th of January A.D. 41, they cannot have occurred later than the year A.D. 40. Josephus expressly says that the tetrarchy of Herod-Antipas was added to the dominions of Agrippa in the fourth year of Caius\*. Agrippa, however, may have felt some compunction for having thus effected the downfall and ruin of his sister and her husband, and may not immediately have assumed the government of his new tetrarchy. Moreover, he seems to have spent the whole of the fourth and last year of Caius' reign at Rome, during which time the affairs of the tetrarchy would probably be allowed to go on in their former course†. This is rendered more probable by the fact, that after Claudius had become firmly seated on the throne, he published an edict confirming to Agrippa the kingdom which had been given to him by Caius Caligula, and making an addition to it of Judea and Samaria.

Taking this circumstance in connexion with Agrippa's continued residence at Rome for apparently some months after Claudius had begun to reign, he could scarcely have entered upon his government of Galilee and Perea until the middle of A.D. 41. If, then, the affairs of the government were allowed to go on up to this time as they had done previously, the apparent length of Herod-Antipas' reign would be prolonged to forty-four years; since a Hebrew reign commencing before the 1st Nisan B.C. 2, would after

\* Antiq. XIX. viii. 2.

† Ibid. iv. 1, 2. 5.

the corresponding period of A.D. 41 be in its forty-fourth year.

For these reasons no great reliance can be placed on the numismatic records of Herod-Antipas' government; so that even if a coin had been found struck in his forty-fourth year, it would be inconclusive as to the length of his actual rule.

#### HEROD-AGRIPPA I.

On Claudius becoming emperor, the tetrarchy of Lysanias, which had by Caius Caligula been previously promised to Agrippa, together with Judea and Samaria, were added to this king's dominions, which then extended over all Judea \*.

King Agrippa expired in the seventh year of his government, A.D. 45, having reigned between three and four years under Caius Caligula, and three years under Claudius Cæsar.

#### § XII. THE ACTUAL YEAR OF HEROD'S DEATH.

In order, then, to determine whether Herod's death is to be placed in the year B.C. 3 or 2, the following leading conditions should be fulfilled:—

I. The capture of Jerusalem by Sosius and Herod should be on the anniversary of, and twenty-seven years after that by Pompey, and in the course of a Sabbatic year.

II. The battle of Actium should fall in the seventh year of Herod's reign, reckoning from his capture of Jerusalem.

III. Herod's reign should be one of thirty-seven solar years after he was declared king by the Romans, and of thirty-four years from the death of Antigonus.

\* Antiq. XIX. iv. 3; viii. 2.

IV. A lunar eclipse should have taken place shortly before Herod's death.

V. Archelaus should have arrived at Rome in the interval between the assumption of the toga virilis by Caius Cæsar, and his departure from Rome to assume the government of Syria.

VI. There should be given to the reign of Archelaus nine full years; and these should terminate in, or shortly after the consulship of M. Æmil. Lepidus and L. Arruntius Nepos.

VII. The thirty-seventh year from the battle of Actium must have been then current, or have followed shortly afterwards.

VIII. A reign of thirty-seven years should be assigned to Philip-Herod, who married Salome, the daughter of Herodias; and his death should have occurred in the twentieth year of Tiberius Cæsar.

IX. To Herod-Antipas should be given a reign of forty-three years; and these should terminate in the fourth year of the reign of Caius Caligula.

X. The capture of Jerusalem by Titus should be placed in the second year of Vespasian's reign, and the 107th year from its capture by Herod.

Now it will appear from the following calculations, beginning with the year A.U. 689, which corresponds with B.C. 64, that according to the corrected chronology all these conditions are complied with.

	A.U.	B.C.
Jerusalem captured by Pompey . . . . .	689	64
Taken by Herod twenty-seven years afterwards, on the anniversary of its former capture . . . .	27	27
Therefore in the year . . . . .	<u>716</u>	<u>37</u>

This was in the course of a Sabbatic year, which began in the autumn of B.C. 88, and ended in that of B.C. 87.



	A.U.	B.C.
Herod made king by the Romans in January . . . . .	713-14	39
Jerusalem taken by Sosius and himself nearly two and a half years afterwards, on the 23rd Sivan . . . . .	2	2
Therefore on the 22nd of June . . . . .	716	37
The siege began in the consulate of Claud. Pulcher and Norbanus Flaccus, and ended in that of M. Agrippa and L. Caninius Gallus.		
Herod's reign <i>de facto</i> , upon the capture of Jeru- salem, began the 22nd of June . . . . .	716	37
The battle of Actium was fought on the 2nd of September, in the seventh year of this reign as so calculated . . . . .	6	6
It therefore took place in . . . . .	722	31
Herod's nominal reign began in January . . . . .	713	39
From this period he reigned thirty-seven years, and died shortly before a passover . . . . .	37	37
His death, therefore, occurred in March . . . . .	750	2
The Asamonean dynasty terminated by the death of Antigonus in . . . . .		
Herod reigned afterwards thirty-four years . . . . .	34	34
His death, therefore, occurred in March . . . . .	750	2
On the 20th of January B.C. 2 there was an eclipse of the moon in Judea at about half-past two in the afternoon; but this will be more fully de- scribed presently.		
The reign of Archelaus computed from Herod's death in March . . . . .	750	2
He reigned upwards of nine years by Jewish com- putation * . . . . .	8	8
His banishment, therefore, took place after the Passover in . . . . .	758 A.D.	7

\* To the 1st Nisan of A.U. 750 was one year; to the 1st Nisan of A.U. 758 were eight years more, or nine in all; while on the 1st

	A.U.	B.C.
Battle of Actium fought the 2nd of September	722	B.C. 31
In the thirty-seventh year from this battle Cyrenius was commissioned to take an inventory of Archelaus' effects after his banishment . . . . .	86	86
Therefore between the 2nd of September . . . . .	758	A. D. { 6 7
And 2nd of September . . . . .	759	

Philip-Herod, tetrarch of Trachonitis, &c., began to reign in March . . . . .	750	B.C. 2
He died in the thirty-seventh year of his reign * . . . . .	85	85
Therefore in . . . . .	785	A.D. 34

His death occurred in the twentieth year of Tiberius, which ranged between the 19th of August A.U. 785, and the 19th of August A.U. 786. It consequently took place between March A.U. 785, and August A.U. 786, or between March and August of A.D. 34.

Herod-Antipas began to reign in March . . . . .	750	B.C. 2
His reign reached to its forty-third year † . . . . .	41	41
	791	A.D. 40

He was deposed and banished in the fourth year of Caius Caligula, i.e. between the 16th of March A.U. 791, and the 24th of January A.U. 792. Consequently some time after March A.U. 791-2, or A.D. 40.

Nisan of A.U. 758 the tenth year would begin. This was early in April, during the nominal consulate of M. Æmil. Lepidus and L. Arruntius.

\* To the 1st Nisan of A.U. 750 was one year; add thirty-five complete years, and then the year commencing the 1st Nisan A.U. 785 = thirty-seven years of a Jewish reign.

† So to the one first year add forty-one complete years, and the year commencing with 1st Nisan of A.U. 791 = 48 Jewish years.

	A.U.	B.C.
Jerusalem captured by Sosius and Herod on the 22nd of June . . . . .	716	37
Taken by Titus in the 107th year afterwards, on the 1st of September in the second year of Vespasian's reign . . . . .	106	106
Therefore in the year . . . . .	<u>822</u>	<u>A.D. 70</u>

## PARTIAL RECAPTULATION.

Tenth year of Archelaus' reign between March A.U. 758 and 759.

Thirty-seventh year from battle of Actium between the 2nd of September A.U. 758 and 759.

Therefore Archelaus deposed between March A.U. 758, and 2nd of September 759, or between March and September A.D. 7.

Thirty-seventh year of Herod-Philip's reign between March A.U. 785 and 786.

Twentieth year of Tiberius between the 19th of August 785 and 786.

Therefore Herod-Philip died between March A.U. 785, and the 19th of August 786, or between March and August A.D. 35.

Forty-third year of Herod-Antipas' reign between March A.U. 791 and 792.

Fourth year of Caius Caligula between the 16th of March A.U. 791, and the 24th of January 792.

Therefore Herod-Antipas banished between March and December A.D. 41.

The only circumstance requiring further notice is the eclipse which followed Herod's murder of the rabbins. Taking the seven years immediately preceding the vulgar æra, this must have been one out of eleven lunar eclipses, which occurred during that period. In the great work on the subject they are calculated according to the meridian of Paris \*, which

\* L'Art de vérifier les Dates, i. 64.

varies from that of Jerusalem by 32 deg. 53 min. Allowing 2 h. 12 min. for the difference of longitude, these eclipses would stand thus at Jerusalem :

Julian period.	B.C.	Eclipses, date, and time.	Extent in digits of twenty-four.
4707	7	None.	
4708	6	4 April at 7.42 A.M. 27 Sept. „ 1.42 P.M.	6 8½
4709	5	23 March „ 8.57 P.M. 15 Sept. „ 11.12 P.M.	
4710	4	13 March „ 8.12 A.M. * 5 Sept. „ 2.12 P.M.	4½ 8½
4711	3	None.	
4712	2	20 Jan. „ 2.27 P.M. 17 July „ 7.57 A.M.	6 9½
4713	1	9 Jan. „ 1.42 A.M. † (total) 5 July „ 11.27 A.M. „ 29 Dec. „ 5.57 P.M.	24 24 6¾ †

To none of the eclipses occurring in the years B.C. 6, 5, or 4, could Josephus have referred. That of the 4th of April B.C. 6 did not take place until after the passover. Those of the 23rd of March B.C. 5, and the 13th of March B.C. 4, occurred too near the passover for the events related by Josephus to have taken place in the interval; while, as respects the

\* Petavius calculates that this eclipse occurred in Judea at 1.17 A.M., and was of the size of six digits. Petav. viii. c. 13. L'Art de vérifier, &c., i. 69.

† According to Calvisius this eclipse occurred one hour after midnight, and lasted four hours. Ibid.

‡ Riccioli represents this to have been a total eclipse, while Petavius and others calculate its size as less than seven digits. Ibid.

latter, if the calculations in *L'Art de vérifier les Dates*, which appear to correspond with those of Pingré, be correct, it was comparatively small in extent. Those of the 27th of September, 15th of September, 5th of September, 17th of July, 5th of July, and 29th of December in B.C. 6, 5, 4, 2, and 1, severally occurred long after the passover. If all other things were equal, that of the 9th of January B.C. 1 would be the most likely, since it was a total eclipse, and occurred at night. But according to the other dates and events related, the year itself is too late.

There remains, then, but the eclipse of the 20th of January B.C. 2. With this every date and other note of time are found to correspond. The only circumstance which could militate against it is, that the eclipse referred to by Josephus is said to have been at night. But even on this point there appears to be no disagreement between the relation and the fact. The eclipse commenced at 2 h. 27 min. P.M., and, if it continued three hours, it would have lasted till nearly half-past five. The sun then set at Jerusalem about eight minutes past five; so that as the Hebrews reckoned their days from sunset to sunset, the eclipse on this supposition would have extended into their night\*.

Thus, considering that Josephus could have had but imperfect materials, that he does not profess to give the exact astronomical time, and that several eclipses are differently computed by eminent astronomers, it is only surprising that there can be traced so close an accordance, as this eclipse presents with the statement of the Jewish historian.

\* If its duration were two hours and a half only, it would have terminated about eleven minutes before sunset, even then bordering upon the Jewish night.

In the numerical calculations above given every consulate, date, and event, whether noticed by Josephus or by any heathen writer, finds its appropriate place. So the relative position of Herod's own reign, and that of his sons, is in harmony with all other dates and events, which can in any way be connected with them.

Thus it is established by a series of proofs, that the death of Herod the Great occurred in March B.C. 2, and not, as in the received chronology, in B.C. 4.

#### § XIII. WIDELY DIFFERENT VIEWS OF THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

The extent to which theories respecting the Christian æra have varied in point of date is really amazing. This has amounted to no less than eighteen years, the different dates which have been propounded on the subject having ranged from B.C. 12 to A.D. 6.

The former date was some years since worked out by a friend of the author's in an unpublished paper. The latter has been put forth with high commendation in the transactions of the Chronological Institute for 1858, pp. 7, 8. 22. 47. Of the intermediate dates, those most strongly insisted on have been the years B.C. 7, 5, and 4. The year B.C. 7 was originally suggested by Sanclemente, and has since been put forward by Mr. Mann, and later still by Dr. S. F. Jarvis, who was specially deputed by the Episcopal Church in America to investigate the subject. The year B.C. 5 is that generally received on the authority of Petavius, Cardinal Noris, Pagi, Allix, and other learned men; and in more modern times on that of Fynes-Clinton, whose great work deservedly holds the highest place not in England only, but throughout Europe and America. Since its publication, this year has been

sought to be established by the Rev. C. Benson, Rev. Henry Browne, and Mr. Lewin, in works of great ability and research. It is taken for granted by A. W. Zumpt, the most accomplished Latin writer since the days of Cicero; and in a recent work, not yet completed, it is adopted by all the writers who touch upon the point\*, though not without an admission of the difficulties by which it is beset. The next year, B.C. 4, was arrived at by Nicholas Toinard, Archbishop Usher, and Greswell. The last of these assigns the Nativity specifically to the 5th of April. Usher refers it generally to the early part of the year; and in opposition to most if not all other writers, except Pagi, places Herod's death as late as the 25th of November. The year B.C. 3 is supported by Baronius, Scaliger, Calvisius, Paulus, Süsskind, and others; and the year B.C. 1 by Pearson and Hug. Later years have their several advocates. Hundreds have engaged in the investigation, and their discordant views and explanations have only served to darken and perplex the subject.

#### § XIV. TRUE DATE OF THE NATIVITY.

Wide as the range has been, the limits within which the inquiry is restricted are extremely narrow and well defined. Associated as the birth of our Lord has all but universally been with the death of Herod, the investigation lies within the compass of Caius Cæsar's assumption of the toga virilis, and his departure for the province of Syria.

The previous investigations having shown that the death of Herod has been placed two years too high, it follows that the date of the Nativity, which has been

\* Smith's Dict. of the Bible, 378. 791. 1007. 1072.

calculated by reference to this, has been antedated by the like period \*. Instead therefore of being assigned, as in the received chronology, to B.C. 5, the angelic announcement of "good tidings of great joy which should be to all people" must be referred to the year B.C. 3. This corresponds with the Julian year 4711, the year of Rome 749, and the first year of the 194th Olympiad.

§ XV. EVIDENCE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN WRITERS.

In the multiplied proofs which have been adduced to point out how chronology became disordered, and at what point the error arose, no recourse has been had to Holy Scripture, nor even to any of the early Christian writers. Until this stage of the inquiry had been reached, the author had resolutely shut his eyes to both the one and the other, being determined, before resort was had to these, to see what dates could be arrived at independently. But now that the combined testimony of the Jewish historian and of profane authors has led up to the fundamental dates above given, it is desirable to avail ourselves of any other sources of evidence which may have been preserved.

\* The views of those who maintain that the Nativity was separated from Herod's death by a period of nearly two years are not worthy of serious refutation. The appearance of the star in the east must have preceded the Nativity. Some time must then be allowed for the interchange of communication on the subject between the wise men, for their assembling together, and for their journey; as well as for the period which elapsed before Herod became aware that "he was mocked by the wise men." Add to all these circumstances, that Herod would of course take an extreme limit from the time when the star first appeared in the east, and it must be manifest to what a great extent the two years must be reduced. See Browne's Script. Chron. 52.



On turning to these, it will be found that there is not a single author who really places the Nativity so high as even the year B.C. 4. Sulpicius is supposed to have done so; but although he names a consulate which coincides with this year, his entire statement is inconsistent with it.

St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, who was born in A.D. 120, and suffered martyrdom in A.D. 202, says that our Lord was born about the forty-first year of the reign of Augustus\*.

So Tertullian, who was probably born about A.D. 130, and died in A.D. 215, says that "Cleopatra reigned twenty years and five months. Also Cleopatra reigned contemporaneously with Augustus thirteen years. After Cleopatra Augustus governed forty-three years more. For all the years of Augustus' reign were fifty-six in number. But, as we have seen, Christ was born in the forty-first year of the reign of Augustus, who reigned after Cleopatra's [qy. Cæsar's] death. The same Augustus survived the year in which Christ was born fifteen years†," i. e. fifteen years and upwards, the excess being the difference between December and August. According to these

\* "Natus est Dominus noster circa xli. annum Augusti imperii."—Hær. iii. 25.

† "Cleopatra annis viginti, mensibus quinque. Item Cleopatra conregnavit Augusto annis tredecim. Post Cleopatram Augustus aliis annis quadragintatribus imperavit. Nam omnes anni Augusti imperii, fuerunt numero quinquagintasex. Videamus autem quoniam in quadragesimoprimum annum imperii Augusti, qui post mortem Cleopatrar[um] [qu. Cæsaris] imperavit, nascitur Christus. Et supervixit idem Augustus, ex quo natus est Christus, annos numero quindecim."—Tertull. adv. Jud. viii. 98, Op. ed. 1677. Tertull. ap. Hieron. Comm. in Daniel ix.

The numbers seem to be made up thus. From the consulate of Hirtius and Pansa A.U. 710 + 40 + 1 = 751 + 15 = 766.

writers, therefore, the Nativity must have occurred in A.U. 750 [Varr. 751], or B.C. 3.

Clemens, Bishop of Alexandria, who lived in the second and third centuries, places the Nativity in the twenty-eighth year of Augustus Cæsar\*. This he calculates from the capture of Alexandria and the death of Antony, the former being on the 1st of August A.U. 723 [Varr. 724], B.C. 30. He equally assigns to our Lord fifteen years of the reign of Augustus, which the context shows must have been fifteen years and upwards. Again, he says that between the birth of our Lord and the death of Commodus there was an interval of 194 years, one month, and thirteen days †. As Commodus was slain on the 31st of December A.D. 192, this would give the 17th of November B.C. 3 as the date of our Lord's birth. The testimony of Clemens thus completely coincides with that of St. Irenæus and Tertullian.

In a prior passage, however, the same writer says that from the victory of Augustus, when Antony slew himself at Alexandria, to the exhibition of military spectacles by Domitian were 114 years, and from thence to the death of Commodus 111 years ‡. These together make up a total period of 225 years. But the figures given in connexion with the Nativity, twenty-seven complete years (twenty-eighth current) before this event, and 194 years after it, make the interval between the capture of Alexandria and the death of Commodus to be only 221 years and five months; so that there must be an error somewhere. Probably

\* Ἐγεννήθη ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει.—Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 339 D.

† Γίνονται οὖν ἀφ' οὗ ὁ Κύριος ἐγεννήθη ἕως Κομμοδου τελευτῆς τὰ πάντα ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἐνενήκοντα τέσσαρα μὴν εἰς, ἡμέρα, ιγ'.—Id. 340 B.

‡ Clem. Alex. Strom. 336 C, D.

the figure 111 is a mistake for 108; since the spectacles under Domitian are supposed to have taken place in August A.D. 84, which joined to 108 gives 192, the date of Commodus' death. Then by the addition of 192 to twenty-nine, the number of years elapsing from B.C. 30 up to and including B.C. 1, the 221 years and five months are obtained. This equally makes the Nativity to fall in B.C. 3.

Eusebius, a cotemporary of Clemens, and Bishop of Cæsarea in A.D. 313, says "that according to prophetic predictions our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born in the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, and in the twenty-eighth year from the subjection of Egypt, and the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra\*." Eusebius reckons from the year of Rome in which Julius Cæsar died, viz. 708 [Varr. 709]; so that the forty-second year of Augustus would commence in April 750 [Varr. 751]. This is shown by his reference to the twenty-eighth year from the capture of Alexandria, which began in the same year. This is equivalent to B.C. 3 †.

Thus the only difference between Eusebius and Tertullian is in the commencement of Augustus' reign, some reckoning from Julius Cæsar's death, and others from the year following. Eusebius gives one

\* ἦν δὲ οὖν τοῦτο δεύτερον καὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος τῆς Αὐγούστου βασιλείας, Αἰγύπτου δ' ὑποταγῆς, καὶ τελευτῆς Ἀντωνίου καὶ Κλεοπάτρας, ὅγδοον ἔτος καὶ εἰκοστόν.—Euseb. Hist. Eccl. I. v.

† Fynes-Clinton, from the same materials, considers that Eusebius placed the Nativity in B.C. 2, which is a mistake. F. H. iii. 258. He seems to have been partly misled by the circumstance that Eusebius, in his Tables, Chron. i. ii., makes the forty-second year of Augustus to coincide with Ol. 194. 4, which Clinton equally conceives to be a mistake. It is not so, however, as Eusebius there adopts a very common reckoning of Augustus' reign, from the formation of the triumvirate.

year more than Tertullian; but, reckoning from the conquest of Egypt, these two fathers agree with each other, and also with Clemens.

Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, who lived between A.D. 332 and 403, likewise says that the Saviour was born in the forty-second year of Augustus; which, however, he places in the thirteenth consulship\*, and therefore in A.U. 751 [Varr. 752], B.C. 2. The forty-second year of Augustus he makes concurrent with the thirty-third year of Herod's reign †, which will hereafter be shown to be erroneous.

Sulpicius Severus, who lived in the fourth and fifth centuries, and was cotemporary with St. Jerome and St. Augustine, adopts the same notion that Christ was born in the thirty-third year of Herod's reign; but this he places two years higher, in the consulate of Sabinus and Rufinus ‡.

Cassiodorus, who was consul in A.D. 515, and framed a consular list, assigns the Nativity to the consulate of Lentulus and Messalla, in the forty-first year of Augustus Cæsar, which, reckoning from the consulate

\* τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ δευτέρῃ (ἔτει) Αὐγούστου βασιλείῳ γεννᾶται ὁ Σωτήρ.—Contr. Hæres. I. i. 48 B; II. 450 D; III. 1041 D. De Pond. et Mens. 169 B. Γεννᾶται μὲν γὰρ ὁ Σωτήρ τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ δευτέρῃ ἔτει Αὐγούστου βασιλείῳ Ῥωμαίων—ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Ὀκταυτίου Αὐγούστου τρισκαίδέκατον καὶ Σιλανοῦ ὑπάτου.—Contr. Hæres. II. 444, 445. Elsewhere he says the fortieth of Augustus, Hæres. II. t. i. 22. But the forty-second year is repeated so many times, that the fortieth must be in a passage the correction of which was accidentally omitted.

† "Nam trigesimo tertio anno Herodis, quadragesimo vero secundo Augusti regis, nascitur Salvator in Bethleem Judææ."—Contr. Hæres. l. ii. t. i. p. 869. 1089.

‡ "Sub hoc Herode, anno imperio ejus tertio et tricesimo, CHRISTUS natus est, Sabino et Rufino Coss. viii. Kal. Januariæ."—Sacr. II. xxvii. xxxix.

of Hirtius and Pansa as the first year, was in A.U. 750, B.C. 3\*.

Syncellus, towards the close of the eighth century, says that Christ was born in the forty-third year of Augustus †, which, from what follows, he must have placed in the next consulate of Augustus XIII. and Silanus, or B.C. 2.

St. Augustine himself states that it was well known under what consuls Christ was born ‡, though without giving the names. The only clue which he affords is, that it was at a time of universal peace §.

Orosius, the pupil and friend of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, following the latter, says that Christ was born at a period of universal peace; adding, when Augustus in A.U. 751 [Varr. 752], B.C. 2, closed the gates of the temple of Janus for the third time. He represents this as having been succeeded by a long peace ||, which is not correct; since two years after-

\* "C. Lentulus et M. Messalla, His. Coss. Dominus noster, JESUS CHRISTUS, Filius Dei, in Bethleem nascitur anno imperii Augusti xli."—Fasti apud Cassiod. See Clinton's F. H. iii. 257, 258.

† *κατὰ τὸ μὴ ἔτος*, Sync. Chron. 815 D.

‡ In Johan. Ev. c. vi. tr. xxiv. tom. iii. pars 11, p. 348, ed. Bened.

§ "Regnante ergo Herode in Judæâ, apud Romanos autem jam mutato reipublicæ statu, imperante Cæsare Augusto, et per eum orbe pacato, natus est Christus."—De Civ. Dei xviii. 46. Oper. viii. 400 E, ed. Bened.

|| "Anno ab urbe conditâ DCCLII, Cæsar Augustus ab oriente in occidentem, à septentrione in meridiem, per totum Oceani circum, cunctis gentibus unâ pace compositis, Jani portas tertio ipse clausit, quas ævo per xii. fere annos quietissimo semper obseratas ocio ipsa etiam rubigo signavit: nec prius usquam nisi extremâ senectute Augusti pulsâtâ Atheniensium seditione et Dacorum commotione patuerant. . . . Igitur eo tempore, id est, eo anno quo firmissimam verissimamque pacem ordinatione Dei Cæsar composuit, natus est Christus."—Oros. vi. c.

wards there arose a formidable war in Germany\*, which being quelled for a time, soon broke out again, when Varus perished with his legions †.

In the sixteenth century the learned Scaliger invented the celebrated Julian period, which, owing to its greater range, is found to be of such essential service in all chronological computations ‡. In calcu-

\* "Immensum exarserat bellum."—Vell. Pat. ii. 104.

† Suet. ii. 23. Dio lvi. 21, 22.

‡ For upwards of five centuries and a quarter after the birth of our Lord the world went on computing by Olympiads, the years of Rome, the Julian or Augustan years, the Alexandrian period, or some other chronological series previously in use. During all this time the Nativity was never once thought of as furnishing a new æra in chronology. It then occurred to Dionysius, surnamed Exiguus from his small stature, a monk at Rome, to determine the precise year. This had become involved in obscurity owing to the many chronological systems which prevailed, commencing at different periods of the year, and rendered still more complex from changes introduced into some of them. Dionysius fixed upon what is now termed B.C. 1, as the beginning of the Christian æra, which he calculated, not from the Nativity itself, but from the Feast of the Annunciation preceding. The Venerable Bede, however, considered that the 1st of January following being six days only next after the supposed date of the Nativity, would be a more appropriate commencement. This was universally adopted about the seventh and eighth centuries, and has been followed ever since. But after Dionysius had inaugurated the Christian æra as a new chronological reckoning, it long remained uncertain with what year he commenced in relation to other systems. This might have remained an unsolved problem to this day, but for the recovery of two lost epistles, known however to Bede, in which Dionysius explained his system. This was found to be an upward reckoning beginning, after allowance made for Bede's alteration, with A.D. 532. It then proceeded on a combined calculation, based upon the solar and lunar cycles, and the cycle of Indictions, of which last, however, there were four varieties in point of date. This cycle had no connexion with astronomical science, but was one purely arbitrary, derived from Roman taxation. It originated, according to Baronius, from a reduction by Constantine the Great

lating the period of the Nativity he proceeded on a different principle from previous inquirers. Founding his calculations mainly on the Maccabean periods, he arrived at the conclusion that Christ was born in the forty-third year of Julius Cæsar's reformed calendar, in the Julian year 4711, and in the consulate of L. Cornel. Lentulus and M. Valer. Messalinus \*. This answers to A.U. 750, or B.C. 3.

Reviewing these several authorities, we find that while Sulpicius mentions a consulate which answers to B.C. 4, he does so by following Epiphanius, who from the same numbers arrives at a consulate two years

of the term of military service among the Romans to fifteen years, at the end of which gratuities were paid to those entitled to their discharge. To provide the requisite funds the Roman government had to impose, and for this purpose to announce or proclaim (*indicare*), an extraordinary tax. Hence the term *indiction* became applied to the periodical return of every fifteenth year, when this tax had to be collected. Some, however, refer this cycle to Augustus, and others to Constantius. Discovering that the Dionysian æra, as altered by Bede, began in the *tenth* year of the solar cycle, the *second* of the lunar, and the *fourth* year of the cycle of Indictions, Scaliger proceeded to invent a period with which the Dionysian and all other æras might be adjusted. This was termed the Julian period, and consists of 7980 years. It was produced by multiplying the solar cycle of twenty-eight years into the lunar cycle of nineteen years, and the product of these again into the Roman indiction of fifteen years. Scaliger then found that 4714 was the only number, which divided by twenty-eight, nineteen, and fifteen, would leave *ten*, *two*, and *four* as remainders, corresponding with the *tenth*, *second*, and *fourth* years of these cycles respectively. Hence the Julian year 4714 became the equivalent of A.D. 1. It so remains, notwithstanding the restoration to its place in chronology of the lost solar year, since the Dionysian æra is an upward, not a downward reckoning, and the error occurred antecedently.

\* Emend. Temp. Petav. Doctr. Temp. XII. vii. 10.

later. Sulpicius, therefore, not improbably took up some erroneous *Fasti*, and so placed the consulate of Sabinus and Rufinus a year too high. Epiphanius, Syncellus, and Orosius, on the other hand, severally specify the consulate or year of Rome which appears to correspond with B.C. 2, although the two former seem to have done so from a misapprehension of Eusebius. Indeed, a different consulate does not necessarily indicate the difference of a whole year. The Nativity is generally referred to December; but it is placed by some in the month of January\*. After the Christian æra the year came gradually to be reckoned as beginning on the 1st of January, instead of the 21st of April, so that the adjacent months of December and January were then regarded as falling in two distinct years. Thus when the errors which are apparent upon the writings of Sulpicius, Epiphanius, and Syncellus are cleared away, these authors, if they do not actively support, at least do not conflict with earlier and more authentic testimony.

For the intermediate consulate of Lentulus and Messalinus there is the combined authority of St. Irenæus and Tertullian in the second century; of Clemens in the third; of Eusebius early in the fourth; of Cassiodorus early in the sixth; and, lastly, of Scaliger, who, though later in date, was one of the most able calculators the world has ever known.

Upon a comparison of this date with those arrived at from Josephus and heathen writers in connexion with the death of Herod, the utmost harmony is found to prevail. Herod's death having been brought down to A.U. 750, B.C. 2, it here appears that our blessed

\* See Baron. *Annal.* I. cxix. pp. 53, 54.



Lord was born in the same consular, though in the previous solar year, viz. A.U. 750, or B.C. 3.

§ XVI. PERIOD OF UNIVERSAL PEACE.

The temple of Janus was closed three times by or in honor of Augustus \*—1. Upon or previously to his return to Rome, two years after his victories over Antony and Cleopatra, when he received his triple triumph in the month Sextilis A.U. 724 [Varr. 725], B.C. 29. 2. On the pacification of Spain after either the first or last Cantabrian insurrection, in A.U. 728 [Varr. 729], B.C. 25; or in A.U. 734 [Varr. 735], B.C. 19. 3. According to Orosius, in A.U. 751 [Varr. 752], B.C. 2.

For the first of these dates there is ample testimony. From several authors we learn that the senate decreed that the temple should be closed after Augustus' great victories over Antony; and that this decree was enacted during his absence in Syria, which of all the senate's decrees gave Augustus the greatest pleasure †.

For the second, Dion Cassius states that the temple was again closed by Augustus in the consulship of Cæsar Augustus IX. and M. Junius Silanus ‡, i. e. in B.C. 25. But Spain was not really subdued until B.C. 19, so that Dio may have confounded the temporary with the final pacification of Spain.

Some clue to the time is afforded by the following

\* "Janum Quirinum . . . terrâ marique pace parta, ter clusit."—Suet. Aug. 22. For *ter*, however, one MS. has *pariter*, and another *iter*, pro *iterum*. The other MSS. have *ter*, which seems obviously correct. Vide Monum. Ancyr. ii. 43, and Oros. vi. 22. Sed contra, Ad Mon. Ancyr. Notæ, Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. 188.

† Dio li. 20. Liv. i. 19. Suet. Aug. 22.

‡ Dio liii. 26.

inscription, discovered at Emerita-Augusta, the modern Merida, in Spain,—

IMP . CÆS . DIVI . F . AVGVSIVS . PONT . MAX .  
 COSS . XI . TRIBVNIC . POTEST . X . IMP . VIII  
 ORBE . MARI . ET . TERRA . PACATO . TEMPLO  
 JANI . CLVSO . ET . REP . P . R . OPTIMIS . LEGIBVS  
 ET . SANCTISSIMIS . INSTITVTIS . REFORMATA  
 VIAM . SVPERIOR . COS . TEMPORE . INCHOATAM  
 ET . MVLTIS . LOCIS . INTERMISSAM . PRO  
 DIGNITATE . IMPERI . P . R . LATIOREM  
 LONGIOREM . QVE . GADEIS . VSQ . PROMOVIT \*

This inscription shows that the temple of Janus was actually closed in the tenth tribunician year of Augustus †, extending from the 27th of June A.U.

\* Gruter I. cxlix. 4. Inscrip. ad Calc. Suet. Aug. iii. Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. 187. Also for the earlier portion of the same or a similar inscription, Hor. Carm. iv. 15, n. Delphin edit.

† A number following the designation "consul" has no certain indication. It may signify either the year of office, or merely the title flowing from it. Thus between the eleventh and twelfth consulships of Augustus there was an interval of seventeen years, during all which time he bore the *title* of Consul XI. The year, however, appended to the tribunician power, denoted the actual number of years that this had been exercised. It was conferred upon Augustus on his resigning his eleventh consulship on v. Kal. Jul. or the 27th of June B.C. 23. Conf. Fabric. ad Dion liii. 17. Noris. ad Cen. Pis. 261. Clinton's F. H. iii. 237. Not only is the fact expressly recorded,—*ἡ γερουσία δὴμαρχόν τε αὐτὸν διὰ βίου εἶναι ἐψηφίσατο*, Dio liii. 32,—but from this time, with very few exceptions, inscriptions have been found carrying on the tribunician power of Augustus continuously for thirty-seven years. Tacitus, therefore, is perfectly correct, when he states that it was continued for this period. "Continuata per septem et triginta annos tribunicia potestas."—Ann. i. 9. The last, or thirty-seventh year, began on the 27th of June B.C. 14, and terminated with Augustus' death on the 19th of August following. Consequently there is no such conflict of testimony as Dr. Jarvis supposes. Chron. Introd. 216. The inscriptions for the two last years are both extant. That for the thirty-sixth year gives the names of the

739, B.C. 14, to the 26th of June A.U. 740, B.C. 13; although for what period it had been shut previously does not appear.

From a subsequent chapter in Dion Cassius, it might be inferred that Augustus closed the temple for the third time in the consulship of Julius Antonius and Q. Fab. Africanus, A.U. 743 [Varr. 744], B.C. 10. Having mentioned that various ceremonies, among them that of closing the temple of Janus, were decreed by the senate in honor of Augustus upon the termination of a previous war, and that these were not then carried into effect owing to the breaking out of a new war with the Daci, Dio proceeds to say that what had so been decreed was afterwards performed in this consulate\*. It appears, however, that this latter war, which had spread, was not then put an end to, but continued for some time longer; so that the third closing of the temple is generally allowed not to have been among the ceremonies the decree for which was thus carried out†.

Indirect evidence is afforded by the record left by Augustus himself. In the second table of the *Monumentum Ancyranum* Augustus mentions that the senate thrice ordered the temple of Janus to be closed by him. This sentence occurs nearly at the bottom.

then consuls, C. Silius [Nepos] and L. Munatius Plancus. The last year is recorded thus:—

IMP. CÆSAR. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS. PONTIF. MAXIM.

COS. XIII. IMP. XX. TRIBVNIO. POTEST. XXXVII. P.P.

Inscript. in Ponte Arimensi ap. Noris. ad Cen. Pisan. 261, and Chishull's *Antiq. Asiat.* 185. Muratori 2006. 2. Inscript. Cordubæ ap. Clinton's *Fast. Hellen.* iii. 623. Additions, &c. And see Suet. Aug. 27. 100.

\* Dio liv. 36.

† Chishull, ad Mon. Ancy. Notæ, *Antiq. Asiat.* 188. Clinton's *F. H.* iii. 285, 286.

In an earlier part of the same table, rather more than half-way down, mention is made of the consulate of P. Sulpicius and C. Valgius, who were consules suffecti in A.U. 742, B.C. 11-10. Some other decree or act of the senate is then noticed, which leads to the inference that if the temple had been closed for the third time about this period, it would have been mentioned here. Instead of this, the notice of all three decrees is still lower down; and the prosperous state of the empire from its military successes, not only in Spain but in Gaul, is referred to. It would thus appear that the date of the third decree was a late one. A further circumstance tending to show this is, that the sentence referred to occurs immediately before the mention of Augustus' loss of his two grandsons, Lucius and Caius, whose deaths did not take place till A.D. 2 and 4.

The year, then, attributed by Orosius to the third closing of the temple of Janus, appears to approximate to the actual date. Before Augustus determined upon the expedition against Armenia and Parthia which brought upon him the loss of his beloved grandson, and prior to the breaking out of the German war referred to by Velleius\*,—which in its result wrung from Augustus the bitter exclamation, "Varus, restore me my legions!"—there reigned a profound peace throughout the world. The period during which the sword thus reposed in its scabbard extended over more than five years. It ranged from the summer or autumn of A.U. 747 [Varr. 748], B.C. 7, when the Germans declined to encounter the forces of Tiberius†, to the beginning of A.U. 751-2 [Varr.

\* V. Pat. ii. 104.

† *ἐν δὲ τῇ Γερμανίᾳ οὐδὲν ἄξιον μνήμης συνέβη.*—Fisch. Rœm. Zeitt. A.U. 747.

752-3], B.C. 1, when Caius Cæsar left Rome on his eastern expedition.

The history of Rome at this time was marked by two circumstances, both of which indicate the peaceful condition of the empire—1. The services of Tiberius being no longer required for its military defence or aggrandizement, the son of Livia retired in gloomy discontent and seclusion to Rhodes \*. 2. Oppressed by no anxious cares of state, Augustus remained at Rome, devoting himself to the embellishment of the capital, and in A.U. 750, B.C. 3, received from his people the grateful appellation of Father of his Country †.

Thus did the Romans proclaim the existence of universal peace at the very time when the Saviour of mankind was born into the world ‡.

#### § XVII. ENROLMENT OF CYRENIOUS.

There is one point not yet adverted to, which

\* Dio lv. 9.

† Decret. Pisan. ad C. Cæsar. honor. pertin. Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. 190. Ovid, Fasti ii. 129. 635. This appellation was conferred upon Augustus by a special mandate of the senate and people. Suet. Aug. 58. The month of February is given as the date of the ordinance; and by it he was to bear this title from the day that he entered upon the twenty-first year of his tribunician power. Comp. Kalend. Prænest. in Fast. Verrian. 106 (Orelli, *Inscr.* ii. 384), "Non Feb. N. concordie in arce ferie ex S. C. quod eo die Imp. Cæsar Pont. Max. Trib. potest xxi. Cons. xiii. a S. P. q. R. pater patrie appellatus." Also Spanheim de usu Num. 446. Fischer, Röm. Zeitt. 422. The appellation appears upon several inscriptions while Augustus was still bearing the title of Consul XII., but had been designated to the consulship for the thirteenth time, Muratori i. cxxx. No. 10; iv. mmv. No. 4, 5; consequently before the election of magistrates, the comitia for which were held at the end of July. "Magistratum comitia habebantur circa Kalendas Sextileis." Nieuport, De Ritibus Romanorum, 84.

‡ See Pagi, Crit. Hist. Chron. tom. i. Appar. Chron. cxxxviii. p. 34.

having been a stumbling-block with many, it is desirable not to pass over. This is the reference made by St. Luke to the decree of Augustus ordering a census, in obedience to which an enrolment was made in Judea about the time of the Nativity. Strauss and others have boldly maintained, that this census not being mentioned by any profane author, St. Luke's Gospel must on that account be deemed unhistorical and unworthy of credit.

The charge implies that heathen testimony was to be expected, which is the reverse of the fact. The *Fasti Capitolini*, and other public records of this period, have from ravages of time and war been destroyed. Between the years B.C. 6 and 2 there is an hiatus in the history of Dion Cassius. All the books of Livy for upwards of a century and a half previously, and also Plutarch's life of Augustus, are lost. Tacitus does not begin either his *Annals* or his *History* until some years later. Neither Velleius Paterculus nor Florus touch upon such matters; while the work of Aulus Gellius treats merely of philosophical and other miscellaneous topics. The only extant author who by chance might have alluded to the subject is Suetonius; and his *Life of Augustus* is a mere outline of a few pages in length.

Two difficulties have been started. The first relates to the meaning of the words ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην \*. These in the received version are rendered, "that all *the world* should be taxed," or rather enrolled. It has, however, been suggested (the word γῆν being understood in either case) that all the *land* of Judea would equally satisfy the words. Looking at the passage in Acts xvii. 6, it seems clear that the word οἰκουμένη may be used in a restricted, as

\* Luke ii. 1.

well as in a general sense, since it is here confined, as regards the objects spoken of, though not perhaps in point of locality. In other passages it has a more comprehensive signification \*. In the particular passage in question its application may be limited to the Jewish nation, since it is apparently used in connexion with the subsequent word, οἶκον. This, however, is not a necessary deduction; nor is it at all requisite to resort to such an interpretation.

The other difficulty has reference to the words αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου †. There have been several renderings of this passage, the principal of which are these—1. This was the *first enrolment of Cyrenius, governor of Syria*. 2. This enrolment was *first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria*. 3. This *first enrolment was made under Cyrenius, governor of Syria*. 4. This enrolment *first took effect when Cyrenius was governor of Syria*. 5. This enrolment *was made before Cyrenius was governor of Syria* ‡.

That which was first thrown out as conjecture, which was then treated as susceptible of proof by Sanclemente § and the Rev. H. Browne ||, has more recently been attempted to be further established by A. W. Zumpt,—that Cyrenius was twice governor of

\* Matt. xxiv. 14. Acts xvii. 31; xix. 27. Rom. x. 18. Heb. i. 6. Rev. xvi. 14.

† Luke ii. 2. In one place Eusebius, in citing this passage, has ἡγεμονεύσαντος, instead of ἡγεμονεύοντος. In Psalm lxxxvii. p. 548 C. One MS. of St. Luke's Gospel has Κυρηναιίου, instead of Κυρηναίου.

‡ Dean Alford considers that the solution must be looked for in the word πρώτη. Gr. Test. in loc. Most of the interpretations and views which have been suggested are stated by Dr. Lardner, Credib. i. 260. 332—339.

§ De Vulgaris Æræ Emendatione.

|| Browne's Script. Chron. 46—49.

Syria, once from B.C. 4 to B.C. 1, and again from A.D. 6 to 11\*. Zumpt, however, assumes (p. 87) that Herod died in B.C. 4, and that Cyrenius was first governor of Syria in that year; so that Zumpt's theory proceeds on the basis, either that our Lord was born after Herod's death (see pp. 89, 90), or that there is still an error of one year in St. Luke.

Previously to Varus coming into the province Josephus mentions *two* governors of Syria. This he does frequently; sometimes giving only their names, sometimes adding their title of civil or military governors, while at others he speaks of them generally as the governors of Syria, without naming them. Upon the occasion of the trial of Herod's sons by Mariamne the presidents or governors were Saturninus and Pedanius, their lieutenants, and the procurator, Volumnius, sitting with them†. Previously, as well as subsequently, Saturninus and Volumnius are spoken of as governors of Syria‡.

It has been suggested by Cardinal Noris and Pagi that these officers may not have been of equal authority, but that the latter may have been procurator under the former. This view seems to have been generally adopted. Even then, however, this officer may have been associated in the government, and been possessed of independent powers. The emperor's procurator took the place of the quæstor in the imperial provinces, and in some assumed the functions of the proconsul himself. Tac. Hist. i. 2: "Duæ Mauritaniæ, Rhætia, Noricum, Thracia, et quæ aliæ procuratoribus cōhibentur." In this case he was called "procurator vice præsidis," &c. Even in the senatorial provinces

\* A. W. Zumptii Commentat. Epigraph. ad Rom. pertin. ii. 98—104. 149, 150. Berol. ap. F. Dümml. 1854.

† Bell. Jud. I. xxvii. 2.

‡ Antiq. XVI. ix. 1; x. 8; xi. 1, 2, 3.



there was a procurator with independent functions, to look after the *fiscus*, or private revenues accruing to the emperor\*.

Josephus frequently mentions a procurator, *ἐπίτροπος*, and sometimes procurators, *ἐπίτροποι* †, in Syria; when he speaks of them under that specific title ‡. But in referring to Saturninus and Volumnius together, he styles them both *ἡγεμόνες*, and alludes to the exercise of their joint or common authority by the words *τῆς Συρίας ἐπιστατούντων*. It is observable, too, that when Herod desired to execute judgment upon some robbers in Arabia, who at his request had been delivered up to him, he obtained the permission both of Saturninus and Volumnius; although, if the former had been sole governor, his single permission must have sufficed §. Some time, however, before Herod's death Saturninus is alone spoken of, but under the title of *τῆς Συρίας ἐπιμελητής*, administrator of Syria, or as there exercising military authority, *στρατηγούντος* ||.

Previous to Herod's decease Parthia, Armenia, and other neighbouring countries evinced a desire for independence, which was construed into disaffection towards the empire. Owing to this cause either two

\* See Becker, Roem. Alter. iii. i. 300. Mer. Rom. Emp. iv. 87, n.

† Josephus employs several words to denote their authority.

‡ When Varus was governor of this province, Sabinus is designated as Cæsar's procurator. Antiq. XVII. ix. 3; x. 1. So in other cases. There appear, however, at times to have been several procurators. Josephus speaks of "one of the procurators," and of "other procurators." Even Herod the Great, though king of Judea, was appointed a procurator of Syria. Joseph. Bell. Jud. I. xx. 4. Antiq. XV. x. 3; XVI. ii. 2.

§ At the trial of some of Herod's numerous sons, there sat with Herod as judges Saturninus, his three sons, who were his legates, and Volumnius.

|| Joseph. XVII. i. 1; ii. 1.

governors, or else procurators with co-ordinate or independent authority, were probably at this time appointed over the province.

At what time Volumnius (unless the person who accompanied Olympus to Rome \*) left Syria, or who, if any one, succeeded him, Josephus does not mention; but when he comes to speak of Varus, this officer is said to have come as the successor of Saturninus, and not of Saturninus and Volumnius. If the latter had left previously, this indeed is not surprising; still we find *two* individuals spoken of as governors mentioned shortly before, and nothing said to account for one only being referred to afterwards.

The investigations pursued by Zumpt, following in the track of Wheatstone and others, now become of great value. About this time Cyrenius commanded a force which operated against the Homonadenses. The territory of this people was situated near the Isaurians. Pliny places them near the latter, in the remote parts of Cilicia †. Strabo makes frequent allusions to them; in one instance in connexion with the Pisidians ‡; in others with the Isaurians in Cilicia Aspera §. But what is especially deserving of notice is, that Cyrenius is mentioned as the general by whom their fortresses were captured, and great numbers of them were destroyed and taken prisoners.

By an exhaustive process of reasoning it has been shown by Zumpt ||, that the territory of the Homonadenses, with the rest of Cilicia, was at this time within the province of Syria. If so, it cannot reasonably be doubted that Cyrenius or Quirinus was Legatus

\* Joseph. Antiq. XVI. x. 7.

† Nat. Hist. v. 23. 94. ‡ Strab. Geograph. XIV. iv. 24.

§ Id. XII. vi. 5; XIV. iv. 1.

|| Comm. Epigr. ii. 88—98.

Augusti in Syria, and must consequently have been one of the governors of this province.

Additional proofs are furnished by Tacitus, first with reference to Cneius Piso, and afterwards in connexion with the Clitæ. The tortuous policy of Tiberius induced him when Germanicus was in the East to remove Creticus Silanus, a friend of Germanicus, from the governorship of Syria, and to appoint Cneius Piso, a man of violent character, and hostile to Germanicus, in his place \*. By persevering malignity Piso so exasperated Germanicus, that the latter ordered him to quit the province †. With this injunction he complied, but lingered at various places, until he reached the isle of Cos or Cous, where he remained in expectation of the death of Germanicus, which happened shortly afterwards, and whose end is supposed to have been accelerated by poison ‡.

Cn. Sentius Saturninus having been provisionally appointed governor of Syria until the pleasure of Tiberius could be known, Piso collected a small army, and attempted forcibly to recover the province of which he considered himself to have been unjustly deprived §. With this view he demanded troops of the petty kings of Cilicia, which it is considered he could only have done in his assumed character of governor of Syria. With these troops he seized upon Celenderis, a fortress situated in Cilicia ||. On the failure of his attempt he was sent to Rome, and tried before the senate, on the charge of "seeking to recover the province by force of arms ¶." Hence it appears that after Cyprus had been given up by the emperor to the senate, Cilicia became *part of the province of Syria*.

\* Tac. Ann. ii. 43.

† Ann. ii. 69.

‡ Ann. ii. 71.

§ Ann. ii. 74. 77—79.

|| Ann. ii. 80.

¶ "Armis repetitâ provinciâ." Tac. Ann. iii. 12. 14.

The Clitæ were a tribe settled in Cappadocia. Having become impatient of the heavy taxation imposed upon them, they withdrew to the fastnesses of Mount Taurus, where they maintained themselves, until in A.D. 36 Trebellius, who was sent by Vitellius, *governor of Syria*, compelled them to surrender. The same tribe again rose in A.D. 53, when they not only occupied the mountainous districts, but ravaged the more level country as far as the sea. On this occasion a force under Curtius Severus was despatched against them, also *from Syria*. They were, according to Tacitus, a tribe of Cilicia Aspera; so that here it equally appears that Cilicia must have been annexed to Syria, and was within the jurisdiction of the governors of this province.

It having thus been ascertained that Syria was the province within which Cyrenius carried on his operations against the Homonadenses, and there being no reason to doubt that he did so as the legate of the emperor, having co-ordinate authority with the governor, if not actually one of two governors then appointed over the province,—the only remaining point is the time when Cyrenius was thus engaged. As no one is shown to have succeeded Varus, Zumpt has ingeniously sought to establish that Cyrenius was twice governor of Syria, and that when first so, he was the immediate successor of Varus. With his dates, however, and assuming, as he does, that Herod died during the governorship of Varus (p. 87), in the year before Cyrenius succeeded him in the province, but little advance would be made towards a solution of the difficulty; since the only result would be to show that St. Luke was mistaken by one year, instead of by ten years. The mere reduction of time cannot in any degree be equivalent to the removal of error.

The period when Cyrenius was engaged in subduing the Homonadenses can be proximately arrived at from profane history. It preceded by some time the departure of Caius Cæsar from Rome to assume the command of this very province of Syria. This appears from a passage in Tacitus, where he speaks of Quirinus as not having sprung from an ancient or patrician family, but as being energetic in warfare and hazardous enterprises, and as having in consequence obtained the consulship under Augustus. Tacitus then proceeds to say that some time after this, for having captured the strongholds of the Homonadenses, he obtained the honors of a triumph, subsequently to which he was appointed rector to Caius Cæsar, when on his way to Armenia\*. Now as Cyrenius was consul in B.C. 12, and Caius Cæsar left Rome for Syria early in B.C. 1, the operations of Cyrenius against the Homonadenses must have taken place in the interval. It by no means follows from the words of St. Luke that he was then sole governor of the province. A military command in conjunction with, independently of, or even in subordination to the ordinary governor, would satisfy the words of the Evangelist, who speaks of Pilate, though clearly subject to the superior authority of the governor of Syria, as ὁ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἡγεμὼν †.

It is beyond all doubt that between the years B.C.

\* "Nihil ad veterem et patriciam Sulpiciorum familiam Quirinus pertinuit, ortus apud municipium Lanuvium; sed impiger militiæ, et acribus ministeriis, Consulatum sub D. Augusto, mox, expugnatis per Ciliciam Homonadensium castellis, insignia triumphi adeptus; datusque rector C. Cæsari, Armeniam obtinenti, Tiberium quoque, Rhodi agentem, coluerat: quod tunc patefecit (Tiberius) in Senatu: laudatis in se officiis, et incusato 'M. Lollio,' quem 'auctorem C. Cæsari pravitatis et discordiarum,' arguebat." —Tac. Ann. iii. 48.

† Antiq. XVIII. iii. 1.

12 and B.C. 1 Cyrenius, either as general of an army, or as its governor, or one of its governors, did in fact exercise command over at least a portion of the province of Syria. From the chronology, which has been arrived at through a wholly independent inquiry, the date of the Nativity, and consequently the year in which, according to St. Luke, Cyrenius *ought* to have held command in Syria, is the year B.C. 3. History, then, shows that Cyrenius at the head of an army was in Syria during the first eleven or twelve years anterior to the Christian æra, carrying on operations of such importance, and resulting in such success, that a triumph was decreed to him. He was thus unquestionably *legatus Cæsaris*; and as such, whether actually one of the governors of the province or not, exercising an authority in and over the province, which would most aptly be designated by the verb ἡγεμονεύω.

We further learn from Josephus, that some two or three years previously to B.C. 3, there were in Syria two individuals, both bearing the title and exercising the authority of ἡγεμῶν. That one of these appears then to have quitted the province; and that while mention is made of a successor to Saturninus, no one is mentioned as having succeeded Volumnius, although from the dates Cyrenius may well have done so. Even if Volumnius, instead of being joint governor with Saturninus, had been procurator, or possessed of inferior authority, Josephus does not hesitate to apply to him the word ἡγεμῶν, with its corresponding verb. Still more would these and similar titles and expressions be applicable to Cyrenius, when exercising an independent military command within the province; while from his consular rank he is not likely to have occupied a subordinate position. Still he may have done so; since Varus was of patrician descent, and

allied to the imperial family; while, as Tacitus notices, Cyrenius was not of distinguished birth. The history of Judea furnishes an explanation why Cyrenius, and not Varus, should have been mentioned by St. Luke. Some few years before his death Herod incurred the displeasure of Augustus, who wrote a letter to Herod, saying, that although he had formerly treated him as a *friend*, he should in future treat him as a *subject*\*. From this and other passages it appears that Augustus, though afterwards reconciled to Herod, considered Judea as much a part of the empire as Syria itself. Herod, in fact, had little more than a nominal sovereignty over it. The chief difference between his position, as king of Judea, and the governor of Syria, was that while the title of king endured for life, the governor of a province held office only for a short period. From Augustus' letter it seems probable that after that time the emperor's *legatus Syriæ* was invested with special authority in Judea. This receives some confirmation from the fact that Justin Martyr, when appealing to the public records of the enrolment made by Cyrenius in testimony of our Lord's birth, styles Cyrenius *ἐπίτροπος*, or procurator, the very office which on the supposition of Noris and Pagi had been filled by Volumnius.

When Cyrenius was subsequently sent by Augustus into Judea to take an account of the effects of Archelaus, and provide for the annexation of the country to the province of Syria, he does not appear to have held the office either of governor or procurator. Zumpt attempts to show that he did so; and this has generally been assumed from a passage in Acts, supposed

\* Ὁργή τε μείζων ἐγένετο τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ γράφει πρὸς τὸν Ἡρώδην, τότε ἄλλα χαλεπῶς, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ κεφάλαιον, "ὅτι πάλαι χρόμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται."—Joseph. Antiq. XVI. ix. 8.

to be parallel with Josephus. When Festus came to Jerusalem, and sat in the judgment-hall with Agrippa and his wife Drusilla, Paul addresses him as one who was "a judge unto this nation," *κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ* \*. His authority as judge of the Jewish people is considered to have flowed from, and been necessarily incident to his office of governor of Syria. As, however, British judges on their circuits owe their jurisdiction to several commissions having different objects, so it is probable that among the Romans their provincial governors were specially invested with powers, either civil or military, and had different degrees of authority, as they stood higher or lower in favor with the senate or with the emperor. This is confirmed by the various expressions employed by Josephus to denote the governing power, *ἐπιμελητής, ἐπιστάτης, ἡγεμών, or στρατηγός*.

Of these titles the two first, though with some distinction between them, signify *curator*, and were used in connexion with various civil offices, which were indicated by a superadded substantive in the genitive case †. The third denoted both military and civil command, although in later times more appropriate to the former; while the fourth, at least out of Attica, indicated military rank alone. It is by this title of *στρατηγός* that Josephus speaks of Varus ‡. When, however, Cyrenius came into Syria upon the banishment of Archelaus, the language of Josephus is very different. He then says that Cyrenius was specially deputed by Cæsar to make a valuation of property in Syria, and to sell whatever belonged to Archelaus §.

\* Acts xxiv. 10.

† *As θεῶν, μυστηρίων, νόμων, ἄθλων, δπλων, ἱππων, ποιμνίων, ἐμπορίου, φυλῆς, κ.τ.λ.* See Spanheim, Dissert. ix. fol. i. 714, 715.

‡ Antiq. XVII. x. 1.

§ *πέμπεται Κυρήνιος ὑπὸ Καίσαρος, ἀνὴρ ὑπατικός, ἀποτιμησό-*



After noticing the honorable offices which Cyrenius had passed through, including that of consul, he proceeds to say that Cyrenius with a few others came into Syria, having been appointed administrator of justice to this nation, and about to become an assessor of their property\*. No term equivalent to that of governor of the province is here applied to Cyrenius. On the contrary, he is styled by the peculiar and somewhat strange title of *δικαιοδότης*. This implies a peculiarly delegated authority, such as would be exercised in modern days by a "special commissioner." The language of Josephus, indeed, appears to exclude the notion that Cyrenius was then exercising any general authority as governor of Syria †.

This assessment or taxation in Judea was completed in the thirty-seventh year from the battle of Actium, which was between the 2nd of September A.U. 758, A.D. 6, and the 2nd of September A.U. 759, A.D. 7. From a coin discovered at Antioch it appears that in the thirty-fifth year of the Actiac æra, that is, between the 1st of November A.U. 756, A.D. 4, and the 1st of November A.U. 757, A.D. 5, L. Volusius Saturninus was *legatus Syriæ* ‡. While, therefore, it can be proved that at or about the time mentioned by St. Luke Cyrenius was *ἡγεμὼν*, or *legatus Augusti* in this province, there is nothing to show that he sustained

μενος τὰ ἐν Συρίᾳ, καὶ τὸν Ἀρχελάου ἀποδωσόμενος οἶκον.—Antiq. XVII. xiii. 5.

\* Κυρήνιος . . . σὺν ὀλίγοις, ἐπὶ Συρίας παρῆν, ὑπὸ Καίσαρος δικαιοδότης τοῦ ἔθνους ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ τιμητὴς τῶν οὐσιῶν γενησόμενος.—Antiq. XVIII. i. 1. Elsewhere Josephus, speaking of the same period, likewise terms Cyrenius assessor. After stating that the Jews endeavoured to prevent his completing the register,—μη ποιῆσθαι τὰς ἀπογραφὰς,—he says, ὅτε Κυρήνιος τιμητὴς εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἐπέμπεθ, Bell. Jud. VII. viii. 1.

† Antiq. XVII. xiii. 5.

‡ A. W. Zumpt's Comment. Epigraph. ii. 150.

this character after the deposition of Archelaus. The act of depriving Joazar of the high priesthood \* fell directly within the province of censor, or administrator of justice.

One further circumstance may be noticed, although its materiality is diminished by the difference between the enrolment referred to by St. Luke, and the assessment mentioned by Josephus. It was customary with the Romans to have a *lustrum* or purification every five years, at which time the census was usually taken. Hence the word *lustrum* came to designate the period between two lustra †. If omitted, the fact was deemed of sufficient public importance to be recorded in the *Fasti Capitolini*. After the names of the consuls for the year were added the words or letters signifying *Lustrum non fecerunt* ‡. The *lustrum* was performed by one of the censors, to whom the taking of the census was also entrusted; but in the provinces officers denominated *censitores* were either specially appointed for the purpose, or else the duty was performed by the imperial *legati* §.

During the republic a census was occasionally ordered in different provinces; but no general census throughout all the Roman provinces is mentioned until the reign of Augustus. From this time a general census appears to have been taken, at first every ten years, and subsequently every fifteen years ||. In what precise year the first general census was

\* Joseph. Antiq. XVIII. ii. 1.

† Smith's Dict. of G. and R. Antiq. 719.

‡ See Gruter, Inscrip. Antiq. i. 298. Muratori, Thes. Vet. Inscr. i. 290—294.

§ Tac. Ann. i. 31. 11. 6. Becker's Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer, II. ii. 191, &c.

|| Savigny, Römische Steuerverfassung in Zeitschrift, vi. 375—383. Smith's Dict. G. and R. Antiq. 265.

ordered by Augustus to be taken throughout the Roman provinces is not discoverable from any profane author. But it is remarkable that from the year B.C. 3, in which, as being the date of the Nativity, St. Luke states that by the order of Augustus an enrolment took place in Judea, if not in other places, to the year A.D. 7, when Cyrenius was commissioned by the emperor to make an assessment in Syria, the period is precisely ten years.

It thus appears—I. That in the reign of Augustus there sprang up a practice, which was continued through several succeeding reigns, of taking a general provincial census every ten years. II. That this census was taken either by a specially delegated officer, or by one who was *Legatus Cæsaris* within the province. III. That at the time mentioned by St. Luke Cyrenius was the emperor's *Legatus* in Syria, and could strictly and most appropriately be spoken of as ἡγεμονεύωντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου\*. IV. That just ten years after this time Cyrenius was specially appointed to make an assessment of property in the same province. V. That at the time of the enrolment mentioned by St. Luke Herod was king of Judea; and Varus, though invited by Herod to take part in the trial of his son Antipater, as Saturninus and Volumnius had previously been called in to assist in the trial of two other of his sons, had as ordinary governor of Syria no proper jurisdiction within the country. VI. That although Herod was king of Judea, he had been indebted for his kingdom to Augustus, and on all occasions demeaned himself towards the emperor as a subject prince, taking no important step but with Augustus' advice and sanc-

\* To suppose that these words intimate that Cyrenius was president or governor of Syria, in the ordinary sense of the term, is a misapprehension. See Joseph. Antiq. XVI. x. 8, 9, &c.

tion; and even soliciting permission to bring his own sons and others to trial, and afterwards put them to death. VII. That some few years before his decease Herod received from Augustus a letter, in which he was told that the emperor would thenceforth treat him as *a subject*. VIII. That so far from having any disposition to resist, Herod would have been anxious to promote any census desired by Augustus. IX. That as Cyrenius was specially deputed to make the subsequent assessment, he was probably the person appointed to take the former census or enrolment also; but, in any case, was most likely to be spoken of by St. Luke as exercising the office of ἡγεμῶν in Syria, when this first enrolment was made.

Thus, far from the Gospel of this Evangelist being open to the charge of being unhistorical, it is not only consistent with, but supported by profane history.

In arriving at this conclusion, no recourse has been had to an inscription which is put forward by Sanclemente\*, Husckius†, and Browne‡, as showing that a census was taken by Cyrenius before that spoken of by Josephus. It is said to have been discovered at Venice, but has long been lost. The genuineness of it was doubted by Marinius§, was then given up by Orellius||, and it has since been denounced as a rank forgery by A. W. Zumpt¶.

It purports to be the inscription upon an ancient *cippus*, or monumental pillar. Such a *cippus* was sometimes erected by an individual in his lifetime, and sometimes by his family or friends after his death. It was customary to devote the monument,

\* De Ær. Vulg. emend. 412.

† De Censu cir. Chr. Nat. hab. 71.

‡ Chron. of Script. 48.

§ Att. e Mon. fra. Arv. 787.

|| Inscr. N. 623.

¶ "Turpe et magnum mendacium," Commentat. Epigraph. 104—107.

together with a portion of ground surrounding it, in perpetuity to the memory of the founder or his family, excluding the title of the heir\*. The following is suggested as a translation of this one:—

“Quintus Æmilius, (son of Quintus,) Palatinus, Secundus †, was in the army of the divine Augustus, under the command of P. Sulpitius Quirinus, Cæsar’s legate in Syria, advanced to the posts of præfect of the first Augustan cohort, præfect of the second naval cohort. The same, by order of Quirinus, made a census of the district of Apamene of 117,000 inhabitants, who were citizens. The same, by order of Quirinus, in spite of the Ituræans, took their fortified camp in Mount Lebanon: and before entering the military service, when præfect of the artificers, was recommended by two consuls to the treasury: and in the colony filled the offices of quæstor, ædile II., decemvir II., and sacred magistrate. Here are laid his son Quintus Æmilius, (son of Quintus,) Palatinus, Secundus, and the Chian Æmilia, his freed-

\* These and similar dedications by the Roman law, and by the laws of modern countries, are deemed to be pious uses. This practice was derived by the Romans from the Greeks. See Boeckh’s *Inscript. Græcor.* It may be traced back to still earlier ages.

† Quintus was the *prænomen*, Æmilius the *nomen*, Palatinus the *cognomen*, and Secundus the *cognomen secundum*, or *agnomen*. Between the *nomen* and the *cognomen* there is usually interposed in the genitive case a further initial description, indicating the name of the father, grandfather, or uncle of the individual described. Thus Augustus is designated as *Julii* or *Divi filius* or *nepos*, meaning the adopted son or nephew of Julius Cæsar. Besides Palatinus, the names Palicanus, Palavellus, Palfurnius, and Palma, have the same initial letters. Pal. is a contraction frequently met with. Some inscriptions have it several times. Palat. occurs in the same inscriptions as Pal., and also separately. In one instance Pal. is given as the contracted cognomen of one member of the family, and Palat. of another. *Græv. Thes.* iii. 256 D. See also x. 641. Palatina occurs at length in some inscriptions. *Græv.* i. 264, 5.

woman [or Æmilia Chia, his daughter]. Let not the heir any longer have a claim to this monument\*."

The only objection urged against the inscription by Marinius and Orellius is that in genuine inscriptions the name *Quirinus* is spelt *Quirinius* †; an objection which is enlarged upon by A. W. Zumpt. After allowing it to be very difficult to judge of this inscription ‡, and that there was nothing in its general purport so obviously either true or false as to determine its character, Zumpt proceeds to a critical exa-

\*  
Q . AEMILIUS . Q . F  
PAL . SECVNDVS  
CASTRIS . DIVI . AVG.  
P . SVLPITIO . QVIRINO . LEG  
CAESARIS . SYRIAE . HONORI  
BVS . DECORATVS . PRAEFECT  
COHORT . AVG . I . PRAEFECT  
COHORT . II . CLASSICAE . IDEM  
IVSSV . QVIRINI . CENSVM . FEC  
APAMENAE . CIVITATIS . MIL  
LIVM . HOM . CIVIVM . CXVII  
IDEM . IVSSV . QVIRINI . ADVERSVS  
ITVREOS . IN . LIBANO . MONTE  
CASTELLVM . FORVM . CEPIT . ET . ANTE  
MILITIAM . PRAEFECT . FABRYM  
DELATVS . A . DVOBVS . COS . AD . AE  
RARIVM . ET . IN . COLONIA  
QVAESTOR . AEDILIS . II . DVVMVIR . II .  
PONTIFEX  
IBI . POSITI . SVNT . Q . AEMILIUS . Q . F . PAL  
SECVNDVS . F . ET . AEMILIA . CHIA . LIB  
H . M . AMPLIVS . H . N . S

Sertorius Ursatus Marmi. Erudit. 276, Padova 1719. Muratori, Thes. Vet. Inscr. ii. 670. Sanclemente, De Ær. Vulg. 412. Browne's Chron. Introd. 48.

† "Præterea in sinceris tabulis P. Sulpicius Quirinius, non Quirinus. Fictitium censeo."—Orell. Inscr. N. 623.

‡ "De quâ inscriptione judicare est difficillimum."—Comm. Epigr. 104.

mination of its several parts. The grounds upon which he rests his ultimate strong condemnation of it are these:—

1. That *Quirinus* is certainly erroneous, and was the *Κυρήνιος* or *Κυρίνιος* of the Greeks; that the Romans in taking such names adopted the Greek spelling, and that this particular name is shown to have been spelt *Quirinius* \*.
2. That the general complexion of the inscription is opposed to the simplicity of the age.
3. That *adversus Ituræos in Libano monte castellum eorum cepit* is inelegant Latin.
4. That *millium hominum civium* is still more so.
5. That *Quirinus* is styled *legatus Cæsaris* only, while previously the army is called that of the *divine* Augustus; although the term *divus*, which was not given to this emperor in his lifetime, was never omitted after his death.
6. That the *honores* with which *Quirinus* was invested are left to conjecture.
7. That gifts and rewards, *dona et præmia*, were the proper military phrases; but that no *honores* were conferred in camps.
8. That *cohors Aug. I. et cohors II. classica* are new coinages, unskillfully adapted from the names of legions.
9. That where the 117,000 citizens of Apamea were obtained from is unknown.
10. That *delatus a duobus consulibus* is a plagiarism, grounded upon a misapprehension of Cicero.
11. That, as a still further mark of want of skill and learning, this is said to have occurred *ante militiam*.
12. That no addition occurs after *colonia* to show what colony it was.
13. That the inventor sought to conceal his fraud by introducing the *Ituræi*, who were likely to be mentioned in connexion with Herod.
14. That *præfect*, before *fabrum*, is given

\* Maff. Mus. Ver. 108. 2. Marin. Act. frat. Arv. 782. Kal. Prænest. ad prid. Non. Mart. et A.D. iv. Kal. Mai. Tac. Ann. ii. 80, à Ryckio.

by Muratori as *præfedit*. 15. That the inscription has never been seen.

With the exception of the second and last, these are mere verbal criticisms, yet they may be thought numerous enough to sink any inscription irretrievably. Their true value, however, will be better appreciated after a more complete acquaintance with ancient inscriptions, and classical authorities bearing upon the point, than is exhibited in the remarks of even so accomplished a scholar as Zumpt.

1. Although Cyrenius was not of the ancient *gens Sulpicia*, he was born at Lanuvium in Italy\*. He was not a Greek; nor, as far as we know, of Greek extraction, which is alone put forward as a ground for insisting that the name should be spelt *Quirinius*; though even then it might have been latinized†. In the south of Italy, indeed, were numerous Greek settlers, and various Hellenisms have hence been introduced into the Latin and Italian languages; but Lanuvium was within twenty miles of Rome. Of the authorities cited, the *Fasti Verriani* were not composed until the reign of Tiberius‡, in and previously to which great licence was taken with names. They have not been followed by the best scholars. The author of the anonymous *Fasti* in Noris, Cassiodorus, himself of consular rank, Almeloveen, Reimar§, Ernestus and Oberlinus, in their editions of Tacitus, Fynes-Clinton||, and numerous other writers, give a preference to *Quirinus*. The judgment, therefore, of

\* Tac. Ann. iii. 48.

† By a Greek derivation A. W. Zumpt evidently intends that of a later period; not that which was early introduced into Latin generally through Greek literature, and which is noticed by the elder Zumpt. Lat. Gram. § 256.

‡ Clint. F. H. iii. 269.

§ Ad Dion. liv. 2.

|| F. H. iii. 247. Smith's Dict. G. and R. Biogr. iii. 638.



A. W. Zumpt is opposed to that of the majority of learned men.

There is but one inconsistent inscription, which, with the comment of Marinius upon it, is given below \*. This and the Fasti Verriani constitute the slender stems, from which the weighty graft of deception and fraud has to be taken. The bronze tablet of Marinius, and another given by him in the next page, came from Gurzenses, in Africa †. The number of

\* P. SVLPICIO . QVIRINIO . C . VALGIO . COS  
 SENATVS . POPVLVSQVE . CIVITATIVM . STIPENDIARIORVM  
 PAGO . GVRZENSES . HOSPITIUM . FECERVNT . QVOM . L . DOMITIO  
 ON . F . L . N . AHENOBARBO . PRO . COS . EVMQVE . ET . POSTERIS (sic)  
 EIVS . SIBI . POSTERISQVE . SVBIS . PATRONVM . COPTAVERVNT (sic)  
 ISQVE . EOS . POSTEROSQVE . EORVM . IN . FIDEM . CLIENTELAM  
 QVE . SVAM . RECEPIT  
 FACIVNDVM . CORRAVERVNT (qy. *egerunt*) . AMMICAR . MILCHATONIS . F .  
 CYNASYN . BONCAR . AZERVBALIS . F . AETHOGVRENSIS  
 MVTHVNBAL . SAPHONIS . F . CVI . NAS . VEITENSIS

"Il famoso *P. Sulpicio, Quirinio*, siccome in questo bronzo, e in più Scrittori, dicesi due volte nel Calendario Prænest. nel Marzo e Aprile, e però par certo che così debba nominarsi, e non *Quirino*, e così veramente il chiamarono il Lipsio (*ad Tacit. An. iii. 48*), il Noris, il Pagi, ed altri, senza aver essi a favor loro sì belli, e sì certì documenti, quali abbiám ora noi; e la fece quindi il Maffei da Guidice indiscreto, allorchè per tal cosa gli condannò (*Mus. Ver. p. 108 ad n. 2*). Della medaglia del Goltzio con QVIRINO sanno gli Antiquari qual conto debba farsi; e il marmo datoci la prima volta dall' Orsato (*Marm. er. p. 276*), che ora più non esiste, e di cui nella n. 127 alla p. 751, il qual ha pure QVIRINO e SULPITIO, se è legittimo, fu sicuramente copiato assai male, onde niun creda di poterlo contrapporre al bronzo presente, ed a' Fasti di Verrio."—Marin. Atti e Monumenti degli Arvali, ii. 782. 787, n. 70. Rom. 1795. Et vide Orell. n. 3693.

† The other inscription has "*Civitas Gurzensis ex Africa*," for which use of *ex*, see Cic. ad Fam. xv. 4. Gurzenses is not mentioned by Diodorus Siculus or Strabo, nor in the geographical lexicons of Ferrarius, La Martinière, Zedler, or W. Smith, or any other work I am acquainted with, unless it be the Gherze of Tripolitana, given in D'Anville's Atlas.

Greek names scattered along the African coast, and for some distance inland, shows how large a number of Grecian colonists had supervened upon the earlier Phœnician settlers. Cyrene in particular was a Dorian state; and in B.C. 322 or 321 was, with other adjacent places, conquered by Ptolemy Soter \*. This inscription, therefore, might have a Greek complexion, without impugning another found elsewhere within the Roman dominions. It is unnecessary, however, to resort to any such hypothesis, since the mistakes which occur in this bronze are sufficient to show that it cannot be relied upon as an authority for correct orthography †.

The Romans themselves occasionally exhibited great carelessness in this respect ‡, the name of the same individual or family being differently spelt, sometimes in the very same inscription. Thus one of the names we have here is found spelt, not only in different inscriptions, but in the same, both Sulpicius and Sulpitius §. Another inscription has Palavellus for the father, and Palavellius for the son ||. So Ante-

\* Diod. Sic. xviii. 20, 21. Sharpe's Egypt, i. 180.

† There are two other bronze inscriptions from Africa. These, and that secondly given by Marinius, are in nearly the same language, but do not exhibit the same mistakes. See Marin. ii. 788. Murat. 302. i. 2. In all *egerunt* occurs instead of *coeraverunt*, which is probably the foundation of Marinius' query and suggested alteration. Yet *coeraverunt*, *coiraverunt*, *coeravere*, and *coeravit*, are found in several other inscriptions. See Pitisci, Lex. Ant. R. i. 856. 860. Orell. n. 50. 566. 570. Græv. iii. 237.

‡ The *vitia* of inscriptions are constantly pointed out in Muratori. Besides mistakes, varieties of orthography are met with among the ancients; though not to the same extent as among the moderns. One English judge boasted that he spelt his name in six different ways. Another, more ingenious or persevering, is said to have produced no less than thirty-six varieties.

§ Inscr. ap. Græv. Thes. v. 199.

|| Marin. Att. e Monum. Arv. ii. 713.

stius and Antistius occur in the same inscription \*. In the Fasti Capitolini names are found to vary, as in the instance of Ambustus, which is also spelt Ambutus. Metilio and Metili †, and various similar names, also Quiritum and Quiritium ‡, may perhaps be otherwise accounted for.

In Roman nomenclature there was a principle, which those who oppose this inscription have overlooked or forgotten. Names were used and written either in a substantive or an adjective form §. Those which may be termed appellatives, or Gentile names, were in the adjective; while those which more immediately designated the individual were in the substantive form. In their early history the Romans had but one name; and then two. When this was the case, the first was sometimes in a substantive, and sometimes in an adjective form, though more usually in the former. The second, with very few exceptions, which probably were not such in reality, was used adjectively ||. The Romans, however, soon assumed three ¶, and shortly afterwards four, and occasionally even a greater number of names. Of these the *prænomen* was either in the substantive or adjective

\* Pitisci, Lex. i. 850.

† Mur. i. 515.

‡ Græv. xii. 823. Pitisci, Lex. Ant. R. ii. 592.

§ Zumpt's Lat. Gram. s. 256. Though his office was not to attend to the orthography of names, there was a *Nomenclator*, and a *Schola nomenclatorum*. Salleng. Thes. iii. 445.

|| Thus we find Hostus Hostilius, Mettius Curtius. Liv. i. 12. Amst. 1679. Titus Manlius, Numa Marcius, Tullus Hostilius. Id. 19, 20, 22. Tac. Ann. vi. 10. Dexter Romulius, Spurius Lucretius. Tac. ib. Metius Fuffetius, Marcus Valerius, Spurius Fusius. Liv. i. 24. Then as *nomina* we have the well-known names of Horatius, Curiatius, Lartius, &c. Id. 24, &c. In the instance of Tarquinius Superbus, the former was probably a nomen, not a prænomen; while the latter was a cognomen.

¶ Caius Cluilius Alba. Liv. i. 22. A host of similar names subsequently occurs. Liv. iv. &c.

form, though more usually in the former; the *nomen* was almost always in the adjective\*; while the *cognomen* and *agnomen* were mostly in the substantive. Some exceptions are to be met with in inscriptions, although they are commonly susceptible of explanation; but it is comparatively rare to find either the *nomen* or the *cognomen* vary from their usual forms. That the termination of names depended more upon their position, than upon their derivation either from Greek or other sources, is shown by this, that the very same name was made to end differently when used as a *nomen* or a *cognomen*. On a transmutation from the second to the third or fourth place, the adjective form became converted into the substantive; the name then resuming its original orthography. Thus the well-known name of Julius as a *cognomen* became Julus. So we find Claudius and Claudus, Fusius and Fusus, Latinus and Latinus, Norbanus and Norbanus, Publicius and Publicus, Quinctius and Quinctus, Septimius and Septimus, Romulus and Romulus, Varius and Varus†, and many others‡.

\* Hence the titles of laws, derived from names, ended in *ia*, as *Lex Julia*. "*Leges enim à nomine, non à cognomine, vocabantur.*" Græv. ii. 1088.

† *Fasti Consulares* ap. Sigonium, i. *Fasti a Pighio* ap. Græv. viii. 570. 575. Murat. 604. Græv. ii. Præf. 24; xi. 182, &c.

‡ In the course of time, however, and when the ear had become accustomed to the adjective form of particular names, this rule was occasionally departed from, particularly in the provinces, where the same attention to orthography was not paid as at Rome. To this circumstance, in conjunction with provincial ignorance, arising from the constant accession of strangers from different parts of the empire, may be attributed the exceptions which are to be met with in some inscriptions. In commenting upon *Panvin. et Ursat. de Famil. Rom.* Grævius remarks of the Arrian gens, "*Gentilitium vero hoc nomen quandoque pro cognomine usurpatum observo in lapidibus, ut est p. 127, in quibus non tantum lego, L. CORNELIUS ARRIUS, sed et pag. 248. 6. ubi occurrit, Q. TAMVDIVS Q. F. ARRIUS.*"—Græv. xi. 559.

The change from one form to another, occurring when the position is altered, may be seen in the instances given below\*.

The science of Roman nomenclature becomes more apparent, when it is remembered that the names of consanguinity, *sanguinis nomina* †, in the genitive case, are introduced between the adjective *nomen* and the substantive *cognomen* ‡. The ordinary position and grammatical forms may be seen in any of the fuller Fasti Consulares. In glancing the eye down the column where the *nomina* occur, they will be seen to have their endings in *ius* §; while in the column of *cognomina* the endings are uniformly in *us*. The *nomen* has thus a dactyle, and the *cognomen* usually a spondee termination. Out of hundreds of instances some few are subjoined, which have been taken from the names preserved in the Fasti Capitolini ||.

\* C. *Quintius* Andrea. T. *Masclius Quintus*. C. *Fulvia Quinta*. Græv. ii. Præf. 19. 25, 26. Also xi. 712.

† Ovid. *Metam.* ix. 465.

‡ This was frequently the *tribus nomen*, and appears to have been so in the instance of *Palatinus*, or *Palatina*. Græv. x. 641.

§ This termination is noticed by several writers. See Adam's *R. Antiq.* 26. Smith's *G. and R. Antiq.* 801.

Sp. <i>Furius</i> ,	N.	<i>Fusus</i> .
Vopiscus, <i>Julius</i> ,		<i>Julus</i> .
P. <i>Volumnius</i> , M.F.M.N.	<i>Amintinus</i> ,	<i>Gallus</i> .
C. <i>Horatius</i> , M.F.M.N.		<i>Pulvillus</i> .
T. <i>Romilius</i> , T.F.T.N.	<i>Rocus</i> ,	<i>Vaticanus</i> .
N. <i>Fabius</i> , M.F.Q.N.		<i>Ambustus</i> .
C. <i>Junius</i> , C.F.C.N.	<i>Bubulcus</i> ,	<i>Brutus</i> .
L. <i>Manlius</i> , A.F.P.N.	<i>Vulso</i> ,	<i>Longus</i> .
Sex. <i>Ælius</i> , Q.F.P.N.	<i>Paitus</i> ,	<i>Catus</i> .

To these consular names may be added those of the following well-known authors:—

T. <i>Livius</i> ,	<i>Patavinus</i> .	C. <i>Suetonius</i> ,	<i>Tranquillus</i> .
Q. <i>Horatius</i> ,	<i>Flaccus</i> .	C. <i>Velleius</i> ,	<i>Paterculus</i> .
C. <i>Cornelius</i> ,	<i>Tacitus</i> .	C. <i>Sallustius</i> ,	<i>Crispus</i> .

The only exception in the Fasti is (B.C. 24) in the case of

It thus appears that as a cognomen *Quirinus* was the proper legitimate form, and so far from being evidence of forgery, is, on the contrary, a proof of authenticity. In fact, Publius Sulpitius *Quirinius* is faulty in construction, and would have sounded harshly to a Roman ear\*. That the name should be found as *Quirinio* in the *Fasti Verriani* is of easy explanation. No other name is there given, and apparently, therefore, it was used by the author of these *Fasti* as a *nomen* †. He may not have known of the name Sulpitius; or, since Quirinus was not of the *gens Sulpicia*, he may have thought that the use of Sulpitius would lead to uncertainty. The other consul was C. Valgius Rufus; and of his names the author of these *Fasti* also gives but one, this being

C. Norbanus Flaccus; but all the letters after the N. have become obliterated, and are restored from conjecture, or from various authors. It may have been written Norbanus, as in Mur. 604. The consul for B.C. 83 was C. Junius Norbanus; so that Norbanus was then used as a *cognomen*. In the instances of Scipio, Cæpio, and some few others ending with a double vowel (of which, from the commencement of the *Fasti* down to some few years after the Christian æra, there are not twelve in all), the double vowel was probably pronounced as a diphthong. For names ending in *a* see on the one hand, Müller, *Etrusk.* i. 413. Götting, l. c. 31; and, on the other, Niebuhr's *Rome*, i. 381, n. 922. 500, n. 1107.

\* It is singular that this rule of nomenclature should have been entirely passed over by A. W. Zumpt, since it has partially entered into the discussion respecting the name of Sallust. Some MSS. have *Sallustius Crispus*, and others *Crispus Sallustius*. Cortius, Havercamp, Le Clerc, and others have contended for the latter, alleging the authority of the best MSS. De Brosses, on the other hand, maintains that from its termination *Sallustius* is evidently the name of the *gens*, or family, and that *Crispus* is a cognomen, denoting *quelque habitude du corps*: consequently that the names should stand *C. Sallustius Crispus*. De Brosses' *Vie de Sall.* 2. This order is adopted by Clinton, F. H. iii. 150.

† "Nomen quum dicimus, cognomen quoque et agnomen intelligatur oportet."—*Neutralia* Quinct. i. 5.

the *nomen* Valgius; thus showing that he used *Quirinius* in the same way. While, therefore, the general inaccuracy of the African bronze renders it of little value, there are grounds which no less detract from the authority of the *Fasti Verriani* \*.

From the *principles* of Roman orthography we proceed to *examples*. In one inscription of cotemporaneous date we find T. FL. T. F. QVIRINA. VICTORINO †. In another there is CVRINO, the dative of CVRINVS ‡. Upon others are found the identical QVIRINVS §. On another QVIRINAE, also showing that there must have been a *Quirinus* ||. Where, however, the name occurs as a *nomen*, then in accordance with the established rule we find QVIRINIVS ¶. It repeatedly, however, occurs as a cognomen, under the abbreviation QVIR., where from its position, and the general scope of these inscriptions, a moral certainty arises that the substantive, and not the adjective form is denoted \*\*. The objection, therefore, to this inscription on the score that the *Cyrenius* of St. Luke is here called *Quirinus* cannot be sustained ††.

2. The general purport of the inscription, rightly understood, is perfectly simple and natural; not less

\* An arbitrary change in the order of their arrangement, (the *nomen* and the *cognomen* being often transposed, as in Sallust's case,) and a general inattention to names prevailed in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, which greatly detract from the weight of the *Fasti Verriani*, independently of the fact that they give but one name. See Vell. Pat. ii. 97. 112. Smith's G. and B. Antiq. 802.

† Murat. ii. 847. 5.

‡ Græv. iii. 235.

§ Murat. 1173. 4. 1735. 5.

|| Id. 1735. 4.

¶ Id. 1494. 2. 1895. 6.

\*\* See inter alia Murat. 101. 515. 517. 522. 544. 800—847; iv. 2021. Græv. Thes. i. 420. Id. ii. Præfatio 24. Orell. n. 106. 3747. 3789. Sallenger iii. 620.

†† The name appears to have been handed down and preserved. On the title-page of Stæffler's *Calend. Rom.*, Oppenheim, 1518, *Quirinus Lanius* appears as an illustrious Italian.

so than the inscription given p. 555 supra, or than numerous others. It was customary in these monumental tablets or inscriptions to enumerate the various offices an individual had held, and any particular services or acts he may have performed\*.

3. In the extensive range known as Mount Lebanon various tribes had fortified posts, and the Ituræi may have had several, though one was probably known as their principal stronghold. Zumpt's objections must be that the words *adversus Itureos* are elliptical, and require some word or phrase, such as *profectus* or *bellum gerens*†, to be understood; and that the word *castellum* should have been used alone, without the addition of *eorum*. That the occurrence of an ellipse is no objection to an inscription is shown in a remarkable instance‡, where from the single word *adversus* we have to supply, "for his services when he was carrying on war." No ellipse, however, need here be supposed. The Ituræi, exerting their utmost efforts to prevent their stronghold being taken, probably had a large force encamped near it, with which they endeavoured to raise the siege. If so, *adversus* would be used in the double sense of in opposition to §, and in the sight of ||, which

\* There are repeated instances in which it was thought worthy of record, that the *persona designata* had given a dinner to his workmen on the erection of a statue, or the completion of some other work, and a feast or meal to the people, i. e. to those who attended the ceremony. *Et in dedic. statuæ cœnam colon. et epul. pop. ded.* Græv. xii. 777; iii. 241.

† "*Adversus Germanos bellum gerens*," occurs in one inscription in Grævius. And see Sallenger's Thes. iii. 118.

‡ "*Adversus Germanos* Donato ab Imp. Vespasiano Aug. et T. Cæs. Aug. F. coronis," &c. Mur. 810. 7. Græv. iii. 235. 6.

§ "*Adversus resistere auderunt*." Nep. xvi. 1. 4.

|| "*Adversum Athenas classem constituere*," Nepos ii. 3, 4, 5, i. e. according to Gesner, Rom. Thes. i. 132, *in conspectu*, but "with a hostile intent," should also be understood. For simply



would be perfectly classical. The Romans thus keeping in check the force outside the walls, and at the same time storming the fort, what more appropriate language, descriptive or in the mouth of a veteran Roman warrior, could be used to describe the capture, than "*adversus* Ituræos castellum eorum cepit?" Thus understood every word tells, and *eorum* becomes significant. It is, moreover, a favorite word in the vocabulary of inscriptions. If, however, pure Latinity is to be made the test of genuineness, then some inscriptions discovered at Pompeii itself would have to be rejected\*.

4. Although the language of inscriptions is not always the language of literature, yet we may draw from the armoury of both to support the conjunction of *hominum* with *civium*. Thus in the *Monumentum Ancyranum* there occur the words, *Romanorum capitum*; also, *centum millibus hominum . . . ibus*, the last letters being apparently part of *civibus* or *militibus*†. In another inscription are the words *hominum armigerorum*‡. With the expressions *civis Romanus* and Ἀθηναῖοι πολῖται all are familiar. These may be considered little applicable, but we further find *Romani homines*§. Nay, the taste of Cicero did not forbid the use of *homo nemo* and of *homini nemini*||. Even Tacitus has *à metu infamiæ*¶.

"before," or "in the presence of," one inscription has, "*Coronatus adversus histriones, et omnes scænicos artifices.*" Græv. xii. 1143. This is equivalent to "over against," or *vis-a-vis*.

\* What would be said of our churchyard epitaphs in future ages, if their genuineness were to be tried by the test of grammar or purity of diction?

† Tab. ii. iii. Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. 174.

‡ Gruter. ap. Thes. a Græv. ccci. Chishull's Antiq. Asiat. 184.

§ Cic. pro Mur. xiv. 18, 14. Manil. x. 128.

|| De Nat. Deor. ii. 79. Orat. pro Sulla, 25.

¶ Hist. iv. 72.

These and other instances show that one word is often joined to another for the sake of emphasis; while in inscriptions a second word may, as in pœtry, have been employed to fill up a line. This very addition, in fact, is rather evidence of antiquity. “*Quamvis homo intelligatur, tamen addidit homo, ut veteres solent τῷ ἀρχαῖσμι* \*.” Here, however, *hominum* does not appear to be redundant. Had either been used alone, it would have been uncertain whether it meant the entire population, or only such of the inhabitants as had the privileges of Roman citizens; whereas *hominum civium* precludes the doubt †.

5. In Italy the term *divus* was not directly applied to a living person, although the attribute of divinity was so indirectly, as in the address of Nicolaus to Augustus, ἡσεβημένον δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, καὶ τοῦ σου, Καίσαρ, ὀνόματος ‡. But the rule was not observed in the provinces; even Agrippa, the friend and minister of Augustus, being styled θεὸς or *deus* while he was still alive §.

So the title of Σεβαστός was constantly given to Augustus in his lifetime; and became so common in this and subsequent reigns, that it is generally regarded as a mere synonyme for Augustus. Yet derived as it is from σέβας, which primarily signified religious awe or reverence, though applied in a se-

\* Gesner, Rom. Thesaur. i. 910. Lips. 1749.

† “Coloni non censebantur, nam, si censi essent, cives Romani fuissent. . . . Sed argumentum illud clarissimum, quod, multos ex coloniis cives Romanos esse factos.”—Paul. Manuv. ap. Græv. i. 33.

‡ Joseph. Antiq. XVI. x. 8.

§

Ο ΔΑΜΟΣ

ΘΕΟΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΝ  
ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΤΙΣΤΑΝ

D. Sherardi Collectan. Ad Mon. Ancyr. Notæ, 186.

condary sense to men, this in reality was only a more refined term for *divus* \*.

This monument, however, appears to have been erected after Augustus' death, though it refers to events which took place in his lifetime. Indeed A. W. Zumpt proceeds on this assumption; and his objection is that the epithet *divus* is not again inserted after *legatus*, and before *Cæsar*. But having been once applied to Augustus, it would not be repeated immediately afterwards. It was a term sparingly used by writers of the Augustan age, though it became more frequent at a later period. Suetonius employs it but once, at the opening of his life of Julius Cæsar; whom subsequently, even after his death, he calls Cæsar only †. Tacitus occasionally prefixes *divus* to the name of Augustus ‡, but he as frequently styles him Augustus alone; and this both before and after this emperor's death §. *Legatus Cæsar* was a well-known office ||, as much so as lord-lieutenant is in Great Britain. In fact, *Cæsar* is here used as a generic, rather than as pointing to an individual.

6. In the suggested translation of the inscription the word *honores* is made to refer to the military rank or titles subsequently mentioned, but this ren-

\* On the vestibule of a temple at Athens was inscribed,—

Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ . ΘΕΑΙ . ΡΩΜΗΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ . ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ

Græv. Thes. xi. 1341. B, also iii. 399.

† Suet. Vit. Jul. 81—89.

‡ Ann. i. 35; iii. 48; and again in quotation, i. 40.

§ Ann. i. 41. 46. 53, 54. Ob. amissum Augustum, i. 50. De-functo Augusto, id. i. 7.

|| Tac. Ann. ii. 80. *Legatus Cæsar* and *Legatus Augusti* are repeatedly found in inscriptions. See Græv. Thes. i. 271. 422; iii. 245; x. 658. Marin. ii. 773.

dering is by no means certain. Should it be correct, then the *honoribus decoratus* would signify much the same thing as the appointment in modern times to the colonelcies of regiments. These words, however, may signify a public acknowledgment of services performed, or the public bestowal of some military insignia, similar to the distribution of the Victoria Cross by our Sovereign Lady the Queen. *Honor* had various significations\*; but, as applied to public distinction, and in the singular, frequently indicated the consulship or supreme function in the state†, or some other high office at Rome. By some it is thought to have been akin to *onus*‡, in which case it would

\* Among them that expressed in the words, "defendere honorem suum," Cic. Verr. 4.

† Conf. Cic. Mur. 14. Inv. i. 54. Flacc. i.

‡ "The noun *hon-or* cannot be referred to any primary verb in Latin, but it is not at all difficult to discover its Indo-Germanic affinities. It may be referred at once to the Sanscrit root *van*, 'to love and serve,' Greek *for-*, in *ὀν-ίρημι*, &c., German *win* (*winnan* Graff, i. 875). It thus denotes any kind of gain or profit, and the estimation of others, however expressed, is conveyed in the meaning of the abstract *honor*. Another form, indicating the concrete result, is *onus* = *onu-t*, and with all their differences of application *hones-tus* and *onus-tus* fall back to a common origin. This will not surprise any one who knows that the Hebrew כִּבְּרָה not only bears every signification of *honour* and *dignity*, but also denotes *weight*, with all its subordinate ideas of *difficulty* and *trouble*. We therefore see that as *favor* implies *light* and *cheerfulness*, as elements of happiness, *honor* expresses some more solid and weighty adjuncts of prosperity—ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἢ οὐ ράδιον τὰ καλὰ πράττειν ἀγορήγητον οὐτα (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* i. 9. 15). Or if we prefer to connect it with the idea of estimation, we may remember that τιμή signifies merely putting a price upon something, and that *as-timo* denotes a valuation by the standard of weight. And thus the Romans would reckon personal distinction by weight (*honor*), by space filling the eye (*amplus*), and by the voice of fame occupying the ear (*clarus*, *gloria*, κλίος, &c.)."—Donaldson's Varronianus, c. xiii. s. 8, p. 485. Ed. 3.

signify a dignity with duties attached to it. When understood in any of these senses, *functus*, *perfunctus*, or some such word was used in connexion with it; but it also signified personal distinction without any burden or duties, when the verb generally employed with it was *decorare* \*. These various significations may be traced in the instances given below †. From them and other passages, particularly in inscriptions, it appears that the participle commonly joined with *dona* was *donatus* ‡; while that which was peculiarly appropriate to *honores* was *decoratus*. Thus the *honoribus decoratus* of this inscription is eminently classical; while *honores* is one of the most favorite words to be found upon inscriptions.

7. It is a mistake to suppose that *honores* were not conferred in camps. The *multa copia honorum* mentioned by Tacitus were evidently military honors §. In the *ædes honoris et virtutis* the military idea predominated ||. Mention is repeatedly made of *honores*

\* See Cic. Top. xx. Liv. vi. 89. *Decorare* was often used in the sense of to embellish or adorn, much the same as the English word *decorate*.

† "Nobiles et honore usos." Cic. de Invent. i. 54.

"Honoribus amplissimis, et laboribus maximis perfungi." Cic. ad Fam. i. 8.

"In omnibus honoribus functo, seu candidato, vel exornato." Inscr. ap. Græv. iii. 261; x. 295. 307. Mur. 847. 6. Orell. n. 108.

"Quem populus Romanus singularibus honoribus decorasset." Cic. pro Balbo, 6 ad fin.

"Honorato et donato in provinciam." Inscr. ap. Græv. iii. 287.

"Amplissimis honoribus et præmiis decorari." Cic. de Or. i. 54. 232.

"Templa novo decorare saxo." Hor. Carm. ii. 15. 20.

‡ "Donato donis militaribus." Græv. x. 307. Mur. 618.

§ Annal. xiii. 40.

|| See Mon. Ancy. Tab. 11.

*militares* \*, *honores militiæ* †, and *honores castrenses* ‡. The distinction between *præmia*, *dona*, and *honores* seems to have been this: *præmia* indicated substantial rewards in money § or lands; *dona* chiefly decorations, such as coronæ, hastæ, torques, and phaleræ ||; while *honores* was a more general term, and embraced not only dignities and offices, whether military or civil ¶, but even honors or distinctions of any kind \*\*.

8. So far from *Cohors Aug. I.* and *Cohors II. classica* being unskilfully adapted from the names of legions, they were actual cohorts in existence during the reign of Augustus. There were at least four cohortes Augustæ or Augustanæ, of which the fourth was formed by Nero, the others existing previously ††.

\* Honor. Trib. mil. Murat. 800. 5.

† PLVRIMIS MILITIÆ HONORIBVS FVNCTO. Murat. 794. 5; and see 516.

‡ "Honores et magistratus, qui civibus Romanis darentur, duorum generum erant; vel militares, vel urbani; sed in militiâ honor, non magistratus, dicebatur . . . in urbe vero et honores sunt, et magistratus, nam judicare honor est, non magistratus, nec omnino magistratus ullus est, quem populus comitiis non creaverit. . . Castrenses civium Romanorum honores erant, vexillarius, aquilifer, præfectus fabrum," &c.—Paul. Manuv. ap. Græv. Thes. i. 38 D. E.

§ Speaking of the large sums he had supplied to the treasury, and also to the military chest, Augustus says, "Ex quo *præmia* darentur militibus," Mon. Ancy. Tab. iii.

|| Græv. Thes. x. 22. O. Jahn Lauersforter, Bonn, 1860. Smith's G. and R. Antiq.

¶ "Adlecto in . . . ab honoribus et munerib." Græv. v. 50.

\*\* "Postea quam honoribus inservire cœpi." Cic. Off. ii. 3. 1. "Ornare honoribus." Cic. Fam. x. 10. "Parere alicui æternos honores." Hor. Carm. ii. 1. 15. "Honoratus repentino adlecto inter Tiburnicios." Inscr. Græv. xi. 801.

†† See Græv. xi. 623. 1028.

The second naval cohort is found mentioned in an inscription\*.

9. The country of Apamene was very rich and extensive, with abundant pasturage†; so that the stated number of those, who had the privileges of Roman citizens, is what might have been expected.

10. In one of the passages referred to by A. W. Zumpt, Cicero says that C. Cæsar, both in the prætorship and the consulship, recommended Balbus or returned his name, i. e. virtually appointed him, as præfect of the artificers‡. The other reference to Epist. v. 20 can scarcely be to the earlier passage in which the treasury, *ærarium*, is mentioned. There Cicero alludes to a Lex Julia, which ordained that the governor of a province should deposit copies of his accounts in the two chief provincial cities, and should also transmit an exact transcript to the metropolitan or imperial treasury§. Lower down he speaks of the law which allowed a proconsul or a proprætor, within thirty days after he had transmitted the annual accounts of his province to the treasury at Rome, to report the names of those who had done good service to the state, and to recommend them for promotion and rewards, *beneficia* ||. This was one of the great

\* Orell. n. 3620. Cohors I Nautarum occurs several times, Mur. 825. 5, 6. 837. 7 et seq. And see Orell. 3621.

† Strabo xvi. 1070, &c. Sallenger, Thes. iii. 61.

‡ "In præturâ, in consulatu præfectum fabrum detulit." Balbus being afterwards styled, with reference to Augustus, *præfectum fabrum suum*. Cic. pro Balbo, 28.

§ "Quod igitur fecissem ad urbem, si consuetudo pristina maneret, id quum lege Juliâ relinquere rationes in provinciâ necesse erat, easdemque totidem verbis referre ad ærarium, feci in provinciâ." Cic. ad Fam. v. 20; et vide id. ii. 17. Ad Att. vi. 7. Smith's G. and R. Antiq. 967.

|| "Quod scribis de beneficiis scito à me et tribunos militares et

objects of Roman ambition. It brought personal distinction: those so commended in the public despatches often having their names engraved on bronze, and affixed to the Capitol. It advanced their prospects in life, and was constantly followed by grants of money \* or lands. Finally, it was considered to confer a title to posthumous fame †. The practice is repeatedly alluded to by various writers, more especially by Cicero ‡.

The subject was familiar not only to Romans themselves, but to every one acquainted with classical literature; nor can any plagiarism or misconception of Cicero here be detected. The modes of expression were various; sometimes the words *in beneficiis* were inserted, and sometimes omitted. So the words *ad ærarium* might be inserted; or, as in the Orat. pro Balbo, left to be inferred. They are correctly inserted in the inscription; while the words *in beneficiis* §, which

præfectos et contubernales duntaxat meos delatos esse. In quo quidem ratio me fefellit: liberum enim mihi tempus ad eos deferendos existimabam dari: postea certior sum factus triginta diebus deferri necesse esse, quibus rationes retulissem. Sanè moleste tuli, non illa beneficia tuæ potius ambitioni reservata esse, quam meæ, qui ambitione nihil uterer. De centurionibus tamen et de tribunorium militarium contubernalibus res est in integro: genus enim horum beneficiorum definitum lege non erat."—Cic. Ep. ad Fam. v. 20.

\* "Quater pecunia mea juvi ærarium, ita ut sestertium milliens et quinquens ad eos, qui præerant ærario, detulerim."—Mon. Ancyrr. Tab. iii.

† Gesner, Rom. Thes. verb. Beneficium, i. 636.

‡ "In beneficiis ad ærarium delatus est à L. Lucullo prætore et consule."—Pro Archia 5. "Horum nomina ad ærarium detulisset. Ait se Pompeius quinos præfectos delaturum."—Att. v. 7.

§ Although *in beneficiis* may refer to the meritorious services or actions of the individual, these words had a double sense, and extended also to the promotion or rewards which were conferred for such services or actions.



occur in the Orat. pro Archia, are with equal propriety omitted. The individual commemorated was no longer capable of deriving personal benefits, from having on two occasions received honorable mention in public reports. The inscription was not designed to promote his further success in life; but to record his worth, in order that his name might survive, and be handed down with honor. For this purpose it was sufficient to add to *delatus* the words *ad ærarium*, the treasury being the well-known channel through which these despatches were transmitted to the supreme authority. This was the current language of the day, the usual formulary of expression. It consists equally with the ruder phraseology of inscriptions, and with the polished sentences of a Tully. So the additional reference to the two consuls by whom these reports were made, without specifically naming them, is no less in accordance with practice and other inscriptions\*.

11. The phrase *ante militiam*, followed by the mention of an important civil employment, is perfectly intelligible, and by no means incorrect†.

\* Q. COSCONIO. M. F. POLL. FRONTINI || PRAEF. FABR. A. COS. ADLECTO. PRAEF. COH. I. || &c. Murat. 695. 1.

† In Tacitus we find, *quamvis si militiâ iniretur*; and again, *militiâ expletâ*. Annal. i. 17; xiii. 35. It would be merely the change of a preposition for a participle to say *ante militiam*, and *post militiam*. To be expressed participially, there are no two words for the former, like *militiâ expletâ* for the latter. *In militiâ* and *in militiam* are common enough. Gesn. Thes. ii. 281. In its original sense *ante* indicated time, or was used with persons and things where time was involved, as "ante horam," "ante sceptrum Dictæi regis," Virg. G. ii. 556; "ante regnum," Just. ii. 10. 1; "ante illum imperatorem," Nep. ii. 1. 8; "ante istum prætorem," "ante ædilitatem meam," "ante has literas," Cic. Verr. i. 45. Att. xii. 18, xiii. 18; "ante cibum," Hor. Sat. i. 10. 61. It was also used without reference to time, as *ante omnes*; and, in a sense, "ante omnia." Zumpt's Lat. Gr. s. 297. A curious application of it

12. The fact that *colonia* stands alone without the addition of any locality, instead of being an objection, tends to show that the inscription is genuine. Such an omission is not unfrequently met with; though a forger, for the sake of giving it color, would have been more likely to have added a place\*.

13. If a reference to the Ituræans was likely to be made in genuine inscriptions, it is a singular mode of proving this to be false to say, that the writer made use of the probability as a cover to fraud†.

14. The word *præfecit* in Muratori is probably a misprint, although errors occur in several ancient inscriptions‡. This inscription is among the few to which Muratori appends a note; and he intimates no doubt of its authenticity.

15. The mere loss of a monument amounts to little. Of the thousands of inscriptions which have been discovered, not a tithe, perhaps not a hundredth part, remains. It is only those which have found their way into public or large private museums that have

occurs in an inscription. Among his other exploits and actions Marius, having taken Jugurtha prisoner in battle, in celebrating his triumph, is described as having ordered the captive monarch to be led before his chariot,—“*ante currum suum duci jussit.*” Græv. xii. 788.

\* “*Patrono coloniæ,*” Murat. 516. 3; Græv. iii. 237. 285; xi. 445. “*Ab coloniâ deductâ,*” Gruter, 207. 1; Orell. N. 3697. “*Omnibus honoribus in coloniâ suâ functi or functo,*” Murat. 1113. 1; 2020. 6. “*In republicâ suâ functo,*” id. 1043. 4. “*Coloniæ nostræ,*” Græv. ii. Præf. 17; xii. 1214. See also Mur. 518. 2. Numbers of these colonies existed in Italy. See Frontinus de *Coloniis*. Smith’s *G. and R. Antiq. art. Colonia*.

† Like the satyr in the halting fable, which confounds blowing with breathing, our critic charges the author of the inscription with folly, both because the colony is not mentioned, and because the Ituræi are.

‡ See int. al. Guthrie. ap. Græv. v. 163.

been preserved \*. In the then state of knowledge, there was nothing in this inscription to induce either notice or care.

Passing from verbal criticism to a more general view of the inscription, the obvious remark is that on the surface there is nothing to connect it in point of date with the enrolment mentioned by St. Luke, rather than with the census taken some nine years later, when Archelaus was deposed. No consulship is given, nor is the slightest clue to time afforded beyond the bare fact that P. Sulpic. Quirinus, during some of the events recorded, held the office of Cæsar's Legate. It is extraordinary that a forger, intending to support the Evangelist, should not have given some indication of time. Still more extraordinary is it to find him running counter to all received notions, by representing Cyrenius to have been Cæsar's legate only, when the words of St. Luke were considered to require that he should have been *Præses Syriæ*. At the time of the alleged forgery, it was not even known that Cyrenius had ever filled the office mentioned in the inscription †. The fact has now been worked out by an elaborate process of reasoning, but only to be deemed insufficient for the main object. It is used by A. W. Zumpt as nothing more than a stepping-stone to show that Cyrenius was twice governor of the province. Yet it never seems to have occurred to him that an inscription, thus stopping short of its

\* In the Græco-Roman basement room of the British Museum is the base of a statue or column, with a celebrated inscription to C. Antony, flamen of Augustus, from Alexandria-Troas, which was rescued from a stonemason's yard in the New Road, London, when about to be worked up and destroyed.

† The alleged forger is represented as being at once one of the ablest, and the most ignorant of mankind.

alleged aim, had the characteristic of truth rather than the pretensions of falsehood. The latter, like ambition, usually "o'erleaps itself, and falls on th' other side \*." His rejection of it, however, is attended with this good result. It places his proofs that Cyrenius was *Legatus Cæsaris* in Syria on an independent footing. Had he concluded the inscription to be genuine, this might justly have been thought to have biassed his judgment, which none can now affirm in the face of his *Turpe et magnum mendacium!*

The inscription having thus inconsiderately been condemned, its value consists in its remote bearing upon St. Luke, as contrasted with a direct support. It testifies to the fact that Cyrenius was at one time Cæsar's legate in Syria, and that as such a census in a remote district was taken by his orders. It goes no further; and makes no attempt to link this testimony with the Gospel narrative †. After much learned research, it has been found that between the years B.C. 12 and 1, Cyrenius actually was *Legatus Cæsaris* in Syria, exercising important military and civil functions. Like a sentinel over truth Josephus then steps forward, and warns us back, telling us that Cyrenius, on the deposal of Archelaus, was appointed *δικαιοδότης*, or commissioner for a special purpose. As such, he would in a sense be *Legatus Cæsaris*, but for a peculiar specified object ‡. Ransack coins, inscriptions, and history as you may, there is nothing to show that Cyrenius was ever *Leg. Aug. Pro. Pr. Præses Provinciæ Syriæ* §: nor is it likely, since it was no part of the *proprætor's* office to conduct or interfere with the taking of a census. This fell

\* Shakesp. *Macb.* A. i. Sc. vii.

† It *may* refer to the census of B.C. 8. See next page.

‡ See Sallenger, *Thes.* i. 332 C.

§ Græv. *Thes.* i. 224. 271. 422; iii. 236. 241; x. 658.

within the jurisdiction of the *Legatus et Procurator Cæsaris* \*, the ἐπίτροπος of Josephus and Justin Martyr.

Among the Romans there were two kinds of census; one confined to population, the other extending to property. Both were followed by a *Lustratio*, or purification of the people †; but while a population census was simply termed a *Lustrum*, that which comprehended a registration and assessment of property was denominated *Lustrum et census*. The enrolment mentioned by St. Luke was of the first kind; that related by Josephus, of the second. There were altogether four made by Augustus, two of the one and two of the other, which he carefully distinguishes ‡. The first was a *Lustrum and census*. It took place in Augustus' sixth consulship in A.U. 725, B.C. 28. Twenty years afterwards there was another of the same kind, during the consulship of Marcius Censorinus and Asinius Gallus, in A.U. 745, B.C. 8. Of the two *Lustra* only, the second was taken in the last year of Augustus' reign, when Sext. Pompeius and Sex. Appuleius were consuls, in A.U. 766, A.D. 14. But one other remains; and of this Augustus himself has left this record:—

LVSTRV. POST. ANNV. ALTERVM. ET. QVADRAGENSIMVM. FECI  
QVO. LVSTRO. CIVIV. ROMANORVM. CENSA. SVNT. CAPITA  
QVADRAGIENS. CENTVM. MILLIA. ET. SEXAGINTA. TRIA. MILLIA §

From the census taken in his sixth consulship being mentioned immediately before, it has been assumed that the forty-two years were to be calculated from thence. At the expiration of this period, however,

\* Dion. Cass. liii. 15. Græv. ii. 1879; vii. 1522. 1594.

† This practice may possibly have been derived from David's sacrifice, after he had incurred the Divine displeasure for having in the pride of his heart numbered the people of Israel. 2 Sam. xxiv. 25. 1 Chron. xxi. 26. 28.

‡ Monum. Ancy. Tab. ii.

§ Ibid.

Augustus was not alive. His death occurred in the previous year. Besides, the census taken in the last year of his life is mentioned lower down, so that this could not possibly be the one \*. The forty-two years, therefore, must have reference to this emperor's reign, reckoned from the death of Julius Cæsar †. This event occurred on the 10th of March, B.C. 44.

## ERRATUM.

P. 598, 599. An error has here occurred. But three censuses and lustra are mentioned by Augustus: and the lustrum after the forty-second year appears to be connected with the census in B.C. 28, the words indicating not the forty-second year of his reign, but an *interval* of forty-two years since the last lustrum was performed. Clint. F. H. 280. 456. Dio mentions an intermediate census, though he says nothing of a lustrum. xliii. 25. The author was misled by finding *two* verbs used, *egi* applied to *censum*, and *feci* applied to *lustrum*; and also *annum* instead of *annos*, as in Suet. Aug. 26. 7. The *Monumentum Ancyranum* therefore cannot be urged in support of the enrolment of Cyrenius, except to show that Augustus only noticed a *census* of Roman citizens, and in connexion with a *lustrum*, which last was what he desired to record. Traces of more general statistical returns however, extending to the kingdoms of the allies, occur in Tac. Ann. i. 11, Suet. Aug. 101, and in Suidas, *sub verb.* ἀπογραφή, n. h.

of Augustus' *three* censuses held at Rome, the first B.C. 28, the second B.C. 8, the third A.D. 14."—Scrip. Chron. 45.

† Julius Cæsar was by some regarded as the first Roman emperor, and the reign of Augustus was then reckoned from his death. Euseb. Chron. i. 194. It is so by Augustus himself. Joseph. Antiq. XVI. vi. 2.

‡ "Censu enim peracto, demum suovetaurilibus populus est lustratus, et id vocabatur lustrum conditum."—See Liv. i. 44. Pitisci Lex. A. R. i. 395. Suovetaurilia, or Solitaurilia, were sacrifices, the victims slain being a boar, a ram, and a bull. Gloss. Lat. Gr.

acknowledged to form an integral portion of the state, for a general claim to the rights of citizenship\*.

That this census, however, did embrace the whole Roman empire cannot reasonably be doubted. It was taken at a period of universal peace. It is frequently alluded to by early Christian writers, who appeal to the Roman registries, then extant, in verification of the fact. Tertullian does so more than once in very specific terms†. The language of Justin Martyr is remarkable. He not only says that Christ was born in the time of Cyrenius‡, but that the birth of Christ in Bethlehem might be learned from the entries in the registry, which were made under Cyrenius, the first Roman procurator in Judea§. Again, speaking of Joseph, he expresses himself thus: "There being an enrolment in Judea, then first under Cyrenius, he went up from Nazareth, where he dwelt, to Bethlehem, whence he was, to have himself registered||." Grammatically this has not the same force as it would have had, if the article had been inserted. But the

\* See Græv. ii. 1470, &c.; xi. 61.

† "De censu denique Augusti, quem testem fidelissimum Dominicæ nativitatis Romana archiva custodiunt."—Tert. adv. Marc. l. iv. c. 7, p. 889. Paris, 1598.

"Ex stirpe autem Jesse deputatum per Mariam, scilicet, inde censendum. Fuit enim de patriâ Bethlehem, et de domo David, sicut apud Romanos in censu descripta est Maria, ex quâ nascitur Christus."—Tert. adv. Jud. p. 168.

‡ γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Χριστὸν, λέγειν ἡμᾶς, ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου.—Apol. 83, s. 46.

§ ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὡς καὶ μαθεῖν δύνασθε ἐκ τῶν ἀπογραφῶν τῶν γενομένων ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου, τοῦ ὑμετέρου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ πρώτου [γενομένου] ἐπιτρόπου.—Apol. ii. 75 D.

|| ἀπογραφῆς οὗσης ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, τότε πρώτης ἐπὶ Κυρηνίου, ἀνελήλυθει ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ, ἔνθα ᾔκει, εἰς Βηθλεὲμ, ὅθεν ἦν, ἀπογράψασθαι.—D. cum Tryph. 308 D. Paris, 1615. From the absence of the article, πρώτης seems here to be used adverbially.

words τότε πρώτης must indicate that it was the first enrolment, either in Judea, or else under Cyrenius. The language rather favors the latter construction, while the subject shows that this must be the meaning. From the time that Judea came under the subjection first of the Ptolemies, and then of the Syrians, a regular system of taxation existed. When most lightly taxed Judea yielded a large annual revenue\*. The amount raised was greatly augmented by Antiochus the Great and his successors. Under Herod the revenues must have been enormous, since, after remitting one-third of the taxes†, the sums he spent and gave away are almost incredible. For this long and regular taxation there must have been numerous ἀπογραφαί before that mentioned by Justin Martyr. That which he alludes to, therefore, could not possibly have been the first ἀπογραφή in Judea for purposes of assessment. It could only have been *the first* with reference to some subsequent enrolment by Cyrenius, or else some other registration of a new and different kind, such as a *population* census, distinguished from a registry for purposes of taxation. In either case it could not be that which is referred to by Josephus.

Eusebius is considered to have confounded the enrolment mentioned by St. Luke with that related by the Jewish historian. But this apparent confusion has evidently arisen from one or two words having been omitted by a transcriber, or been obliterated or worn off the MS. He states that our Lord was born in the forty-second year of Augustus' reign, and the twenty-eighth from the conquest of Egypt; adding that "in the same year the *first* census was taken,

\* Joseph. Antiq. XII. iv. 4.

† Id. XV. x. 4.



and Cyrenius was governor of Syria." The next sentence should then run, "This is [*not that*] census mentioned by Flavius Josephus \*," &c. A comparison of chapter v. with chapters viii. and ix. shows this to be the case, and forbids the notion that Eusebius could have written the passage as it stands †.

St. Chrysostom also says that "Christ was born at the time of *the first* enrolment; and it is competent to any one, desiring to do so, to consult the ancient records in the public archives at Rome, and by inspection to learn with certainty the time of this enrolment †." He proceeds to say that although he had

\* Euseb. Eccl. H. i. c. v.

† In the latter chapters he mentions the occurrence of Herod's death after the Nativity, the return from Egypt when Archelaus was reigning in the place of Herod, and then that Archelaus lost his kingdom after ten years. Throughout these and other chapters he closely follows St. Luke and Josephus, often giving the very words; and exhibiting the greatest accuracy and attention to dates, and the order of events. The idea, therefore, of his having confounded occurrences separated on his own showing by nine or ten years is inconceivable. In his Chronicon, however, but one enrolment is mentioned, which in the Greek version immediately precedes, and in the Armenian text is placed in parallel lines with his notice of the Nativity. This is said to have been a registry of property and residence. The banishment of Archelaus is baldly stated a few sentences lower down, without the slightest reference to any census. The probability is that the passage noticing the enrolment has been transposed or misplaced by a transcriber. See Euseb. Chron. ii. 261.

‡ "Ὅθεν δῆλον, ὅτι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀπογραφὴν ἐτέχθη. Καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τοῖς δημοσίᾳ κειμένοις κώδιξιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἔξεστιν ἐντυχόντα, καὶ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἀπογραφῆς μαθόντα ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναί τὸν βουλόμενον. Τί οὖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, φησί, τοῦτο τοὺς οὐκ ὄντας ἐκεῖ οὕτε παραγενομένους; Ἄλλ' ἄκουε, καὶ μὴ ἀπίσται, ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ἀκριβῶς ταῦτα εἰδόντων, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην οἰκούντων παρελήφαμεν τὴν ἡμέραν. Οἱ γὰρ ἐκεῖ διατρίβοντες, ἀνωθεν καὶ ἐκ παλαιᾶς παραδόσεως αὐτὴν ἐπιτελοῦντες, αὐτοὶ νῦν αὐτῆς ἡμῖν τὴν γυνῶσιν διεπέψαμεν."

not himself been at Rome, he had received precise information on the subject from those who dwelt there, and who had not only long kept up a celebration of the event from the traditionary accounts handed down to them, but had obtained exact knowledge, not of the period merely, but of the very day.

St. Ambrose in the fourth century, though he does not use the word *first*, equally distinguishes this from an ordinary census. He calls it the census of Augustus, and says that embraced the whole [Roman] world\*.

John Malala of Antioch (early in the seventh century) is still more specific. He evidently dates the reign of Augustus, whom he styles the first Roman emperor, from his first consulship on the 22nd of September [not the 19th of August] A.U. 710, B.C. 43. According to this writer, Augustus, in the tenth month of the fortieth year of his reign, published a decree ordering an enrolment throughout all the countries which had been subdued by him, as well as those which the Romans had previously possessed. This universal enrolment, he says, was accordingly made throughout the Roman empire, under the direction of Eumenes and Attalus, men of senatorial rank †. The

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ εὐαγγελιστὴς ἀπλῶς τὸν καιρὸν ἐπεσημήνατο τοῦτον ἀλλ' ὥστε καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἡμῖν δῆλὴν ποιῆσαι καὶ γινώριμον, καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ἐνδείξασθαι.—Chrys. Op. ii. 353, ap. Migne, Patrologiæ cursus completus.

\* “Denique ut scias censum, non Augusti esse, sed Christi totus profiteri jubetur.”—Expos. Luc. l. ii. c. 37, t. i. 1293 E. Bened.

† Τῷ δὲ λθ' ἔτει καὶ μηνὶ τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐθέσπισεν ἐκφωνήσας δόγμα ὥστε ἀπογραφῆναι πᾶσαν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτὸν γενομένην γῆν, καὶ ἣν πρῶτην εἶχον οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπατείας Ἀγρίππου τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Δονάτου· καὶ ἀπεγράφη πᾶσα ἡ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους γῆ διὰ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ Ἀττάλου συγκλητικῶν Ῥωμαίων· εἶχε γὰρ πολὺν φόβον· ὀργίλος γὰρ ἦν πᾶν.—Joan. Malalæ Chronogr. 292 D. The con-

date assigned to this decree is at or shortly after Midsummer A.U. 750, or B.C. 3, that is, six months before the actual date of the Nativity.

The same historian then proceeds to give an account of the Annunciation and the birth of our Lord. From the numbers given in connexion with Augustus' reign, forty-one years and six months, and forty-two years and four months, these events would be brought down to the 25th of March, and the 25th of December A.U. 752, B.C. 1. But the consulship of Octavius and Silvanus, in which the Nativity is placed, shows that these numbers are erroneous, being one year too much. Deducting this excess, the dates would be the 25th of March, and the 25th of December A.U. 751, B.C. 2\*. Even this last date would separate the Nativity from Augustus' decree by eighteen months, an interval which on the face of it appears too long. As respects the decree itself, not only does its date coincide with that given in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, but the fact that this enrolment is stated to have been taken under the superintendence of two

suls here mentioned must have been *consules suffecti*, but no other record of them exists.

\* Μετὰ δὲ τὸ διελθεῖν τὸ μᾶ' ἔτος καὶ μῆνα τὸν ἕκτον τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ δύνστρῳ μηνὶ κέ', ὥραν ἡμερινὴν δευτέραν, ἡμέρᾳ κυριακῇ εὐηγγελίσατο ἐν Ναζαρέτ τῇ πόλει ὁ ἀρχάγγελος Γαβριὴλ τὴν ἀγίαν παρθένον καὶ Θεοτόκον Μαρίαν ἐν ὑπαρείᾳ Κουϊνίου [Κουίντου ?] καὶ Λογγίνου, ἡγεμονεύοντος δὲ τῆς Συρίας Οὐτίλλιου [Κυϊντιλίου ?] τοῦ καὶ προαχθέντος νεωστὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος.—Joan. Malalæ Chronogr. p. 292 E.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ μβ' ἔτει καὶ μηνὶ τῷ δ' τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Αὐγούστου ἐγεννήθη ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς τῇ πρὸ καλανδῶν ἰανουαρίων μηνὶ δεκεμβρίῳ κέ', ὥραν ἡμερινὴν ἐβδόμην, ἐν πόλει τῆς Ἰουδαίας ὀνόματι Βηθλεέμ, πλησίον οὖσαν τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ἔτους κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν μεγάλην χρηματίζοντος μβ', ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου τοῦ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων, ὑπατεύοντος δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ὀκταβιανοῦ καὶ Σιλουανοῦ, τοπαρχοῦντος δὲ, ἦτοι βασιλεύοντος, τῆς Ἰουδαίας Ἡρώδου τοῦ βασιλέως.—Id. p. 293.

Roman senators, who are named and described, shows that the writer must have derived his information from some original and independent source.

Between the registration referred to by St. Luke and that mentioned by Josephus there is a marked difference. The former was a *population* census, for which the Hebrews would of course go every one to his own city to be registered, as of the tribe to which he belonged. According to St. Chrysostom there was a law on the subject, which rendered this compulsory \*. Even the Romans were registered *in curiis, centuriis et tribubus* †. The enrolment mentioned by Josephus, on the contrary, was for purposes of *assessment*. For this object every one would be registered at the place where his property was situated. One of the objections urged against St. Luke is, that Joseph and Mary are represented as leaving the place of their abode to go to Bethlehem, as if the enrolment mentioned by the Evangelist were of the latter description. To this the Roman emperor has furnished the answer, when he tells us that it was a *lustrum* only.

It is, then, established by many witnesses,—1. That shortly before the Nativity, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus, ἐξῆλθε δόγμα παρὰ Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου, that a registry should be taken of the inhabitants of the whole Roman empire, ἀπογράφεσθαι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ‡. 2. That this registry accordingly took place, and is recorded by Augustus himself as a census of *persons*, and not as a census of *property*. 3. That this enrolment

\* Ὁ γὰρ νόμος ὁ κελεύων ἕκαστον εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπογράψασθαι πατρίδα, ἡνάγκαζεν ἐκεῖθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνίστασθαι, ἀπὸ τῆς Ναζαρεθ λέγω, καὶ ἔρχεσθαι εἰς τὴν Βηθλεὲμ, ὥστε ἀπογράφεσθαι.—Chrys. ap. Migne ii. 354.

† Græv. R. A. i. Præfatio.

‡ Luke ii. 1.

was made when Cyrenius was *Legatus et Procurator Cæsaris*, and therefore ἐπίτροπος and ἡγεμὼν in Syria, ἡγεμονεύοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου. And 4, That a subsequent registry and property assessment in Judea was made by this same Cyrenius, as special commissioner, from which the former is appositely and pointedly distinguished as αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη\*.

The shade, which has so long been cast upon the Gospel narrative, has thus been dispelled. Instead of being unhistorical, it has a stronger historical background than almost any single passage which can be culled from the entire annals of the human race. It stands out prominently from the canvas with a clearness of outline, and a force, yet delicacy of touch, which could alone be given to it by the master-hand of truth.

#### § XVIII. MISSION OF JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Having arrived at this stage of the inquiry, the mind of every thoughtful reader will recur to the third chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, which opens with the emphatic declaration, that "in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar . . . the word of God came unto John, the son of Zacharias, in the wilderness."

One subject of contention has been whether this refers to the sole reign of Tiberius, or to his joint rule with Augustus; the words of St. Luke, though naturally referring to the former, not absolutely excluding the latter interpretation†. That Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the empire with equal authority, except in Italy itself, is certain. Tacitus styles him "the partner in the empire, and

\* Luke ii. 2.

† τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, followed by ἡγεμονεύοντος, applied to Pontius Pilate. Luke iii. 1, 2.

the sharer of the tribunician power\*." Other authors enter more into detail, and relate that at the request of Augustus the senate and people of Rome decreed, that Tiberius should possess equal authority in all the provinces and armies †.

Founding their judgment on these passages, many writers, among them Noris, Pagi, Bianchini, Usher, Bengel, and later, the Rev. C. Benson, Dr. Jarvis, and Dr. Thomson ‡, consider that the fifteenth year of Tiberius' joint rule with Augustus must here be understood. But as this authority did not extend to any part of Italy, it would be a strain upon the language of any historian, sacred or profane, when speaking generally of the reign of Tiberius, after he had become possessed of the seat of empire, to refer his dominion to any other authority than his transcendent power at Rome, as the centre of the world. Such a construction betokens a forgetfulness of the causes of the Social War, of the proud pre-eminence of the Roman name, and of the inferior estimation in which the provinces were held. History and public

\* "Collega imperii: consors tribunicia potestatis."—Tac. Ann. i. 8. See Pagi Crit. Baron. ad Annal. t. i. c. xi.

† "Et senatus populusque Romanus, postulante patre ejus, ut *æquum ei jus* in omnibus provinciis exercitibusque esset, quam erat ipsi, decreto complexus esset."—Vell. Pat. ii. 121.

"Ac non multo post, lege per consules lata, ut provincias cum Augusto *communiter administraret*, simulque censum ageret."—Suet. Tib. 21, &c.

‡ Now Archbishop of York. Smith's Dict. of the Bible, 1041. In the references made to this work here and elsewhere, it is not intended to represent the writers of particular articles as individually responsible for all the statements put forth. They could only be expected to do their best to embody or condense the views, which were generally considered to be entitled to the greatest weight; and it is on this very account that it becomes desirable to refer to them.

records are silent upon any double computation of the reign of Tiberius. Philo-Judæus, Suetonius, and Tacitus all give twenty-three years as its duration, which was only true of his sole government\*. So Josephus, Tacitus, Pliny, and Dion Cassius mention different years of his reign in connexion with particular consulates or events, which likewise show that they are referring to his sole reign after the death of Augustus†.

It may be said, however, that these authors give only the Roman view. Hence the importance of the coins of Antioch already referred to, which set this question at rest as regards the provinces also. This city was the capital of Syria, one of the principal provinces of the empire, and here, if any where, the provincial authority of Tiberius would be recorded. Of the four coins struck in the time of Silanus‡, the two first with the Augustan years of Antioch ΓΜ and ΔΜ alone, have on this account, though with no great propriety, been denominated autonomous coins. The other two with the Augustan years ΕΜ and ΖΜ, in conjunction with the numerals Α and Γ over the name of Silanus, show that the first and third years of Tiberius, thereby denoted, were reckoned from the death of Augustus, and did not extend back to their joint rule over the provinces.

Morellius, indeed, a man of probity, though misled by others, alleged that some coins existed with the numerals ΓΜ and ΔΜ, which also bore the head of Tiberius, and had the letter Α over Silanus' name.

\* Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, i. 21. Suet. *Tib.* 73. Tac. *de Orat.* xvii.

† Joseph. *Antiq.* XVIII. vi. 10. Tac. *Ann.* iv. 1. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiii. Dio *lvii.* 24. See Lewin's *Chron.* N. T. 30—33.

‡ Vide *supra*, pp. 516, 517.

This assertion received some countenance from Havercamp\*, who exhibits at the same time the inconsistency of approving the opposite theory of Cardinal Noris. The subject was investigated by Mazzolenus†, Magnanus‡, and Vaillant§, and more fully still by Eckhel||. They all showed the utter improbability that such coins could ever have existed: Mazzolenus inquiring how the first year of Tiberius could possibly coincide with the three years 43, 44, and 45 of the Antiochian æra. In no instance, as these writers found, did Tiberius receive the name of ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ until after the death of Augustus.

This prop to an erroneous chronology, therefore, proves to be but a broken reed. It is totally opposed to the testimony of an early Christian historian, whose dates are very near the truth, and who unhesitatingly refers to the fifteenth year of Tiberius' sole reign¶.

It follows that the memorable year of Tiberius mentioned by St. Luke occurred between the 19th of August A.U. 780, A.D. 28, and the 19th of August A.U. 781, A.D. 29, the former being in the consulate of Junius Silanus and Silius Nerva, and the latter in that of the two Gemini. Then was heard "the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the Lord." This was in the spring of A.D. 29, since it bordered on the high priesthoods of Annas and Caiaphas\*\*. The words of St. Luke do not mean that there were two high priests at the same time,

\* Comment. in fam. Morell. 225. † De Trib. potest. 85.

‡ Probl. de Nativ. Christ. 127.

§ Num. Græc. 8.

|| Descript. Num. Antioch. Syriæ, 13—16. De Doct. Num. iii. 276—278.

¶ Ioan. Malalæ Chronogr. x. 304.

\*\* ἐν ἀρχιερέων (rec. text), ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως (Scholz) Ἄννα καὶ Καϊάφα. Luke iii. 2.



but that St. John the Baptist began his preaching about the period when there was a change in the office, Annas being high priest up to the 1st Nisan B.C. 29, and Caiaphas then succeeding him\*.

### § XIX. THE BAPTISM.

We are thus brought to that much-controverted passage,—*Kaì αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἑτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος* †, “And Jesus Himself was thirty years old at the beginning ‡.” This is the statement of St. Luke; and in precise accordance with this the investigation, which without any reference to Holy Writ we have so long been pursuing, leads directly to the conclusion, that at the very time spoken of by the Evangelist our blessed Lord was in truth thirty years of age, no more and no less.

With the numerous readings which have been suggested §, the true sense of the word *ἀρχόμενος* seems scarcely to have been fully understood. The received version renders the passage, “began to be about thirty years of age.” This was adopted by Dr. S. T. Bloomfield, after Epiphanius || and others, as the trans-

\* Joseph. Antiq. XVIII. ii. 2. Euseb. Eccl. H. c. 10. The reign of Tiberius began on the 19th of August; the change in the high priesthood at this time took place on the 1st Nisan, which fell in March or April. Hence in mentioning the fifteenth year of Tiberius, which ranged between the 19th of August in one year and the 19th of August in the next, the Evangelist adds to this a well-known occurrence in Jewish history, to indicate at what period of the year between the two extremes he is referring to.

† Luke iii. 23.

‡ See Thuc. iv. 64; v. 20. Plat. Phæd. 337.

§ Bishop Pearce views *ἀρχόμενος* as a pleonasm; while Heylyn, Dr. Campbell, and others consider it as applicable to another subject.

|| De Hæres. Alogi x.

lation which, upon the whole, he considered liable to the least objection. Dean Alford, on the contrary, rejects it altogether; and with Schleusner, Langius, Rosenmüller, Kuinoel, Hengstenberg, Bowyer, and others, renders the passage, "Jesus was about thirty years old when He began (His ministry);" adding, after Langius, "not 'began to be about,' &c., which is ungrammatical." He then says that this *ὥσει τριάκοντα* admits of considerable latitude\*, but only in one direction, viz. *over* thirty years †. According to classical authority, however, the word *ὥσει* should be read in connexion with the word to which it is immediately joined, which is here *ἔτιω*, and not *τριάκοντα*. Its true meaning appears to be, not "nearly" or "about," but "as though" or "as it were," in the sense of "in point of."

The interpretation attributed to *ἀρχόμενος*, of "entering upon His ministry," implies that it was then that our Lord publicly assumed His office of a Divine teacher, and that this was the time of His showing Himself unto Israel. But if we look to the context, it will at once be apparent that this is not the meaning. The position of the passage is remarkable. In order that He might "fulfil all righteousness," and sanctify the rite of baptism as the initiation into the new dispensation, our blessed Lord Himself submitted to be

\* The ancients occasionally used such words as *ὥσει*, not as intimating any doubt respecting the numbers given in connexion with them, but as pleonasms or redundancies. Authors had their favorite expressions, as *σχεδόν* with Aristotle, and *μάλιστα* with Thucydides. These were used in connexion with definite, as well as with round numbers. Thus *μάλιστα τρεῖς*, Thuc. viii. 34. St. Luke elsewhere uses *ὥσει* itself in this way,—*Ἦν δὲ ὥσει ὅρα ἕκτη, xxiii. 44.* Conf. St. John xix. 14. *Perè* was sometimes employed in much the same way by the Romans. See Cic.

† See Bloomfield's and Alford's Gr. T. in loc.

baptized. After His baptism, the Evangelist proceeds to give the genealogy of our Lord \*; and then relates that Jesus retraced His steps from the banks of Jordan, endured the temptation in the wilderness, and having passed through His spiritual conflict with the great enemy of souls, prepared Himself after His return into Galilee to enter upon another, and to us apparently no less arduous conflict with the stubborn prejudices, the dreadful depravities, and the fierce passions of mankind. Now the passage in question occurs in immediate connexion with our Lord's baptism, before the genealogy, and consequently previously to the temptation, and the events which followed it. The word ἀρχόμενος thus refers, not to the public appearance of Jesus as a Divine teacher, but to His qualification for the office He was about to assume, through or by means of the initiatory rite of baptism †. Instead therefore of translating it with Alford, and those whom he follows, "when He entered upon His ministry," which, if intended in the sense of beginning His teaching, is not only chronologically incorrect, but also at variance with St. Luke's narrative; and which, if not meant in that sense, is at the least ambiguous; the context requires that the passage should be understood thus: "When by the initiatory rite of baptism He qualified Himself for His office." Treating αὐτός as a pleonasm, the following seems to be more of a literal than a free translation: "And Jesus was in point of age thirty years old,

\* As to the two genealogies of St. Matthew and St. Luke, see Euseb. Eccl. Hist. c. vii. Augustine de Consensu Evan. ii. 3, 4. Baron. Annal. i. 15. Smith's Dict. of the Bible.

† Grotius appears to consider these as synonymous; otherwise his views approach nearer to those here advanced than those of any other writer. Grot. in loco, Op. ii. 362.

when He took the first step," i. e. towards His open manifestation as the long expected Messiah, which was shortly to follow.

In addition to the incidental evidence furnished in connexion with Herod's death, the age of our Lord at His baptism is mentioned by various writers. If the works attributed to St. Ignatius were all genuine, his would be the earliest and most express testimony on the subject. This father lived, while our blessed Saviour was yet upon earth. In a letter to Polycarp\* he states that he himself had beheld the Lord after His resurrection. To St. John, St. Peter, and St. Paul he was personally known. From the first of these Apostles he received his instruction in Christianity. By two of them he was in A.D. 67 or 69 ordained bishop of Antioch. For forty years he continued to fill this see, when Trajan coming to Antioch, St. Ignatius made an open profession of his faith in Christ, for which he was sent a prisoner to Rome, and there suffered martyrdom in the Colosseum. Seven epistles bearing his name are allowed to be genuine; but there are two different versions of these, one termed the larger epistles, and the other the smaller, or, more properly, the longer and the shorter. The former contain many passages not in the latter, which have been supposed to be additions by a later hand†. Among the passages contained in the longer epistles is one in which he says, that when our Lord came to His baptism He had completed his thirtieth year‡.

This testimony, whether that of St. Ignatius himself, or of some one else under his name, is supported

\* Hieron. de Script. Eccl. c. 16. † See Lardner's Cred. ii. 76.

‡ Καὶ τρεῖς δεκάδας ἐτῶν πολιτευσάμενος, ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου. Ep. ad Trall. x. Bibl. Sanc. tom. i. Albi Flac. de Offic. c. 6. Baron. Ann. tom. i. cvi. 48; xvi. 118; cxlvi. 244.

by St. Irenæus \*, Origen †, St. Jerome ‡, St. Chrysostom §, Theophylact ||, Euthymius ¶, and others. Other chronological schemes, however, sprang up at variance with this view, when the language of St. Ignatius was made to signify that our Lord had not completed, but was only in His thirtieth year at His baptism. In opposition to this, Cardinal Baronius gives the passage more than once in the Greek; and thus forcibly renders it in Latin, "*Et expletis tribus annorum decadibus verè baptizatus est à Joanne \*\*.*" The causes which led to these misconceptions will shortly be explained. At present it is sufficient to direct attention to the evidence derived from profane sources, and to such corroboration as may be furnished by Christian authors.

As respects the time of year, Epiphanius specifies the 8th of November; Eusebius, the 6th of January; and Origen and St. Jerome, some day in the same month ††. By others it has been assigned to various periods during the first three months of the year ††. Of these Epiphanius is probably correct §§. The baptism may thus be referred to the month of November A.D. 29, when Jesus would have been fully thirty years of age, and approaching His thirty-first year. Thus did the Saviour of mankind come "not to

\* Contr. Valent. ii. 13.

† In Luc. Hom. xxviii. Op. t. iii. 965, 966, ed. Bened.

‡ In Ezech. t. iii. col. 699, ed. Bened.

§ In Matt. Hom. x. Op. vii. 139, 140, ed. Bened.

|| Op. i. 296. ¶ In Matt. c. iii.

\*\* Baron. Ann. I. cvi. 48; xvi. 118; cxlvi. 244.

†† Baron. Ann. I. xlix. 119. S. Hieron. l. n. Ezech. Op. iii. col. 699, ed. Bened.

‡‡ Theophylact, Op. i. 296, Ven. 1754. Chrysost. Matt. Hom. x. Op. vii. 139, 140, ed. Bened. Grotius ad Lucam, Op. ii. 362.

§§ See Benson's Chron. 304. Also Hale's Chron. i. 202.

destroy the law, but to fulfil it," even on the point which had prescribed the age of thirty for the ministry of the tabernacle\*.

§ XX. MANIFESTATION OF THE MESSIAH.

Allowing for the interval which elapsed after His baptism, before the Messiah stood forth to preach "the acceptable year of the Lord," we arrive at the year A.D. 30.

Having previously determined from profane history that the year B.C. 454 was the *terminus à quo* of the seventy weeks of Daniel, and that the first period of forty-nine years reached to the year B.C. 405, we are now, with the aid of Josephus, enabled to show that the boundary-line between the second and third periods of this celebrated, but hitherto unexplained prophecy, fell in the precise year A.D. 30, in which it ought to fall.

This has equally been ascertained from the same sources; the only recourse had to St. Luke's Gospel having been to take a particular year in the reign of Tiberius, hitherto supposed to be inconsistent with the representation of our Lord's age, for the purpose of testing it by profane history.

The two inquiries into the first and second periods of the seventy weeks have been carried on independently of each other. They have been entered upon at different times, separated by an interval of several months, with a determination to discard every thing that did not appear to rest upon a solid substratum of fact; and without knowing, until the investigations were nearly concluded, what in either case might be the issue, or how the result of the one inquiry might bear upon that of the other.

\* Numb. iv. 3.

After the rite of baptism had been sanctified, and the temptation in the wilderness had been endured, "the Son of Man" for a while retired to commune with the Father, ere He came forth to do "the will of Him that sent Him." When He did so, there gathered around Him some few, who even at this early period found in the "son of Joseph" "Him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write \*." Two days were thus spent; and Andrew, and another of John's disciples whose name is not recorded, then Simon Peter, and afterwards Philip and Nathanael, formed the little company upon whom first dawned the light of the Messiahship. On the third day was the marriage in Cana of Galilee, when at the promptings of filial love Jesus performed His first miracle, although His hour of showing Himself unto Israel was "not yet come †." It was, however, fast approaching; for the "passover was at hand ‡," when "He went up to Jerusalem," and Malachi's prediction was fulfilled, "The Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to His temple §."

The temple then existing was that reared by Herod, whose history is again incidentally linked with the sacred narrative. "Forty and six years was this temple in building ||," said the Jews in answer to the Lord's declaration, when He emblematically referred to it as a type of the temple of His body. As already

\* John i. 45.

† John ii. 4.

‡ St. Chrysostom falls into the error of attributing Christ's manifestation to His baptism. He says "that Christ was made manifest to all men when He was baptized." Op. t. ii. 369, ed. Montf. See also Eusebius' Eccl. Hist. c. x.

§ Mal. iii. 1.

|| Τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἕξ ἔτεσιν ᾠκοδομήθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος.—John ii. 20. The entire works connected with the temple and its courts were not completed until the year preceding the Roman war under Vespasian, in A.D. 65. Joseph. Antiq. XX. ix. 7.

shown\*, it was in the nineteenth year of his reign that Herod announced to the Jews his grand design of pulling down the temple, which had been erected after the return from the captivity, and rearing in its place another on a more splendid and extensive scale. His proposal was for some time received with coldness and suspicion, the Jews doubting his good intentions, as well as his ability to carry out his proposed design. To remove these objections, he entered into a solemn compact not to remove a single stone of the old structure, until he had provided all the materials requisite for the immediate erection of the new temple. This engagement he religiously observed. For the erection of the temple itself he caused 1000 priests, who could alone be employed in the work, to be instructed in the various branches of building; he assembled ten times as many workmen for the other portions of the edifice; and had collected and prepared for immediate use an enormous amount of materials.

It was not until this large number of priests had been thoroughly instructed in the work they had to perform, and the costly marble and other materials for the building were in readiness, that the removal of the old structure was commenced. When this had been effected, deeper and more extensive foundations were excavated, and the new temple began to be reared †. That these preliminary works must have occupied a considerable time is clear. The most judicious writers allow two or three years for the purpose ‡; while others have confounded the conception of the project with the commencement of the undertaking §. The fact that at the opening of our Saviour's ministry the entire struc-

\* Supra, p. 499. Browne's Script. Chron. 68, 69.

† Joseph. Antiq. XV. xi. 1—7.

‡ Lewin's N. T. 40. Smith's Dict. of the Bible, 1006.

§ Ibid. 793. 1074.



ture had then occupied forty-six years, and that it was not finished until between thirty and forty years after, shows how extensive must have been the preparations for the work at the outset.

Augustus visited Syria in A.U. 733, B.C. 20\*. This was in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign†. And it was in the following year, or B.C. 19, that Herod announced his intention to the Jews. Allowing until the next passover, in B.C. 18, for overcoming their fears and objections, and three years for instructing and training the priests in the various arts of building, and for the collection and preparation of the vast body of materials necessary for the undertaking, and we arrive at A.U. 781-2, or B.C. 30, the very year to which the prior investigations also lead.

#### § XXI. THE LAST WEEK OF YEARS.

##### FIRST DIVISION.

• One week of years remains; and in the midst of this week the sacrifice and the oblation were to cease. The period of seven years was to be divided into two portions of time, though not necessarily of equal duration. Somewhere, however, midway between the two extremes, the numerous oblations and sacrifices of blood, which for upwards of fifteen centuries had been offered up in the tabernacle or the temple, were to lose their efficacy, and practically to cease.

The sub-division of this last period of seven years was preceded by the prediction, that "after the three-score and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off." Not immediately on the expiration of the 434 years, but *after* this period, or subsequent to its close‡.

\* Dio liv.

† Supra, p. 498, 499, n. 2.

‡ Dan. ix. 26. See also Gen. xv. 14; xxiii. 19; xxv. 26. Gesen. Thes.

The last period was to be marked by three distinct events,—1. The oblation and sacrifice were to cease. 2. The Messiah or Prince was to be *cut off* כָּרַת, literally as part of a garment, or a branch of a tree; and metaphorically, as in English, by a sudden or violent death. 3. The covenant with many was during the whole period to be confirmed; but upon its expiration, this confirmation as a necessary consequence was to terminate.

As predicted, so it came to pass. At the expiration of three years the commemoration of the Passover was superseded by the institution, in its stead, of the Lord's Supper. The great offering which followed at once deprived of all value the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of an heifer, which from the days of Moses had been poured forth upon the altars of Israel. The sacrifices of the Law were for ever abolished, so soon as the types, which had adumbrated the one stupendous sacrifice, had become fulfilled.

Still following the plan pursued throughout the present work, let us take heathen testimony first, and see to what this will lead, before having recourse to other sources of evidence.

The earliest heathen writer was Phlegon, who was a native of Tralles, probably born at the close of the first century. He was freedman to the Emperor Hadrian\*; his death is supposed by some to have occurred about the year A.D. 138, and by others in or shortly after A.D. 156. He composed a treatise on the Olympiads from their commencement. This was a very elaborate work; not deficient in style, but entering so much into minutiae, particularly on the subject of ancient oracles and divinities, as to render

\* Spartian in Hadrian. xvi. Vopisc. Saturnin. vii. viii. Phot. Cod. xcvi. 265.

it tedious. This is the character given of the work by Photius, patriarch of Constantinople in the latter half of the ninth century, in his *Bibliotheca*. Phlegon is accused of having been fond of the marvellous; but, except as regards heathen oracles and divinities, he seems to have reserved what was of this character for two other treatises, one on Wonderful things, *Περὶ θαυμασίων*, and the other on Aged lives, *Περὶ μακροβίων*. It would thus appear that he resembled Pliny, whose authority in matters of date and history no one has impeached, because these are mixed up with anecdotes and relations of all kinds, including the trivial and the marvellous.

Phlegon's treatise on the Olympiads is noticed by several writers. Eusebius gives a verbatim extract from it. Alluding to this work, he says that in his thirteenth book Phlegon writes in the following words: "In the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad there was a great obscuration of the sun, greater than had ever been known before; for at the sixth hour the day was changed into night, and the stars were seen in the heavens. An earthquake occurred in Bithynia, and overthrew a great part of the city of Nicæa." This extract is given in the Armenian, Greek \*, and Latin versions of Eusebius' *Chronicon*, in St. Jerome's Latin translation of it, and in the portion of it contained in the *Chronographia* of Syncellus, and also in the *Chronicon Paschale* †. These

\* Γράφει δὲ καὶ Φλέγων ὁ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας συναγαγὼν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ γ'. ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τάδε. τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς σβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἔκλειψις ἡλίου μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωσμένων πρότερον· καὶ νύξ ὥρα ἕκτη τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι, σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιθυνίαν τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας κατεστρέψατο.—Euseb. Chron. ii. 264. The word *ἔκλειψις* had not at this time the same definite technical meaning that eclipse has at the present day.

† Euseb. Chron. ii. 264—266, Ven. 1818. S. Hier. t. viii.

all agree, except that in the Armenian version the Olympiad is stated as the 203rd, which, from the number of other versions in which it is given as the 202nd, is evidently a misprint.

This passage of Phlegon is also referred to by Julius Africanus\* and Origen†, in the third century; by John Malala, of Antioch‡, and John Philoponus, of Alexandria§, in the sixth and seventh centuries; by Maximus||, in the seventh; by G. Syncellus¶, in the eighth; and by several others: most of these writers giving either the very words, like Eusebius, or else their substance\*\*. That they did not copy from Eusebius, but from an independent source, appears from this, that while Eusebius cites the passage as occurring in the thirteenth book, Julius Africanus in one place says, "But of the eclipse in the time of Tiberius Cæsar, in whose reign Jesus was crucified, and of the great earthquakes which then happened, Phlegon has written in the thirteenth or (as I think) the fourteenth of his Chronicles††." So Origen, in referring to another passage, says, "Phlegon, indeed, in the thirteenth or (as I think) in the fourteenth of the Chronicles††." There was thus probably more than one edition of Phlegon's works, in which the books were differently divided.

According to Maximus this solar obscuration is

pars i. Eusebii Chron. 9. Syncellus, Chron. 324, 325, Par. 1652. Chron. Pasch. 219. 222.

\* African. in G. Syncell. 322, 323.

† Cont. Cels. ii. 80. Cant. al. sect. 33; ii. 96. al. sect. 59. In Matt. Tr. xxx. 5. 922, 923, t. iii. Bened.

‡ I. Malal. Chronogr. x. 310.

§ Philop. de Mund. Creat. ii. c. xxi.

|| Maxim. ap. Dionys. Areop. ii. 97. ¶ G. Syncell. 322, &c.

\*\* See various passages quoted in Lardn. Cred. vii. 106—114.

†† Jul. Afr. contr. Cels. ii. 80. Cant. al. sect. 33.

†† Origen contr. Cels. ii. 69. al. sect. 14.

described by Phlegon as being out of the usual course, though without indicating how it differed from an ordinary eclipse. He observes, "But Phlegon, the Grecian chronicler, in the thirteenth of his Chronicles at the 203rd Olympiad has mentioned this eclipse, saying that it happened in an unusual manner; though in what manner he has not explained \*." This was probably the foundation for G. Syncellus' statement that Phlegon represented the darkness to have occurred at the full of the moon †, while Origen, on the contrary, says that Phlegon did not intimate that it took place *plena luna* ‡.

Besides Phlegon, there were other heathen writers who alluded to this unusual darkness. Before giving the extract from Phlegon, Eusebius says that in divers commentaries of the Gentiles we find these things thus literally related: "There occurred an obscuration of the sun, Bithynia was shaken by an earthquake, and most of the houses in the city of Nicæa were overthrown." Eusebius then goes on to say, "Over and above these things, Phlegon also writes in his thirteenth book, thus expressing himself §." Indeed, there is a material difference in Eusebius' account of Phlegon and these other heathen writers. The latter say nothing of the stars becoming visible, while Phlegon does. This, therefore, may have been an embellishment on his part.

One of the other writers thus referred to was Thallus. He was a Syrian, who lived in the first or second century, and wrote a general history which has been lost. This historian is cited on various

\* Maxim. ap. Dionys. Areop. ii. 97. † G. Syncell. 322, 323.

‡ In Matt. Tr. 35, p. 922, 923, t. iii. Bened.

§ He then gives the passage already cited. Hence it appears that Eusebius speaks of more than one writer, although Dr. Lardner maintains the contrary. Cred. Heath. Test. vii. 108.

points by several writers. The following fragment is preserved by Julius Africanus and Eusebius: "There was a darkness over the whole world. The rocks were rent, and many buildings were overthrown in Judea and other places." Africanus adds, "This darkness Thallus calls an eclipse of the sun in the third book of his histories; but, as it seems to me, very incorrectly, for the Hebrews celebrate the pass-over on the 14th day of the moon. He then adverts to the fact that an eclipse of the sun takes place when the moon passes before the sun, which can only be at the new moon; while on the 14th day the moon is directly opposite the sun\*." The year alluded to by Thallus is not given; though he may be presumed to have agreed in this respect with Phlegon, or the difference would have been noticed.

It has been much discussed whether the darkness referred to by these writers was or was not the same as that which is mentioned by the Evangelists as attending the crucifixion. It would be premature to enter upon this subject, without first considering what evidence these witnesses really give. Too many authors rush at once to the ulterior portion of the inquiry or the result, and allow their judgments to be biassed by their general views. This was the case with many of the first Christian writers. At an early period they fell into serious chronological errors respecting the principal events in the life of our Lord. These induced them to antedate the crucifixion, as will presently be shown, and they have thereby misled all subsequent generations. Following in their footsteps, Lardner and Jarvis arrived at the conclusion that the crucifixion took place in A.D. 29 or A.D. 28. Neither of these years coinciding with the Olympiad given by Phlegon, they urge the silence of ancient

\* Euseb. Canon. Chron. Græce 77. G. Syncell. 322.

Christian writers as a ground for concurring with them that this heathen evidence is unimportant.

Confining ourselves, then, simply to the evidence given, leaving the result to be dealt with afterwards, we find that the testimony of these heathen writers is that in Olympiad 202. 4, there was an obscuration of the sun "greater than had ever occurred before," and remarkable either for its extent, or for the unusual mode of its occurrence.

The fourth year of Olympiad 202 extended over nine months of A.U. 784, and three months of A.U. 785, or over the last six months of A.D. 32, and the first six months of A.D. 33 \*. The first portion of this fell in the consulship of Cn. Domit. Ahenobarbus and A. Vitell. Nepos, and the latter portion in that of Serg. Sulpic. Galba and L. Corn. Sulla. Unless, therefore, there should be any contradictory evidence, it must be taken to be proved on the authority of heathen witnesses, that some very remarkable darkness, occasioned either by an eclipse or some other cause, occurred between June A.D. 32 and June A.D. 33.

Let us next see what aid can be derived from astronomy. That the crucifixion took place on a Friday has never been seriously disputed. So far from it, one of the objections raised to the historical truth of the Gospels is founded on this fact; it being alleged that while our Lord is there represented as having been crucified on the Friday, which according to St. John is said to have been the day of the passover, it is stated by the three other Evangelists that the passover was earlier, and must therefore have occurred the day previously. The difficulty has been felt by believers as well as by sceptics. To remove or explain it the most opposite theories have been advanced

\* Clint. F. H. iii. 466.

on the subject. 1. That the passover was *anticipated* by our Lord, and was not eaten by the Hebrew nation generally until the following evening, the words of St. John, *ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ πάσχα*, said of the Jews who would not enter into the judgment-hall "lest they should be defiled," invariably denoting the real paschal supper \*. 2. That the passover was celebrated at the proper time by the Lord and His Apostles, and that the words of St. John do not refer to the paschal supper itself, but either to the feast generally †, or specifically to the *chagiga*, a joyful sacrifice, which was observed before sunset of the 15th Nisan ‡. 3. That at this period a diversity of practice prevailed among the Jews, some eating the passover on the night between Thursday and Friday, and others, including the high priests and elders, on the night between Friday and Saturday. To justify this opposition it has been suggested, that such a diversity "was *allowed* on account of the variation between the apparent and real time of the new and full moon §." 4. That the Hebrews generally had fallen into an error of calculation, and celebrated the passover two days before it ought to have been ||. 5. That the error was of an opposite kind, and that the Jews kept the passover a day too late ¶. 6. That the diversity is to be attributed generally to the different practices

\* Lücke, Comment. ü. d. Ev. d. Johann, iii. 610—9. Olshausen, Ideler, i. 515. Browne's Script. Chron. 56. 63. This notion of anticipation was very prevalent in the East. See Calmet's Dict. of the Bible, art. Paque, iii. 123. Paris, 1730.

† Lewin, Chron. N. T. 72.

‡ Lightfoot, Hor. Heb. in Joh. xviii. 28. Harm. Chron. Diss. VI. v. i. 107, ed. 2. Bynæus de Mor. J. Christi.

§ Jarv. Chron. Introd. 455—459.

¶ Epiphani. adv. Hær. xxvi. t. i. pp. 448, 449, ed. Petav. Paris, 1622.

¶ Beza, Scaliger, and Casaubon.



of the Pharisees and the Sadducees. 7. That the proper legal time for eating the passover was not the end, but the beginning of the 14th Nisan \*. 8. That the Lord's passover was a memorial observance only, not a sacrificial one †.

These and other views have been discussed with great learning and ingenuity, but with no satisfactory result, the subject remaining in as much obscurity as ever. Yet while these learned men have thus "wearied themselves to find the door," it has all the while been standing open before their eyes. In the early period of their history the Hebrews had no distinct divisions of time ‡, and hence probably some of the confusion which has arisen. They were directed to slay the paschal lamb in the *evening*, עֶרֶב 'ereb §. In the margin, which is justified by the Hebrew, this is rendered "between the evenings;" that is, between the declining and setting sun, or between noon and sunset. Accordingly Josephus says that the passover was slain between the ninth and eleventh hours ||; that is, at the time of the equinox, between three and six P.M. ¶ But the Hebrew word itself, though susceptible of this meaning, was of ambiguous import, owing to the original want among the Israelites of a proper division of time. In the republication of the law this defect was supplied, for it is then said, "Thou shalt sacrifice the passover at even [עֶרֶב 'ereb, as before], at the going down of the sun," literally, "at evening as goes down the sun," בְּעֶרֶב כְּבֹאֵה הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ \*\*. But although this defined what was meant by *evening*, 'ereb, the Israelites appear not

\* Rauch, Tholuck, 8.

† Grotius, Hammond.

‡ Calmet's Dict. of the Bible.

§ Exod. xii. 6. See Bochart on this word. Also Townsend on the Pentateuch, ii. 74, n. 1.

|| Bell. Jud. VI. ix. 3. ¶ Calmet ut sup. \*\* Deut. xvi. 6.

to have considered themselves bound to wait until sunset; but to have allowed themselves the latitude which the more indefinite term *'ereb*, without this comment or supplement, would have given. The passover was thus often slain an hour or two *before*, although the proper time was *at* sunset.

It was to be eaten during the night, לַיְלָה, i. e. the night generally, which was usually reckoned from sunset till sunrise; none of it was to be left until the morning, בֹּקֶר, *boker* \*. The appointed time was thus between sunset and daybreak; that is, during one of the *four* watches of the night, which are referred to by our Lord as *even*, ὥψε, at twilight; *midnight*, μεσονύκτιον; *cock-crowing*, ἀλεκτοροφωνία; and *morning*, πρωί, till daybreak †. From the three first Evangelists it is clear that the passover had arrived, and that our Lord had kept it with His disciples early in the first of these divisions of time, ὥφιας δὲ γενομένης ‡. The reference to the actual arrival of the day “when the passover must be killed §,” the words, “Where wilt thou that we prepare to eat the passover ||?” and “with desire I have desired to eat this passover with you before I suffer ¶,” admit of no other interpretation, notwithstanding the ingenuity which has been exerted to establish the contrary \*\*.

Our Lord was taken first to Annas, before whom a preliminary trial took place. He was then sent bound

\* “The dawn, daybreak,” Gesen. Heb. Lex. p. 157. Lond. 1844. He adds, “even before light,” referring to Ruth iii. 14; but the sense of this verse shows that no qualification of the term “morning” was intended. “Sunrise,” Smith’s Dict. of the Bible, 415.

† Mark xiii. 85. Schleusner, Lex. G. L. Nov. Test. 119. Lond. 1826. Smith’s Dict. of the Bible, 416.

‡ Matt. xxvi. 20. Mark xiv. 17. § Luke xxii. 7.

|| Matt. xxvi. 17. ¶ Mark xiv. 12.

\*\* See Browne’s Script. Chron. 58—66.

to Caiaphas, by whom after a second trial, so far as could be consistently with the Roman law, Jesus was doomed to death on the very night "when the pass-over must be killed." At what precise hour this took place we are not informed; but as Annas and Caiaphas were both accessible, it is probable that it was late in the evening or early in the night. From the high priest's palace Jesus was led unto the palace of the procurator, *prætorium*, in which was the hall of judgment. Into this, as a heathen residence, especially polluted by the Roman ensign, the Jews could not enter without contracting defilement. They therefore delivered Jesus into the custody of the guard, which kept the *prætorium*. This was early in the morning, *ἦν δὲ πρώτη*; that is, it was during the last of the four watches of the night. Up to this time those who had been so engaged, "the band and the captain and officers of the Jews," who "took Jesus and bound Him," together with the priests and Pharisees who accompanied them, to Annas first, then to Caiaphas, and finally, after two trials, to the procurator's palace, appear to have had no opportunity of eating the pass-over. The following day, which was the first day of unleavened bread, and the Sabbath following, were days of high solemnity. The priests and others, who on these days had arduous services to perform, were probably in the habit of postponing the celebration of the passover until the latest moment. If, as seems probable, it was at the commencement of the fourth watch that Jesus was led to the *prætorium*, there would still have been nearly three hours during which the passover might have been eaten. It is generally, though very inconsiderately supposed, that when our Lord was delivered over to the Roman soldiers, Pilate was actually sitting in judgment in the *prætorium*. This, however, is highly improbable. At that early

hour Pilate is not likely even to have entered the judgment-hall. He was not *νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός*, *nocturnus prætor*\*; and probably did not take his seat until some hours later. In the interval those Jews, who would not enter the prætorium "lest they should be defiled," had ample time and opportunity to return and eat the passover. This simple explanation removes all difficulty.

In their subsequent descriptions the utmost harmony prevails between all the Evangelists. By St. John the evening of the crucifixion is termed *παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα*, "the preparation *of* [not *for*] the passover †." The feast of the passover was made up of the day of the passover itself, and the seven days of unleavened bread which immediately followed it. Of these the day before the Sabbath was termed the *parasceue*, or "preparation." St. Mark writing for Gentile converts so explains it, *ἡν παρασκευὴ, ὃ ἐστὶ προσάβατον*, and then speaks of the next day as the Sabbath ‡. St. Luke also says that it was "the preparation, and the Sabbath drew on," *καὶ ἡμέρα ἦν παρασκευὴ, καὶ σάββατον ἐπέφωσκε §*. St. John himself does the same, saying "it was the preparation, that the bodies should not remain . . . on the Sabbath day," *ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ ἐπὶ παρασκευὴ ἦν ||*. Following this up, St. Matthew speaks of the Sabbath as "the morrow of the preparation," *τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον, ἥτις ἐστὶ μετὰ τὴν παρασκευὴν ¶*. Still going onwards, all four Evangelists, after alluding more or less directly to the rest on the Sabbath, expressly mention the day after as "the

\* Sallenger i. 332 C.

† The Rev. H. Browne maintains that this is "a phrase which, agreeably with its invariable usage, can only mean the day immediately preceding the celebration of the paschal supper." Script. Chron. 57.

‡ Mark xv. 42.

§ Luke xxiii. 54.

|| John xix. 31. 42.

¶ Matt. xxvii. 62.

first day of the week," εἰς μίαν σαββάτων \*, πρωτὶ τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτων †, τῇ δὲ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων ‡.

In the passage last quoted St. Luke and St. John use the very same words. From the beginning to the end the language of the sacred writers bears the closest analogy. Instead of pointing to *two different days*, the 14th and 15th Nisan, the Evangelists all refer to *one and the same night*. The only difference between them is that while St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke speak of the celebration of the passover by our Lord and His Apostles in the evening, ὥψε, St. John refers to a later celebration of it in the morning, πρωτὶ; the one being the *first*, and the other the *fourth* watch of the same identical night, the whole of which was dedicated or allowed for this important celebration. Thus not the faintest trace of discord can be detected between the Evangelists on this point.

The difficulties and misapprehensions of its supporters, no less than the attacks of its enemies, contribute to the advancement of truth. In order to prove that at this time the passover occurred on the day of preparation, that is, on the Friday instead of on the Thursday, it has been urged that otherwise "the whole Sanhedrim, by sitting in judgment on our Lord, and all those Jews who took part in His execution, violated the sanctity of a most holy Sabbath, and moreover transgressed an express precept of the elders, which prescribed that on Sabbath days and festival days no trial or judgment may be had §."

In treating of the Israelites, in connexion with the nation who at this time had the rule over them, no greater error can be made than to take their actual or supposed traditions, without reflecting how Jewish

\* Matt. xxviii. 1.

† Mark xvi. 2.

‡ Luke xxiv. 1, and John xx. 1.

§ Browne's Script. Chron. 59.

laws and customs may have been strained or overborne by those of the Romans. Previously to, and for a short period after the Christian æra, these laws and customs of Israel were wholly ignored and disregarded; the Romans holding their courts of justice in Judea, as in other countries, not only on occasional Hebrew festivals, but even on the Sabbath days. In the fifth year, however, after the birth of our Lord, the Jews were relieved from a compulsory attendance before the Roman tribunals, not only on the Sabbath itself, but from the ninth hour of the day preceding. This was accorded to them by Augustus, who again becomes an unconscious witness to the truth of the Gospel narratives. By a decree of this emperor, when Caius Marcius Censorinus was *Proprætor Syriæ*, i. e. in A.U. 755, A.D. 3\*, it was declared "that no pledges should be taken for the appearance of the Jews [i. e. before the proprætor, or any judicial tribunal] on the Sabbath day, nor on *the day of preparation* for it, after the ninth hour†." Up to this hour therefore the Israelites, after Augustus' decree, were compellable, and were, no doubt, in the habit of attending the Roman courts of justice; while previously they were liable to be summoned not only on the day of preparation, but even on the Sabbath itself. So utterly opposed to *history* is the objection, in this respect, urged against the common acceptance of the Gospel narratives.

The harmony of the Evangelists having thus been vindicated, the way is open for the astronomical inquiry. Now there are but two years which will satisfy the requisite conditions, viz. A.D. 30 and 33. In the former the 15th Nisan happened on Friday the

\* A. W. Zumpt's Comment. Epigraph. 150.

† ἐγγύας τε μὴ ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν σάββασι, ἢ τῇ πρὸ ταύτης παρασκευῇ, ἀπὸ ὧρας ἐννάτης.—Joseph. Antiq. XVI. vi. 2.

7th of April, the moon at Jerusalem being at the full at or within two hours of 5.12 A.M. \* The passover, which was celebrated on the 14th, consequently began at sunset on Thursday, and continued until daybreak on Friday morning. Mr. Mann affirms that the paschal feast did not occur on a Thursday from A.D. 27 to A.D. 35, both inclusive, except in the year A.D. 33 †; but this is a mistake.

In A.D. 33 the paschal full moon also happened on a *Friday*. This was on the 3rd of April, at or within two hours of 8.12 P.M. Allowing an excess of two hours, this would bring the time to 6.12 P.M., which is just one hour later than Greswell's calculation of 5.12 P.M. ‡ According to Browne, however, the precise time was 4h. 2m. 50s. The sun then set at Jerusalem shortly before half-past seven; so that the moon was at the full upon the verge, or possibly at the very time of sunset. The passover in this year being thus on the border of the 14th and 15th Nisan, it is possible that it may have been celebrated by some on the night of Thursday the 2nd of April, and

\* The formula in De Morgan's Book of Almanacs only gives the result within two hours of the true time. Browne, who uses Delambre's more complicated tables, calculates the full moon to have been on the Thursday night at 10h. 0m. 52s. Script. Chron. 55. If we deduct the whole two hours from the 5.12 A.M., there would still be a difference of 5h. 11m. 8s. between the results as worked out by the two tables, supposing both these to have been correctly followed. The same writer maintains that the actual *year* is A.D. 29. For this purpose he is compelled to make the paschal full moon fall on the 18th of March, instead of the 17th of April. He allows this to be three or four days *before* the equinox; but seeks to remove this objection on the ground, that prior to the Council of Nice the 18th of March was regarded by the Western Church as the anterior paschal limit, citing the Paschal Cycle of S. Hippolytus, A.D. 222, in Inst. Chron. § 426. His theory is thus founded on an exploded error. Browne's Script. Chron. 55.

† De veris annis D. N. Jesu Christi, &c. ‡ Diss. i. 357, ed. 1.

by others on that of Friday the 3rd of April. This could be said of no other year. The previous solution, however, appears the more probable.

Of the two years indicated, the passover of A.D. 30 was the very time of our Lord's manifestation, and could not, therefore, have been that of His crucifixion. Thus astronomy points to A.D. 33 as the only year in which the passion could have occurred. Reverting to the testimony of Phlegon, Thallus, and others, and subjecting this to the same astronomical test, it is found that in the nineteenth year of Tiberius, that is, from the 19th of August A.D. 32 to the 19th of August A.D. 33, no eclipse of the sun took place. The solar obscuration spoken of by these writers could not, therefore, have arisen from an ordinary eclipse. The evidence, then, on the point stands thus: in the nineteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, which is that of the crucifixion, an extraordinary darkness, accompanied by an earthquake of unusual extent, took place in the northern part of Asia Minor and Judea. This darkness is not attributable to any natural phenomenon, nor is it to be accounted for upon any principles of astronomical science. Witnesses, however, of unimpeachable veracity attest that in the very year when "the Messiah was cut off," and gave His life "a ransom for many," "there was darkness over all the land from the sixth to the ninth hour, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top to the bottom, the earth did quake, and the rocks rent\*."

As in other instances, so in this, the chronology has been arrived at through other than Christian sources of evidence. These have been reserved until the last; and on turning to them, a marked difference

\* Matt. xxvii. 51. Mark xvi. 33. 38. Luke xxiii. 44, 45.



is observable between those who wrote as *historians*, and those who assumed the office of *commentators*. The former sought for *facts*; the latter constructed *theories*.

Eusebius was essentially a chronologist. After stating that in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar Jesus Christ was in His thirtieth year, he elsewhere associates the public appearance of our Lord (by which he evidently intends the baptism) with the same year of Tiberius, and with the Olympiad 201. 4\*, ranging therefore from August A.D. 28 to Midsummer A.D. 29. In the whole he attributes three years and a half to our Lord's manifestation, commencing with His baptism †. In another work he says that Jesus Christ our Lord came to His passion in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius ‡. Then, by reference to Phlegon's treatise on the Olympiads, he makes this year to correspond with Olympiad 202. 4§. Eusebius must, therefore, have assigned the crucifixion to the passover of A.D. 33, in the nominal consulship of Cn. Domit. Ænobarbus and A. Vitellius Nepos, the Feast of Pales not having then arrived, although the consuls actually in office were Serg. Sulpic. Galba and L. Cornel. Sulla. He adds, that

\* "Post Augustum in Romanos regnavit Tiberius. Illius decimus quintus annus erat, (cum Salvator) Dominus noster, Jesus unctus Dei, apparuit in hominum vitâ quarto anno cci Olympiadis."—Euseb. Chron. pars i. 195.

† De Demonstr. Evang. viii. 400.

‡ ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος προήκει ἔτους ιη' (Arm. ιθ') τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας.—Euseb. Chron. ii. 264, 265.

§ "Jesus unctus Dei, Dominus noster, salutarem cunctis doctrinam prædicabat, et singula miracula scriptis mandata perpetrabat, A.U.C. 781, 782, 783, 784, ann. Tiber. 16, 17, 18, 19."—Id. 265. Commencing with the passover in the sixteenth of Tiberius and ending with that in the nineteenth, there are here indicated three years, not four.

according to the testimony of St. John, the duration of Christ's teaching *after* the fifteenth year of Tiberius was for three years \*. This period must have extended from the passover of A.D. 30 to that of A.D. 33, and did not include the interval between the baptism and the passover of the former year.

Passing by Julius Africanus for the present, the next historian of note is G. Syncellus, early in the fourth century. After placing the Nativity in the forty-third year of Augustus †, and the baptism in the fifteenth year of Tiberius ‡, he then reckons three years for our Lord's ministry §, and makes the crucifixion to fall on the 23rd of March in the nineteenth year of Tiberius, when our Lord was thirty-three years of age ||.

\* "Hoc autem [i. e. Phlegon's account of the solar obscuration and the earthquake] sanè magnum est argumentum ejus anni, quo Salvator noster passus est, secundum testimonium Evangelii Joannis, quod post decimum quintum annum Tiberii triennium doctrinæ Christi fuisse testatur."—Euseb. Chr. ii. 267.

† κατὰ τὸ μγ' ἔτος τῆς Αὐγούστου Ῥωμαίων Καίσαρος βασιλείας.—Chronogr. p. 315 D. The consulship given in connexion with this year is egregiously wrong, being that of Sulpicius Camerinus and Poppæus Sabinus, who were consuls in A.D. 9. This, however, only shows that proper names were occasionally written then, as now, in a way to be easily misapprehended.

‡ ἐν ἔτει ιε'.—Id. 319 C.

§ ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ τρία ἔτη.—Id. 325 C.

|| τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡλικίας λγ'—κατὰ τὸ ιθ' ἔτος Τιβερίου—σταυροῦνται ὁ ἀναμάρτητος τῇ κζ' τοῦ Φαμενώθ μηνός—Μαρτίου κγ'—καὶ ταφεῖς ἀνίσταται τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, Φαμενώθ κθ' ἡτοι Μαρτίου κέ', πρὸ καλανδῶν Ἀπριλλίων [i. πρὸ τῆς Καλ. Ἀπριλ.].—Id. 320 D, 321 A. Here, again, there is a manifest error in the consulship, which is stated to be that of [Tiberius] Nero, for the third time, and Valerius Messala. It does not appear that they were ever consuls together. The third consulship of Tiberius occurred in A.D. 18, and Valerius Messala was consul with M. Aurel. Cotta in A.D. 20. Were we to take the consulships as they appear in his

John Malala of Antioch substantially agrees with Syncellus; but furnishes some important dates, particularly placing the preaching of John the Baptist and the Baptism of our Lord in two separate consulships. The former he assigns to that of Alvanus [Silanus] and Nerva [A.D. 28 or 29], and the latter to that of Rufus and Rubellius, on the 6th of January [A.D. 29 or 30]\*. He then says that in the nineteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, when Jesus Christ was about thirty-three years old, He was betrayed on the 23rd of March, being the 14th (lunar-day) Nisan; that He was crucified on the 24th of March, being the 15th Nisan†; that He was buried on the day of preparation, at the tenth hour, in the consulship of Sulpicius and Sola [A.D. 33], when Cassius was ἡγεμονεύοντας

writings, Syncellus would represent our Lord to have been born in A.D. 9, and to have been crucified when only nine or eleven years of age. As his general text and dates are otherwise consistent, the only inference is that in the case of proper names, where no aid was afforded by the sense or context, his handwriting was liable to be mistaken.

\* Τῷ δὲ α' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Ἀλουανοῦ καὶ Νιρούα ἤρξατο ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ πρόδρομος κηρύσσειν βάπτισμα μετανοίας βαπτίζειν κατὰ τὴν προφητικὴν φωνήν· καὶ ἀπῆλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσα ἡ Ἰουδαία χώρα. Καὶ λοιπὸν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσατο τοῦ σωτηρίου ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, βαπτισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ προδρόμου, γενόμενος ἐνιαυτῶν περὶ τοῦ λ' καὶ θαυματουργῶν. Ἐβαπτίσθη δὲ ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, ποταμῷ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, μηνὶ αὐθιναίῳ τῷ καὶ ἰανουαρίῳ ἕκτῃ, ὥρα νυκτερινῇ α', ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Ρούφου καὶ Ρουβελλίωνος.—Joan. Malalæ Chronogr. pp. 304, 305.

† Τῷ δὲ ὀκτωκαιῆκᾳτῳ ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ αὐτοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος καὶ μηνὶ τῷ ζ', γενόμενος ἐνιαυτῶν περὶ πον λγ' ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Ἰούδα Ἰσκαριώτου, μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὁ αὐτὸς κύριος καὶ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, μηνὶ δύστρῳ τῷ καὶ μαρτίῳ κγ', τῆς σελήνης ἐχούσης ἡμέραν ιγ'.

Καὶ ἐσταυρώθη κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τῇ πρὸ ἧ' καλανδῶν ἀπριλλίων, μηνὶ μαρτίῳ κδ', τῆς σελήνης ἐχούσης ἡμέραν ιδ'. Ἦν δὲ ἡμερινὴ ὥρα ἕκτη, τῆς ἡμέρας οὔσης παρασκευῆς.—Id. 309, 310.

τῆς Συρίας; and that He rose again on the 25th of March, being the 16th Nisan \*. This writer sometimes appears to carry on the consulships to the feast of Pales, and sometimes not. Reckoning, however, the above dates as A.D. 29, 30, and 33, there are here given the very years which the world has so long lost, and which have required such infinite pains to recover.

Besides those who specify consulships or particular years of Tiberius' reign, there are others who merely state the duration of our Lord's ministry. The earliest of these is Melito, a cotemporary of Polycarp, and bishop of Sardis in the reign of M. Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 161 to 180. He distinctly says that Jesus "manifested His Godhead during three years *after* His baptism, and His manhood during thirty years *previous* to His baptism †." In one of the epistles of St. Ignatius is a passage which equally gives three decades of years until the baptism, and three years for the preaching and miracles of Christ ‡,

\* Καὶ ἐτάφη ὁ Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὥραν δεκάτην τῆς αὐτῆς παρασκευῆς ἡμέρας, ἐν ὑπατείᾳ Σουλπικίου καὶ Σῶλα, τοῦ ἐβδομηκοστοῦ ἐνάτου ἔτους χρηματίζοντος κατὰ Ἀντόχειαν τὴν μεγάλην, ἡγεμονεύοντος δὲ τότε τῆς Συρίας Κασσίου, τοῦ καὶ προαχθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος.

Ἀνέστη δὲ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν καὶ Θεὸς Ἰησοῦς μηνὶ δύστρῳ τῷ καὶ μαρτίῳ κέ', ὥρα νυκτερινῇ δεκάτῃ, ἐπιφωσκούσης ἡμέρας κυριακῆς, τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαρτίου μηνὸς ἕκτης εἰκάδος, ἐχούσης τῆς σελήνης ἡμέραν ἑκαταδεκάτην.—Joan. Malalæ Chronogr. pp. 310, 311.

At this time L. Pomponius Flaccus was *Præses Syriæ*; and C. Cassius Longinus did not sustain that office until A.D. 45. Who the Cassius here mentioned was does not appear. He may have been *Legatus Caesaris et Procurator*, and as such one of the ἡγεμόνες of the province.

† Τὴν μὲν Θεότητα αὐτοῦ διὰ τῶν σημείων ἐν τῇ τριετίᾳ τῇ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα, τὴν δὲ ἀνθρωπότητα αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα χρόνοις τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος.—Melito, Routh's *Rel. Sacr.* i. 115.

‡ Καὶ τρεῖς δεκάδας ἐτῶν πολιτευσάμενος, ἐβαπτίσθη ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου

the whole of His life being said to be thirty-three years. Although the passage may be interpolated, it cannot be referred to a later period than the fourth century. In the second century St. Irenæus, in refutation of the Valentinian heresy, which, amongst other errors, maintained that our Lord's preaching was confined to a single year, points out three distinct pass-overs in our Saviour's ministry, adding, "*Tria hæc paschatis tempora non sunt annus unus* \*."

Apollinarius † and St. Jerome ‡ assign three years to our Lord's ministry, but apparently place its termination in A.D. 31. Numerous other writers give three years for its duration; but their statements have no independent authority, and exhibit such variations in other respects, as to render them of little value.

#### § XXII. SOURCES OF ERROR RESPECTING THE CHRISTIAN ÆRA.

Late in the second and early in the third centuries a notion sprang up that the crucifixion of our Lord, as well as His baptism, occurred in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, in the consulate of the two Gemini, A.D. 29. Some placed the baptism earlier; but many of those who thus antedated the passion of our Lord, did so by compressing this and His baptism into one year. Of this opinion was Clemens, who considers it established by the words, "He hath sent me to preach the acceptable year of the Lord §;" thus so far adopting the

ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐ δοκῇσει, καὶ τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς κηρύξας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.—Ad Trall. x.

\* S. Iren. adv. Jud. ii. 39, p. 191.

† "Atque exinde usque ad annum quintum decimum Tiberii Cæsaris, quando passus est Christus numerantur anni sexaginta."  
—S. Hieron. Comm. in Dan. ix.

‡ Id. Comm. in Isa. ix.

§ Luke iv. 19. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 340. Paris, 1641.

views of the Valentinians. It is difficult to conceive how such an egregious error could have been entertained in the face of St. Luke's own statement, that until this very year even John the Baptist was not commissioned to begin his preaching in the wilderness.

Happily the source of other errors leading to a similar conclusion is as easily discoverable. One of these originated in an attempt to solve the Seventy Weeks of Daniel. For this purpose it was computed that but 475 solar years were required; it being erroneously considered that the Hebrews calculated their years by lunar months, without the addition of an embolismic month, in virtue of which it was considered that 475 solar years were equivalent to 490 prophetic years.

By a still further mistake, the period from the twentieth year of Artaxerxes to the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar was calculated to be only 475 years. These by means of this lunar process were expanded into 490 years\*. The theory was that the death of our blessed Saviour was the termination of Daniel's prophecy; and this having by the erroneous calculation referred to been placed in the consulate of the two Gemini, the crucifixion was attributed to the same consulate.

The author of these strange fancies appears to have been either Julius Africanus or Tertullian, who were cotemporaries. The former thus states his views on the subject: "For the kingdom of the Persians continued till the beginning of the Macedonian empire, 230 years. The Macedonians reigned 300 years; and from that time to the fifteenth [sixteenth †] year

\* S. Hieron. Op. iii. col. 1110, 1111. Paris, 1704.

† Elsewhere Africanus has the sixteenth year of Tiberius, which

of Tiberius, when Christ suffered, are numbered sixty years, making together 590 years, being an excess of 100 years. But from the twentieth year of King Artaxerxes unto Christ the seventy weeks are completed, according to the lunar computation of the Hebrews, who reckon their months, not by the course of the sun, but by that of the moon. For from the 115th year of the Persian dominion, when Artaxerxes was in the twentieth year of his reign, and it was the fourth year of the 83rd Olympiad, to the second year of the 202nd Olympiad, and the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar, are reckoned 475 years, which makes 496 years, according, as I have said, to lunar months\*."

In another work the same writer says, this is easily shown by reckoning twenty-nine and a half days to a month; although with singular inconsistency he allows that the Hebrews made up the deficiency by intercalary months. After stating that "the revolution of

he says, correctly enough, was the second year of the 202nd Olympiad. See G. Syncel. Paris ed. 323. Routh's *Reliquiæ*, ii. 183. 190.

\* "Permansit nam regnum Persarum usque ad initium Macedonum, annis ducentis triginta: et ipsi Macedones regnaverunt annis trecentis: atque exinde usque ad annum quintum decimum Tiberii Cæsaris, quando passus est Christus, numerantur anni sexaginta: qui simul faciunt annos quingentos nonaginta, ita ut centum supersint anni. A vicesimo autem anno Artaxerxis regis usque ad Christum, complentur hebdomadæ septuaginta, juxta lunarem Hebræorum supputationem: qui menses non juxta solis, sed juxta lunæ cursum numerant. Nam à centesimo et quintodecimo anno regni Persarum, quando Artaxerxes rex ejusdem imperii vicesimum regni sui habebat annum, et erat octogesimæ et tertiæ Olympiadis annus quartus, usque ad ducentessimam secundam Olympiadem, et secundum ejusdem Olympiadis annum, Tiberique Cæsaris annum quintumdecimum, colliguntur anni quadringenti septuagintaquinque, qui faciunt annos Hebraicos quadringentos nonaginta, juxta lunares, ut dixim, menses."—Africanus apud S. Hieron. Comm. in Daniel iv. 516 A, B. Col. Agripp. 1616.

a solar year, consisting of  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, exceeds twelve lunar months by eleven and a quarter days," he proceeds thus: "On this account both Greeks and Jews insert three embolismic months in eight years; for eight times eleven and a quarter makes three months. Four hundred and seventy-five years, therefore, makes fifty-nine octaëterides and three [years] months; so that as there are three embolismic months in each octaëride, the whole amounts to fifteen years, and these being added to 475 years, the seventy weeks are obtained \*."

This fanciful computation, which has no real foundation for its support, has not even the merit of strict accuracy, as may be seen by the subjoined calculation †.

\* διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι τρεῖς μῆνας ἐμβολίμους ἔτεσιν ἢ παρεμβάλλουσιν. Ὀκτάκις γὰρ τὰ ια' καὶ τέταρτον ποιῇ τρίμηνον. Τὰ τοίνυν νοε' ἔτη ὀκταεταί μὲν γίνονται νθ' καὶ μῆνες τρεῖς, ὡς τριμήνου ἐμβολίμου τῇ ὀκταετίᾳ γινομένης, ἔτη συνάγεται ιε', ταῦτά τε πρὸς τοῖς νοε' ἔτεσιν ὁ ἑβδομάδες.—African. ap. Sync. p. 323.

† By dividing the 475 years by eight	8)475
	59 $\frac{3}{8}$
And multiplying the amount by three [months]	3
And then dividing the product by twelve	12)178 $\frac{1}{8}$
	14.10 $\frac{1}{8}$
And finally adding the 475 years	475
The sum total given by this rough mode of calculation is	489.10 $\frac{1}{8}$
Being two months, less three and a half days, short of 490 years.	

The incorrectness of Africanus' computation has been shown in a more scientific manner by Dr. Jarvis, Chron. Intro. 422, n.: "Taking the length of the mean tropical or solar year to be 365d. 5h. 48' 49", and the lunar year of twelve months of 29d. 12h. 44' 3" = 354d. 8h. 15' 16", the difference between 475 solar years and 490 lunar years will be as follows:—

490 lunar years are equal to	173,628d. 12h. 40' 40"
475 solar years are equal to	173,490d. 1h. 27' 56"
Showing that 475 solar fall short of 490 lunar years	138d. 11h. 12' 44" "



Tertullian and Africanus were probably acquainted with each other's writings. As Africanus enters more copiously into the subject, Tertullian may have borrowed from him, and been misled by his calculations, although his own seem to have proceeded on a different principle. After saying that our Lord was born in the forty-first year of Augustus, and that the emperor survived the birth of Christ fifteen years, he goes on to say: "And the remaining series of years to the day of the Nativity in the forty-first year of Augustus, after the death of Cleopatra [qy. Cæsar], will be 437 years and five months. By which means there are completed sixty-two weeks and a half, which make 437 years and six months, to the day of Christ's Nativity\*." In another work, after assigning the crucifixion to the fifteenth year of Tiberius, he then with reference to Daniel's prophecy, and to the cutting off the Messiah predicted in Psalm xxii., proceeds thus: "Which suffering unto death came to pass within the seventy weeks, during the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, in the consulship of Rubellius Geminus and Rufius Geminus, in the month of March, at the season of the passover, on the eighth day before the calends of April, on the first day of unleavened bread, when it was ordained by Moses that they should slay the lamb at eventide †."

\* "Et erunt reliqua tempora annorum in diem nativitatis Christi in annum Augusti quadragesimum primum post mortem Cleopatæ [qy. Cæsaris] anni quadringenti triginta septem menses quinque [vi]. Unde adimplentur sexagintadue hebdomadæ et dimidia: quæ efficiunt annos quadringentos triginta septem, menses sex, [usque] in diem nativitatis Christi."—Tertull. adv. Jud. viii. ap. Hieron. Comm. in Dan. ix.

† "Hujus [Tiberii] quinto decimo anno imperii passus est Christus. Quæ passio hujus exterminii intra tempora LXX hebdomadarum perfecta est sub Tiberio Cæsare, cosa. Rubellio Geminio et Rufio [qy. Fufio] Gemino, mense Martio, temporibus

Origen, also, in the third century, Lactantius and St. Augustine in the fourth, Sulpicius Severus in the fifth, Orosius and some others, following in the wake of Africanus and Tertullian, have committed the same error of placing the crucifixion in the consulship of the two Gemini. In so doing, however, they exhibit such errors and inconsistencies, attributable probably to some erroneous Fasti, as to deprive their testimony on this point of any weight.

In one of his works Origen says that there were but forty-two years, as I suppose, from the time when they crucified Jesus to the destruction of Jerusalem\*; and in another, "From the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar to the destruction of the temple forty-two years were fulfilled †." Thus Origen, unless he threw the baptism further back than the fifteenth year of Tiberius, is one of those who must have placed this and the crucifixion in the same year, which is manifestly erroneous.

Lactantius refers to the subject more than once, if the treatise *De Mortibus Persecutorum* is to be ascribed to him. In his *Institutes* he says, "From that time [i. e. the restoration of the Jews by the edict of Cyrus] they had tetrarchs until the time of Herod, who was under the government of Tiberius Cæsar, in whose fifteenth year, that is, in the consulate of the two Gemini, *before* the seventh day of the calends of April, the Jews affixed Christ to the cross †."

Paschæ, die viii. Calendarum Aprilium, die primâ azymorum, quo agnum ut occiderent ad vesperam à Moyse fuerat præceptum."—Tert. adv. Jud. viii.

\* Contr. Celsum I. iv. 22, p. 515 E. † Op. omn. iii. 217 A.

† "Exinde Tetrarchas habuerunt usque ad Herodem, qui fuit sub imperio Tiberii Cæsaris; cujus anno quintodecimo, id est, duobus Geminis consulibus, *ante* diem decimam [al. septimam]

Another passage runs thus: "At the close of Tiberius Caesar's reign, as we find it written, our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified by the Jews *after* the tenth day of the calends of April, in the consulship of the two Gemini \*."

This latter passage is a striking instance of the inconsistencies into which writers of this age allowed themselves to fall, without exhibiting the slightest consciousness of their doing so. Tiberius was well known to have reigned upwards of twenty-two years and a half; yet here we have an event, stated to have occurred in the fifteenth year of this reign, spoken of as happening *extremis temporibus Tiberii*, an expression manifestly inapplicable, when upwards of seven years and a half, or a full third of his reign, had still to elapse. This shows one of two things, either that Lactantius was not the author of the work *De Mort. Persec.*, or else that the habit of his mind was to associate the death of Christ with a later period.

calendarum Aprilium, Judæi Christum cruci affixerunt."—Lactan. de vera Sapient. l. iv. c. x. Op. ed. Du Fresnoy, i. 295; ed. Walchii, 435. In the text the word *cujus* may refer to Herod, and not to Tiberius. The result, however, would be the same in either case; since Eusebius, and no doubt Lactantius after him, place this Herod's reign immediately after that of Archelaus, and make the two reigns of Tiberius and Herod to begin in one and the same year. Euseb. Chron. ii.

\* "Extremis temporibus Tiberii Cæsaris, ut scriptum legimus, Dominus noster Jesus Christus à Judæis cruciatus est *post* diem decimum Kalendarum Aprilis [vel Aprilium] duobus Geminis consulibus."—*De Mort. Persecut.* ap. Baluzii Miscel. i. 2. Lact. Op. ed. Du Fresn. ii. 183; ed. Walch. 1059.

In these two passages from Lactantius the reader will note in the first the various readings of *decimam* and *septimam*, and also that one passage has *ante* and the other *post*. These differences have occasioned much learned investigation. Du Fresnoy mentions having consulted upwards of ninety manuscripts, and eighty-six printed editions.

Finding it, however, placed in other works in the fifteenth year of Tiberius, he copied this, without adverting to the inconsistency, glaring as it is.

St. Augustine is even a more remarkable illustration of this tendency to adopt a date, and yet entertain general views at variance with it. In the very same passage Augustine begins by saying, that "Christ died in the consulship of the two Gemini, on the eighth of the calends of April \*." Yet but six sentences lower down he continues thus: "And by this may be collected even the day, from which the year itself took its beginning, namely, when the Holy Spirit was sent in the ides of May. From hence by numbering the consulships there are found fulfilled 365 years to the same ides in the consulship of Honorius and Eutychianus. Moreover, in the following year, when Manlius Theodorus was consul †," &c.

Now the consulship of Honorius and Eutychianus fell in A.D. 398; but taking the consulship of the two Gemini in A.D. 29, the addition to it of 365 years would only produce the date of A.D. 394. In order to bring it down to the actual year we must start with A.D. 33. Then  $33 + 365$  would produce 398, the year required. St. Augustine, therefore, must incautiously have taken the consulship of the two Gemini from some previous writer, without adverting to its proper position in the Fasti, and yet by an inde-

\* "Mortuus est ergo Christus duobus Geminis consulibus, octavo Kalendas Aprilis."—De Civ. Dei, l. xviii. c. 54. Op. ed. Bened. vii. 407, 408.

† "Ac per hoc colligitur etiam dies, ex quo annus ipse sumpsit initium, scilicet quando missus est Spiritus sanctus, id est, per Idus Maias. Numeratis proinde consulibus trecenti-sexaginta-quinque anni reperiuntur impleti per eandem Idus consulatu Honorii et Eutychiani. Porro sequenti anno, consule Mallio Theodoro," &c.—De Civ. Dei, ut sup.

pendent calculation have placed the crucifixion four years later than the date thus erroneously ascribed to it by others.

Another source of these errors was the double computation of Herod's reign given by Josephus, viz. thirty-seven years from the time he was declared king by the Romans, and thirty-four years from the capture of Jerusalem. But although Josephus thus gives the two computations, yet when he refers in general terms to any particular year of Herod, it is not to his nominal, but to his *actual* reign. A notion appears to have prevailed that our Lord was born in the thirty-third year of Herod the Great, which, with reference to his actual reign of thirty-four years, would be the year preceding his death. By a singular mistake, however, his nominal reign has been substituted, and it has in consequence been supposed that Herod reigned four years after the Nativity. Thus Epiphanius says that "the Lord was born in the thirty-third year of Herod; in the thirty-fifth the Magi arrived; and in the thirty-seventh Herod died \*."

Sulpicius Severus says, "Under this Herod, in the thirty-third year of his reign, Christ was born, in the consulship of Sabinus and Rufinus, on the eighth of the calends of January. But I dare not touch, however lightly, upon those things which are contained in the Evangelists and Acts of the Apostles; and lest even in appearance any thing should detract from their relation of events, I pass on to other matters. Herod after the birth of the Lord reigned four years; for the whole period of his reign was thirty-seven years, after which Archelaus was tetrarch nine years, and Herod twenty-four years. During his reign, in the eighteenth year of it, the Lord was crucified, in the

\* Hæres. Alogi, c. x.

consulship of Fusius Geminus and Rebilius Geminus\*." Now here the year of Tiberius and the consulship do not correspond; the former coinciding with A.D. 32, the latter with A.D. 29.

Sulpicius then goes on to say that from that time to the consulship of Stilicho were 372 years. This would give one year more between the consulate of the two Gemini and that of Fl. Aurelianus and F. Stilicho than is to be found in the ordinary Fasti.

By specifying a consulship for the Nativity, Sulpicius supplies the means of showing his error. If Herod the Great lived four years afterwards, and this event occurred in the consulship of C. Calvis. Sabinus and L. Passien. Rufus, then Herod could not have died until A.D. 2, which would be opposed to every authority. His other dates are far more consistent with general testimony, although in none of them is he consistent. From these variations it may be inferred, that in the first five centuries there existed some

\* "Sub hoc Herode, anno imperii ejus tertio et xxx., Christus natus est, Sabino et Rufino consulibus, viii. Kalendas Januarias. Verum hæc quæ Evangeliiis ac deinceps Apostolorum Actibus continentur, attingere non ausus, ne quid forma præcisi operis, rerum dignitatibus diminueret, reliqua exsequar. Herodes post nativitatem Domini regnavit annos iiii.; nam omne imperii ejus tempus vii. et xxx. anni fuerunt, post quem Archelaus tetrarcha annos ix., Herodes annos xx. et iiii. Hoc regnante, anno regni octavo et decimo, Dominus crucifixus est, Fusio Gemino et Rebilio Gemino consulibus. A quo tempore usque in Stiliconem consulem sunt anni ccclxxii."—Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sacr. II. xxvii. Varoni ii. 154—158.

Which of the Herods is lastly here referred to as reigning twenty-four years it is difficult to say. Eusebius equally reckons some one of the Herods to have commenced reigning after Archelaus, and coterporaneously with Tiberius. The addition of the nine years of Archelaus to the twenty-four here mentioned makes but thirty-three years; Philip Herod, however, reigned thirty-seven years, and Herod Antipas forty-three years.

erroneous Fasti, in which the consulate of the two Gemini was misplaced.

Through these calculations, of which both the origin and fallacy have been shown, the two events, viz. the baptism and crucifixion, were brought into a common focus by so refracting parallel lines, as to make them converge until they ultimately met. Once originated, this error in the date of the latter event was caught up and carried on by others; and, though opposed to the statements of the most reliable authors, was so often reiterated, that the consulship of the two Gemini eventually came to be represented as "the almost uniform tradition of the Latin Church, if not of the Alexandrine also\*." Very different is the judgment of Fynes-Clinton, who says, "This date was assumed by some, because they confounded the date of the baptism with the date of the passion; by others, because they are supposed both to have happened in one year; by others, because they transcribed from their predecessors without examination†."

#### § XXIII. LAST WEEK OF YEARS.

##### SECOND DIVISION.

During the whole period of seven years, in the course of which the sacrifice and the oblation were thus to cease, and Messiah was to be cut off, the design or process of "confirming the covenant with many" was to be continued and still carried on.

Scattered throughout the New Testament are many passages or expressions, to which as yet attention has not been sufficiently pointed. In the early publication of the Gospel the Apostles, nay, our blessed Lord Himself, were under restraint, and forced (so

\* Browne, Scrip. Chron. 77.

† Clinton's Fast. Rom. 12.

to speak) to direct their efforts in a particular channel. Even after this channel had been widened, and was about to be broken up altogether, this constraint was distinctly referred to in the language of St. Paul and Barnabas, when addressing the Jews of Antioch: "It was necessary, ἀναγκαῖον, that the word of God should first, πρῶτον, have been spoken to you \*." The same order in the Divine economy was previously put forward by St. Peter, as an inducement to the Israelites to embrace the Gospel: "Unto you *first* God, having raised up His Son Jesus, sent Him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from his iniquities †." From the very outset this was the scheme recognized and acted upon in communicating the glad tidings of salvation.

This elucidates some acts and words of our blessed Lord, which a weak presumptuous judgment would represent as harsh. When the twelve were sent forth upon their first missionary journey through Judea, the command they received was, "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not: but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel ‡." So that in the first instance the Apostles were positively forbidden, not merely to go unto the *dispersed* among the Gentiles §, but even to preach the Gospel to such of the Gentiles as might happen to lie in their line of route, or whom they might chance to fall in with. Consistent with this injunction was the language of our blessed Lord towards the Syro-Phœnician woman: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel ||." "Let the children *first* be filled ¶."

Why, then, did the Saviour of mankind, He who

\* Acts xiii. 46.

§ John vii. 35.

† Acts iii. 26.

|| Matt. xv. 24.

‡ Matt. x. 5, 6.

¶ Mark vii. 27.



came to heal and to save, place this fetter upon Himself and His disciples? The reason is obvious. It had been so ordained in the Divine counsels, when the prophet Daniel was commissioned to declare that "He should confirm the covenant with many [i.e. the seed of Abraham] for one week \*."

We thus have the prediction delivered nearly 500 years before the event; then the injunction, which was in part a fulfilment of it; next the active obedience of the Apostles to the command which they received; and, finally, references to the absolute necessity that thus it should be,—a necessity which but for this Divine decree or determination could not have existed.

Until the scheme of salvation had been offered to the Gentiles, they could have incurred no guilt by its rejection. But looking from them to the children of Israel, upon those whom, in language of the tenderest love, the Almighty is described as having "graven upon the palms of His hands†," how full of mercy was it to them, and ultimately to us also, that the Gospel should first be preached to them; that the arms of Jehovah, in the form of His incarnate Son, should still be stretched out to the sons and daughters of the first covenant; and that when summoned to pass from the curtained tabernacle of the old, into the glorious light of the new dispensation, no rude shock should be given even to their prejudices, but that they should still be invited to take their place in the van of mankind.

After the veil of the temple had been rent in twain, and the middle wall of partition had been broken down, there was a further space in which the laborers wrought only in "the vineyard of the Lord

\* Dan. ix. 27.

† Isa. xlix. 16.

of Hosts, the house of Israel;" and all their efforts were bestowed upon "the men of Judah, His pleasant plant\*." This however, as pre-ordained, was to have an end. Although the Gospel was to be offered to the Jew *first*, it was also to be proclaimed to the Gentile †. When, therefore, the fulness of the time had come, and the one week of years during which the covenant was to be confirmed with many had elapsed; while Saul, "yet breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord," was journeying to Damascus with "letters to the synagogues, that if he found any of this way, whether they were men or women, he might bring them bound unto Jerusalem ‡," even then was he struck to the earth, and smitten with that actual blindness which was a representation of the darkened state of his soul. Ere the scales had fallen from his eyes, he received his new commission to go and preach above all to the Gentiles. "Rise, and stand upon thy feet; for I have appeared unto thee for *this* purpose, to make thee a minister and a witness, both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in the which I will appear unto thee, delivering thee from the people and from the Gentiles, unto *whom now I send thee*, to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in me §." To this wonderful revelation, and the commission which he thus received, St. Paul frequently alludes, as in writing to the Galatians: "When it pleased God, who called me by His grace, to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him among the heathen ||."

• Isa. v. 7.      † Rom. i. 16; ii. 9, 10.      ‡ Acts ix. 1, 2.  
§ Acts xxvi. 16—18.      || Gal. i. 15.

The covenant with many was once and for ever disannulled. The new covenant, which was to embrace the whole human race, "Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel \*," was substituted in its stead. "Other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice: and there shall be one fold, and one shepherd †."

In the calling of the Gentiles, and this unlocking of the covenanted mercies of God, there occurred four remarkable incidents which, however well known, do not appear to have been viewed in sufficiently close approximation.

1. Philip, and then Peter and John, went down to Samaria, and passed through many villages of the Samaritans preaching the word.

2. Philip was commanded to join himself to the man of Æthiopia, the treasurer of Queen Candace, whom he baptized.

3. Saul received two several commissions, as antagonistic in principle and as divergent in object as it is possible to conceive,—the one from the Jewish Sanhedrim to *imprison* and to *destroy*; the other from the Prince of Peace and Life to *deliver* and to *save*; commissions which are not the mere illustrations, but the very manifestations of darkness and of light.

4. St. Peter, summoned by Cornelius to Cæsarea, upon his arrival is constrained to admit that "God is no respecter of persons," and to be an astonished spectator to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit "on the Gentiles also ‡."

These several events, according to the narrative of St. Luke, happened *about the same time*. Yet, strange to say, the last of them has by every writer on the subject been separated from the others by

\* Acts ix. 15.

† John x. 16.

‡ Acts x. 34. 45, 46.

an interval of four or five years. The persecution against the Church, at and after the martyrdom of St. Stephen, was mainly owing to the fiery zeal of St. Paul. He was the spring and life of the early attempt to crush the Church of Christ. It was owing to this that the Christians, except the Apostles, left Jerusalem, where the fire of persecution first broke out and raged most fiercely. They were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria itself\*, where so great was the number of believers, that it was determined to send Peter and John thither also. When they had there accomplished their work, they set out on their return; literally, turned back towards Jerusalem, *ὑπέστρεψαν εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ*, and not as in the authorized version, simply "returned to Jerusalem †." In their backward journey they "preached the gospel in many villages of the Samaritans ‡." There were two routes which the Apostles might have taken,—one the direct road, by which they had probably travelled on their way upwards from Jerusalem; the other to the west of Sychar, passing by Antipatris to Sharon. As there would be a natural desire to return by a different way from that by which they had come, it would, in the absence of any information on the subject, have been probable that at least one of the two Apostles should return by the second route. The narrative in the Acts appears to make it perfectly certain that St. Peter did so. Having traversed Samaria in various directions, visiting all its towns and villages, *διερχόμενον διὰ πάντων §*, on quitting that country he came to Lydda, the ancient Diospolis. From thence he was summoned first to Joppa, and from that place to Cæsarea, where he became a wit-

\* Acts viii. 1. 4.

† Acts viii. 25.

‡ Acts viii. 25.

§ Acts ix. 32.

ness to the acceptance of the Gentiles. That all this took place shortly after St. Peter had left Samaria, and before his return to Jerusalem, is intimated by St. Luke in speaking of a subsequent period, when Peter was come up to Jerusalem, ἀνέβη Πέτρος εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα \*; which clearly refers to his first return thither after his travels through Samaria and the north-western parts of Judea, in which Lydda and Joppa were situated. But, according to the generally recognized order of events, St. Peter's journey to Joppa and Cæsarea had no connexion with his previous journey into Samaria, and did not take place until after St. Paul had gone up to Jerusalem about three years subsequent to his conversion, when he abode with Peter fifteen days †. In the close communion of the two Apostles during this period, St. Paul could not have failed to relate the circumstances attending his conversion, and his special mission to the Gentiles. It would be inconceivable, therefore, that St. Peter should have evinced the utter astonishment which he did, that the Gospel covenant should be extended to the Gentiles, after he had received his visit from St. Paul. This alone furnishes ground for giving to the narrative of St. Luke its natural interpretation, and placing the calling of the Gentiles, through the instrumentality of St. Peter, not long after St. Paul's conversion.

This is further shown by the fact that St. Luke afterwards resumes his narrative at the point from which he had set out; the whole series of occurrences being thus related in unity of circumstance rather than in order of time ‡. Immediately after his account of the reception of Cornelius and the other Gentiles into

\* Acts xi. 2.

† Gal. i. 18.

‡ Like Josephus, St. Luke relates events more in a pragmatical than in a chronological order. Vid. sup. p. 521, n. 3.

the Church of God, the Apostle reverts to "the persecution that arose about Stephen \*." On this occasion he equally notices, that those who took a different direction from that which Philip and the two Apostles had done, and who went beyond the confines of Judea and Samaria, preached the word to none but to the Jews only. He then notices that some of Cyprus and Cyrene on arriving at Antioch spake unto the Grecians, who, as some think, were Hellenized Jews, though they probably included Gentiles also. Tidings of these things having also reached the Church at Jerusalem, they sent forth Barnabas, who after remaining some time at Antioch departed thence to Tarsus to seek Saul. Now it was to Tarsus that Saul had gone after his first visit to Jerusalem, when he abode with Peter; so that the transactions related in Acts xi. 19—25 extended over more than three years.

It is clear, however, that St. Peter's tour was of shorter duration. Not only did he leave Rome some time before Saul applied to the high priest for letters to Damascus †, but previously to this mission of Barnabas he had returned to Jerusalem, or he could not have been there to receive Paul.

It is thus probable that the commission given to the great Apostle of the Gentiles, and the admission of Cornelius and those assembled with him into the Church, occurred about the same time. It is not, however, necessary to show that these events were exactly synchronous. It is sufficient to point out that at the end of the last week of Daniel's prophecy, the covenant ceased to be confined to the sons and daughters of Israel; that at that time the mandate had gone forth to bring the Gentiles into the fold of Christ; and that the work of evangelizing the heathen then began.

\* Acts xi. 19.

† Acts ix. 1, 2:

## TABULAR VIEW OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

By means of this long and intricate investigation it has, I trust, been established to the conviction of every unprejudiced mind, that the several periods of this celebrated prophecy have at length been satisfactorily worked out. The results are these:—

## FIRST PERIOD.

Seven weeks of (or forty-nine) years.

	Jul. P.	OL.	A.U.	B.C.
From the decree of Artaxerxes in the twentieth year of his reign . . .	4260	81.2	298-9	454
To deaths of Nehemiah and Darius Nothus . . . . .	4309	93.3	347-8	405

## SECOND PERIOD.

Sixty-two weeks of (or 434) years.

From deaths of Nehemiah and Darius Nothus . . . . .	4309	93.3	347-8	405
Unto Messiah the Prince, or the public manifestation of Jesus Christ . . .	4743	202.1	781-2	A.D. 30

## THIRD PERIOD.

One week of (or seven) years, divided into two parts.

First portion of three years.

From our Lord's public manifestation	4743	202.1	781-2	30
To the institution of the Lord's Supper, and the cutting off of the Messiah . . . . .	4746	202.4	784-5	33

Second portion of four years.

From the institution of the Lord's Supper and the cutting off of the Messiah . . . . .	4746	202.4	784-5	33
Unto the calling of the Gentiles, or the substitution of the new for the old covenant . . . . .	4750	203.4	788-9	37

Commencement of the seventy weeks . J.P.\* 4260

Their total duration in years . . . 490

J.P. 4750

\* The Julian period having no breaks, but consisting of consecutive numbers, offers greater facilities for calculation than any other chronological reckoning.

Commencement of the seventy weeks . . . . .	J.P. 4280
First period in years . . . . .	49
	<u>4309</u>
Second period in years . . . . .	434
	<u>4743</u>
Third period in years . . . . .	7
	<u>J.P. 4750</u>

### CONCLUSION.

LOOKING back upon the road by which he has travelled, the reader can scarcely have failed to be struck by one circumstance. The generally received date of the Nativity (B.C. 5) differing from that of St. Luke by two years, the very last mode apparently calculated to reconcile the Gospel narrative with actual chronology was any addition to the years anterior to the Christian æra, which should carry up the commencement of Herod's reign higher than B.C. 63. Yet the result of making this to begin one year earlier has been the reverse of what might have been anticipated. Instead of raising the date of the Nativity in a corresponding ratio, so as to bring this up to B.C. 6, its effect, in conjunction with other elements in the inquiry, has been to lower the date of this great event to B.C. 3. Thus by means to all appearance utterly opposed to such a result, has profane been brought into complete accord with sacred chronology.

It has further led to a solution of one of the most remarkable of the Old Testament prophecies,—a prediction which for ages has baffled every attempt “to establish an exegesis which would stand,” and which, from the confusion into which chronology had become



involved, has long been regarded as hopelessly inexplicable.

At the same time the recovery of the lost solar year, though it has been the means of unravelling the tangled web of dates, to which no clue could otherwise be discovered, is not essential to the end attained. This year may be thrown out of the calculation without disturbing the result. Its rejection would make the reign of Herod to begin according to the received chronology in B.C. 63, instead of B.C. 64; but, with the historical aids now thrown in, would either have no effect upon the later years of his life, or else would only depress the date of his death still further, and bring it down to B.C. 1.

So the computation of Roman consulships from the 21st of April, instead of the 1st of January, as well after as before the reformation of the Calendar by J. Cæsar, is not a necessary ingredient in the investigation.

Unless, then, the other proofs here adduced can be displaced, it follows that momentous events have been foretold centuries before their actual occurrence. The existence of prophecy, as distinctly predictive of the future, has thus been brought within the domain of positive demonstration. In particular the Book of Daniel and the other portions of Scripture referred to have been established as proceeding, not from human impulse, nor from a quicker apprehension of "causes at work in the moral government of the world \*," but directly from *Divine Inspiration*. "These sayings are faithful and true: and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent His angel to show unto His servants the things which must be done †."

\* Davidson's Introd. to the O. T. Crit. Hist. and Theolog. &c. ii. 463.

† Rev. xxii. 6. 2 Pet. i. 21.

## APPENDIX.

### FASTI CONSULARES.

Julian Year, from 1st Jan. to 31st Dec.	Olympiad, from Mids. to Mids.	A. U. from 21st April to 20th April.	B. C. from 1st Jan. to 31st Dec.	Consuls.	Events.
4650	179. 1	688. 9	64	M. Tullius Cicero C. Antonius	Jerusalem taken by Pompey on Saturday the 23rd Sivan (21st June), in Ol. 179. 1.
4651	2	689-90	63	D. Junius Silanus L. Licinius Murena	
4652	3	690. 1	62	M. Pup. Piso Calpurnianus M. Valer. Messala Niger	
4653	4	691. 2	61	L. Afranius Q. Cæcil. Metellus Celer	
4654	180. 1	692. 3	60	C. Julius Cæsar I. M. Calpurn. Bibulus	
4655	2	693. 4	59	L. Calpurn. Piso Cæso- ninus A. Gabinius	
4656	3	694. 5	58	P. Cornel. Lentulus Spin- ther Q. Cæcilius Metellus	
4657	4	695. 6	57	Cn. Cornel. Lentulus Mar- cellinus L. Marcus Philippus	
4658	181. 1	696. 7	56	Cn. Pomp. Magnus II. M. Licinius Crassus II.	
4659	2	697. 8	55	L. Domit. Ænobarbus App. Claud. Pulcher I.	
4660	3	698. 9	54	Cn. Domit. Calvinus I. M. Valer. Messala	
4661	4	699. 0	53	Cn. Pompeius Magnus III. (Sine Collegâ)	

Julian Year.	Olympiad.	A.U.	B.C.	Consuls.	Events.
4662	182. 1	700-1	52	Ser. Sulpic. Rufus M. Claud. Marcellus	
4663	2	701-2	51	L. Æmil. Paullus C. Claud. Marcellus	Beginning of Civil wars between Pompey and Cæsar.
4664	3	702-3	50	C. Claud. Marcellus L. Cornel. Lentulus Crus- cellus	
4665	4	703-4	49	C. Julius Cæsar II. P. Servil. Vatia Isauricus	
4666	183. 1	704-5	48	C. Julius Cæsar Dict. II.	J. Cæsar on his way from Egypt passes through Syria when Herod was twenty-five years of age.
4667	2	705-6	47	C. Julius Cæsar III. M. Æmil. Lepidus	Reformation of the Calendar by J. Cæsar (Censorinus XXI.). One solar year without consuls, it having been lost sight of from the consulates having gained upon the solar years. The loss not attributable to any one year.
4668	3	706-7	46		
4669	4	707-8	45	C. Julius Cæsar IV. (Sine Collegâ)	
4670	184. 1	708-9	44	C. Julius Cæsar V. M. Antonius	J. Cæsar killed 15th March.
4671	2	709-10	43	C. Vibius Pansa A. Hirtius C. Cæsar Octav. Suff.	First consulate of Augustus. Triumvirate formed between Augustus, Antony, and Lepidus for five years.
4672	3	710-1	42	L. Munatius Plancus M. Æmil. Lepidus II.	First year of the triumvirate.
4673	4	711-2	41	L. Antonius P. Servil. Vatia Isauricus II.	
4674	185. 1	712-3	40	Cn. Domit. Calvinus II. C. Asinius Pollio	
4675	2	713-4	39	L. Marcius Censorinus C. Calvis. Sabinus	Herod made king by the Romans in Jan.

Julian Year.	Olympiad.	A.U.	B.C.	Consuls.	Events.
4676	185. 3	714-5	38	App. Claud. Pulcher II. 1 C. Norbanus Flaccus	After the peace of Misenum Augustus and Antony nominate consuls for eight years. Pollio triumphs (26th Oct.) for successes in Illyria. Ventidius triumphs (28th Dec.) for victories over the Parthians.
4677	4	715-6	37	M. Agrippa L. Caninius Gallus	2 First year of renewed triumvirate. Jerusalem taken by Herod and Sosius, twenty-seven years after its capture by Pompey, on Saturday the 23rd Sivan (22nd June) in Ol. 185. 4, when Herod became <i>actual</i> king.
4678	186. 1	716-7	36	L. Gellius Poplicola M. Cocceius Nerva	3 Antigonus slain by Antony's orders in Jan., when Herod's title became confirmed.
4679	2	717-8	35	L. Cornificus Nepos Sext. Pompeius Nepos	4
4680	3	718-9	34	L. Scribonius Libo M. Antonius II.	5
4681	4	719-20	33	C. Cæsar Octav. II. L. Volcatius Tullus	6
4682	187. 1	720-1	32	Cn. Domit. Ænobarbus C. Sosius Nepos	7
4683	2	721-2	31	C. Cæsar Octav. III. M. Valerius Messala Corvinus	8 Battle of Actium, 2nd Sept., in the seventh year of Herod's reign, computed from the taking of Jerusalem.
4684	3	722-3	30	C. Cæsar Octav. IV. M. Licinius Crassus	Alexandria taken 1st August. Deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. Egyptian years of Augustus date from 1st August.
4685	4	723-4	29	C. Cæsar Augustus V. Sext. Apuleius	Temple of Janus shut by Augustus for the first time.
4686	188. 1	724-5	28	C. Cæsar Augustus VI. M. Vipsan. Agrippa II.	
4687	2	725-6	27	C. Cæsar Augustus VII. M. Vipsan. Agrippa III.	Commencement of the Augustan years from 1st January. Censorinus XX.

Julian Year.	Olympiad.	A.U.	B.C.	Consuls.	Events.
4688	188. 3	726-7	26	C. Cæsar Augustus VIII. T. Statilius Taurus	
4689	4	727-8	25	C. Cæsar Augustus IX. M. Junius Silanus	Temple of Janus closed the second time by Augustus according to Dio liii. 26—28.
4690	189. 1	728-9	24	C. Cæsar Augustus X. C. Norbanus Flaccus	
4691	2	729-30	23	C. Cæsar Augustus XI. A. Terent. Varro Murena	Augustus resigns the consulship. Receives the Tribunicia Potestas 27th June. AUG. T. P.
4692	3	730-1	22	M. Claud. Marcellus Æterninus L. Arruntius	II.
4693	4	731-2	21	Q. Æmil. Lepidus M. Lollius	III.
4694	190. 1	732-3	20	M. Appuleius Sextus P. Silius Nerva	IV.
4695	2	733-4	19	C. Sentius Saturninus Q. Lucretius Vespello	V. Temple of Janus probably closed the second time by Augustus.
4696	3	734-5	18	P. Cornel. Lentulus Cn. Cornel. Lentulus	VI.
4697	4	735-6	17	C. Furnius C. Junius Silanus	VII.
4698	191. 1	736-7	16	L. [C. CL.] Domit. Ænobarbus P. Cornel. Scipio	VIII.
4699	2	737-8	15	M. Livius Drusus Libo L. Calpurn. Piso	IX.
4700	3	738-9	14	M. Licinius Crassus Cn. Cornel. Lentulus	X.
4701	4	739-40	13	Tib. Claud. Nero P. Quinctilius Varus	XI.
4702	192. 1	740-1	12	M. Valer. Messala Barbatus P. Sulpic. Quirinus	XII.
4703	2	741-2	11	Q. Ælius Tubero Paul. Fabius Maximus	XIII.
4704	3	742-3	10	Julius Antonius Africanus Q. Fabius Maximus	XIV.

Julian Year.	Olympiad.	A.U.	B.C.	Consuls.	Events.
4705	192. 4	743-4	9	Nero Claudius Drusus T. Quinctius Crispinus	AUG. T. P. XV. Cæsarea Sebaste finished before June.
4706	193. 1	744-5	8	C. Marcius Censorinus C. Asinius Gallus	XVI. Lustrum and Census, Mon. Ancyr. Tab. ii.
4707	2	745-6	7	Tib. Claud. Nero II. Cn. Calpurn. Piso	XVII. Mon. Ancyr. Tab. iii.
4708	3	746-7	6	D. Lælius Balbus C. Antistius Vetus	XVIII. Mon. Ancyr. Tab. iii.
4709	4	747-8	5	C. Cæsar Aug. XII. L. Corn. Sulla	XIX. Varus comes into Syria as governor in the autumn.
4710	194. 1	748-9	4	C. Calvis. Sabinus L. Passienus Rufus	XX. [XIX. in Mon. Ancyr. Tab. iii.] Temple of Janus closed the third time by Augustus probably about this time.
4711	2	749-50	3	L. Corn. Lentulus M. A. III. M. Valerius Messalinus	XXI. THE NATIVITY, 25th Dec. Enrolment of Cyrenius.
4712	3	750-1	2	C. Cæsar Aug. XIII. M. Plaut. Silvanus	AUG. T. P. TIB. T. P. XXII. I. Lustrum of Augustus, Mon. Ancyr. Tab. ii. Death of Herod the Great.
4713	4	751-2	1	Cn. Cornelius Lentulus L. Calpurnius Piso	XXIII. II.
4714	195. 1	752-3	A.D. 1	Caius Jul. Cæsar L. Æmilius Paullus	XXIV. III.
4715	2	753-4	2	P. Vinicius P. Alsinius Varus	XXV. IV. Lucius Cæsar dies 20th August.
4716	3	754-5	3	L. Ælius Lamia M. Servilius [Geminus]	XXVI. V.
4717	4	755-6	4	S. Ælius Catus C. Sentius Saturninus	XXVII. VI. Caius Cæsar dies 21st or 22nd February.
4718	196. 1	756-7	5	Cn. Corn. Cinna Magnus L. Valer. Messala Valusus	XXVIII. VII.
4719	2	757-8	6	M. Æmilius Lepidus L. Arruntius	XXIX. VIII.
4720	3	758-9	7	A. Licin. Nerva Silanus Q. Cæcil. Metell. Creticus Silanus	XXX. IX. Archelaus banished.

Julian Year.	Olympiad.	A.U.	A.D.	Consuls.	Events.
4721	196.4	750-60	8	M. Furius Camillus Sex. Nanius Quinctilianus	AUG. Y. P. XXXI. TIB. Y. P. X. [XXX. Inscrp. ap. Spon. i. 32.]
4722	197.1	760-1	9	C. Poppeus Sabinus Q. Sulpicius Camerinus	XXXII. XL [XXXI. do.]
4723	2	761-2	10	P. Cornel. Dolabella C. Junius Silanus	XXXIII. XII. [XXXII. do.]
4724	3	762-3	11	M. Aemil. Lepidus S. Statilius Taurus	XXXIV. XIII. [XXXIII. do.]
4725	4	763-4	12	Germanicus Caesar C. Fonteius Capito	XXXV. XIV. [XXXIV. do.]
4726	198.1	764-5	13	C. Silius Nepos L. Munatius Plancus	XXXVI. XV.
4727	2	765-6	14	Sext. Pompeius Nepos Sext. Apuleius Nepos	XXXVII. XVI. Augustus dies 19th August. Tiberius succeeds him.
4728	3	766-7	15	Drusus Caesar C. Norbanus Flaccus	TIB. Y. P. XVII.
4729	4	767-8	16	T. Statilius Sisenna Taurus L. Scribonius Libo	XVIII.
4730	199.1	768-9	17	C. Caecilius Rufus L. Pompon. Flaccus Grac- cinus	XIX.
4731	2	769-70	18	Cl. Tiberius Nero Au- gustus III. Germanicus Caesar	XX.
4732	3	770-1	19	M. Junius Silanus L. Norbanus Balbus	XXI.
4733	4	771-2	20	M. Valerius Messala M. Aurelius Cotta	XXII.
4734	200.1	772-3	21	Cl. Tiberius IV. Drusus Caesar	XXIII.
4735	2	773-4	22	Decius Haterius Agrippa C. Sulpicius Galba	XXIV.
4736	3	774-5	23	C. Asinius Pollio C. Antistius Vetus	XXV. After some want of suc- cess at the beginning of his reign, this was the ninth year of un- interrupted prosperity with Tiberius, Tac. Ann. iv. 1.

Julian Year.	Olympiad.	A.U.	A.D.	Consuls.	Events.
4737	200. 4	775-6	24	Sext. Cornel. Cethegus L. Visellius Varro	TIB. T. P. XXVI.
4738	201. 1	776-7	25	M. Asinius Agrippa Cosus Cornel. Lentulus	XXVII.
4739	2	777-8	26	M. Calvisius Sabinus Cn. Corn. Lentulus Getulicus	XXVIII.
4740	3	778-9	27	M. Licinius Crassus L. Calpurnius Piso	XXIX.
4741	4	779-80	28	Ap. Junius Silanus P. Silius Nerva	XXX.
4742	202. 1	780-1	29	C. Rubellius Geminus C. Fusius Geminus	XXXI. Mission of John the Baptist in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar. Baptism of our Lord towards the close of this year.
4743	2	781-2	30	M. Vinucius Quartinus C. Cassius Longinus	XXXII. Manifestation of the Messiah, or public appearance of Jesus Christ as a Divine Teacher in the month Nisan.
4744	3	782-3	31	Cl. Tiberius V. L. Ælius Sejanus	XXXIII.
4745	4	783-4	32	Cn. Domit. Ænobarbus A. Vitellius Nepos	XXXIV.
4746	203. 1	784-5	33	Serg. Sulpicius Galba L. Cornel. Sulla	XXXV. The institution of the Lord's Supper, and the CRUCIFIXION.
4747	2	785-6	34	L. Vitellius Nepos Paullus Fabius Persicus	XXXVI. Death of Herod Philip.
4748	3	786-7	35	C. Cestius Gallus Camerinus M. Servil. Geminus Nonianus	XXXVII.
4749	4	787-8	36	Sext. Papinius Gallienus Q. Plaut. Nepos	XXXVIII.



Julian Year.	Olympiad.	A.U.	B.C.	Consuls.	Events.
4750	204. 1	788 9	37	Cn. Acerronius Proculus C. Pontius Nigrinus Suff. Caius Caligula Claudius	Conversion of St. Paul. Visions of Cornelius and St. Peter, and calling of the Gen- tiles. Death of Tibe- rius on the 26th March*. Caius Ca- ligula succeeds him.
4751	2	789-90	38	M. Aquillius Julianus P. Nonius Asprenas	
4752	3	790-1	39	Caius Cæsar Caligula II. L. Apronius Cæsius	
4753	4	791-2	40	Caius Cæsar Caligula III. (Sine collegâ, Suet. iv. 17)	Herod Antipas deposed and banished. TIB. CLAUD. T. P. I.
4754	205. 1	792-3	41	Caius Cæsar Caligula IV. Cn. Sentius Saturninus Suff. Pomponius Se- cundus	Caius Caligula killed the 24th January, Suet. iv. 17.
4755	2	793-4	42	Tiberius Claudius Cæ- sar II. C. Cæcina Largus Germa- nicus	II.
4756	3	794-5	43	Tiberius Claudius Cæ- sar III.	III.
4757	4	795-6	44	C. Vibius Crispinus T. Statilius Taurus II.	IV.
<p>* OSSA. TIB. CÆSARIS DIVI AUG. F. AUGUSTI PONTIFICIS MAXIMI TRIB. POTEST. XXXIIX. IMP. VIII. COS. V.</p>					

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